

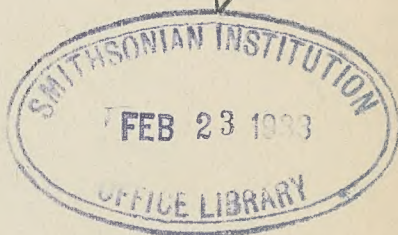
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History of Agriculture in the Southern United States To 1860

BY
LEWIS CECIL GRAY

ASSISTED BY
ESTHER KATHERINE THOMPSON

With an Introductory Note by
HENRY CHARLES TAYLOR



VOLUME I

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN ECONOMIC HISTORY

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

This volume is the product of the research of one man through a period of more than twenty years. While a graduate student in the University of Wisconsin, commencing in the autumn of 1908, L. C. Gray started the work which now culminates in this comprehensive treatise. In due course of time enough of the material, especially that relating to the plantation, was written up to fulfill the requirements for a doctor's thesis. With most students this would have ended the enterprise, but Doctor Gray stayed by the task of writing the history of plantation agriculture while teaching in the University of Wisconsin, the University of Saskatchewan, and the George Peabody College for Teachers. By 1919 the work was completed along the lines which Doctor Gray first had in mind. In the meantime, important works on the plantation appeared in print which paralleled in considerable degree the Gray manuscript. Instead of laying the manuscript away and forgetting it, new plans were made. The Research Associates in American Economic History, who had previously aided Doctor Gray with small grants, coöperated with the result that the plan was reorganized and refinanced.

The new plan involved the history of the whole of Southern agriculture up to 1860 to correspond with the history of Northern agriculture then in preparation by Bidwell and Falconer. It also involved a fresh start and a comprehensive reworking of the source material, but since this was done in the light of the experience of the previous ten years in the same general field of research, it was far from being an entirely new project. During the past eight years Doctor Gray has had a competent assistant who has given full time to the work. He has devoted to the writing of this book in its present form all of his work time outside of office hours, and for a considerable period was on leave from the Government service to give full time to this undertaking. Few men there are who would have stuck to such a task through so many years.

The product is worthy of the effort. Doctor Gray has made a permanent contribution to economic history, agricultural economics, technical agriculture, and to the general social and political history of the South.

There will be a considerable number of people who will want to read this volume from beginning to end. Agricultural economists, directors of experiment stations, and the technical research men working in the South need the entire kaleidoscopic picture as a background for their thinking when dealing with present day problems. Other agricultural workers, as well as general economists and historians, will be interested in using this volume as a reference work. By consulting the table of contents and the index, they will find a richness of detail on innumerable subjects that have been passed over by other writers in general terms. These details give the basis for integrating a mental picture with the degree of accuracy essential to clear thinking. The colonists and the settlers

of the Western expansion carried on significant agricultural and socio-economic experiments. They had to learn what to produce and how to produce, and how to use and conserve crops and livestock, or die in the undertaking. It was necessary to determine the characteristics of their physical environment—the properties of soil and climate—and how to adjust their agricultural practice to these conditions.

The modern experimenter takes agriculture as a going concern and experiments on ways and means of making improvements. Those things which our forefathers found worth while have come down to us as our system of farming. Those things which failed have been forgotten. Unless the modern experimenter is well versed in the history of the trial and error method of the colonists and early settlers, he may waste a large share of his time. Doctor Gray points to a number of instances where costly experiments were repeated because the historical records of their demonstrated futility were not available to the later experimenters as, for instance, the successive attempts to produce silk and wine. Changed economic conditions may, it is true, make farming enterprises profitable which were formerly unprofitable, but even these possibilities are reflected in the history of the experiments of the forefathers.

The experiments made by the pioneer farmers were economic as well as physical and biological. In these days when the agriculture of the Old South is needing reconstruction, the experiences of earlier times may prove of importance in helping to avoid mistakes, if they do not point the way to the solution of present problems.

The student of the public relations of agriculture finds the colonial period in the South rich in examples of governmental control of agricultural production and marketing. As Doctor Gray points out, the plantation system was the earliest manifestation since classical times of a commercial and capitalistic agriculture. Consequently, Southern agriculture presents interesting early experiments in price fixing and in attempts both to restrict and to stimulate production in a period before the political economy of Adam Smith had come to dominate the thought of English speaking peoples. The production and exportation of indigo, flax, hemp, and other products were frequently encouraged by subsidies. The elaborate system of tobacco inspection developed in Virginia was one of the earliest instances of governmental standardization of farm products. Modern regulation of marketing probably falls considerably short of the intensity of regulation in the colonial period. These colonial experiments described in this volume will provide a background for sounder thinking than a good many of our fellow citizens have indulged in during recent years.

The plantation system was the first great experiment since the days of the Roman Empire in the large-scale commercial organization of agriculture. Now that the possibilities of large-scale agriculture occupy so prominent a position in the minds of those who are considering the future outlook for American agriculture, significant suggestions will be found in the detailed exposition of plantation organization provided in the present volume. It is interesting to consider the experiments employed by Southern planters in organizing their labor force, and to find that something like an elementary system of Scientific Management

prevailed on the more efficient plantations. Moreover, the book reveals clearly that, in spite of the disabilities of unfreedom, the Southern slave enjoyed an immunity from the woes of unemployment and a degree of security from want which are sadly lacking in our present day economic organization.

The student of land utilization will find much of value in this volume. Evidence is presented which may be used by those who argue that the solution of the agricultural problem in hilly and partially forested areas may lie in a right combination of agriculture, forestry, and the woodworking industries. It is only recently that farm economists have developed the concept of part-time farming, but the art of part-time farming is an old one, as is made abundantly clear in the history of Southern agriculture. Lumber, staves, potash, pitch, tar, and turpentine were produced by planters and by farmers as primary or supplementary sources of income.

The student of land settlement will find useful material throughout this volume. The book contains a detailed record of land settlement of the colonists along the coast and later of the pioneers who penetrated the Piedmont, the Great Valley, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and the Gulf States.

This volume furnishes much of the material which the student of political and social history must have in mind as a background for his thinking, if he is to interpret accurately the life and activities of that time. The South of the period covered by this volume was agricultural, with domestic industries playing an important rôle. The life of the planters and farmers was the life of the South. In comparing the life of the South with that of the agricultural North of that period, there has been a tendency to contrast the farm of the North with the plantation of the South. The plantation was a large-scale agricultural operation with an exportable staple bringing in large sums of cash income. The Northern farm was a small enterprise operating largely on a self-sufficing basis, with a cash income insignificant in proportion. The planter was a general manager and large capitalist who did little work with his own hands, and many of them endeavored to live after the fashion of an English country gentleman in so far as economic success would permit. The Northern farmer was a working man. He read, thought, and frequently lived a satisfying life, but it was more like that of the English yeoman of the seventeenth century. This is an interesting contrast without disparaging either class, but it leaves one with an entirely wrong notion of Southern agriculture in the old régime. While staple agriculture and the plantation worked by large numbers of slaves were of outstanding importance, Doctor Gray has shown more conclusively and in greater detail than any preceding historian that life in the South was dependent upon subsistence crops and domestic industries to a very great extent, and that the great majority of the Southern people lived on small farms and worked with their own hands. Furthermore, it seems probable that most of the Southern white people were neither large planters nor poor whites but consisted of the substantial common stock who have provided the solid foundation of American society. The staple agriculture and the plantations stand out like a principal range of mountains which, however, occupies much less territory than the foothills that attract little at-

tention. In this volume the small farms and the self-sufficing or nonstaple agriculture are given full consideration, and once the reader gets into the volume, he will be made to realize the possibility of overemphasizing the commercial and capitalistic elements in Southern economic history.

The history of slavery in its relation to agriculture has been worked out by Doctor Gray in the light of recent treatises on that subject as well as of the original sources. His broad economic training has enabled him to appraise the economic advantages and disadvantages of slavery more accurately than some of his contemporaries. He has provided a vivid description of plantation organization and a keen analysis of its strength and weakness. He appears to have been the first to explain the paradox of the unprofitableness of the system so generally alleged by antislavery critics and even by historians and the ability of the plantation system to displace the small farm economy under certain favorable conditions. Because of the passing of the slavery régime, this phase of the subject is, of course, of greater interest for the historian and student of economic theory than for the student of modern problems, who will value more highly the account of experiments in crop and livestock production, the relation of the forestry industries to agriculture, the settlement and price control experiments, and the general light which all this experience throws upon the problems of farm economics.

This volume also reveals in an interesting manner the large part which the immemorial conflict and distrust between farmers and merchants and between farmers and the creditor classes played in the economic life of the South. Only in recent years have historians begun to reckon fully with these influences in interpreting the political currents of the colonial and early post colonial periods. The leaders who would improve the condition of the farmers of the South will find it worth while to study the history of this conflict as a starting point in understanding the psychology of the farmer of today, whose unconscious prejudices handicap coöperative and other movements intended to free him from the bad credit and bad merchandising conditions inherited from the past.

With these few pages of suggestion as to the ways in which this volume may be useful to students of agriculture and leaders of rural affairs, it is commended as a book to study as a whole or in part according to the interest or the need of the reader.

Doctor Gray's study is the seventh of the Contributions to the Economic History of the United States begun under the Department of Economics and Sociology of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, and continued by the Board of Research Associates in American Economic History. The first number in the series was the *History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce*, written by Professor Emory R. Johnson and colleagues, and published in 1915. This was followed by the *History of Manufactures, 1607-1860*, by Dr. Victor S. Clark, in 1916; the *History of Transportation before 1860*, prepared under the direction of Dr. B. H. Myers, in 1917; the *History of Labour*, by Professor John R. Commons and associates, in 1918; the *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860*, by Dr. Percy Wells Bidwell and Dr. John I. Falconer, in 1925; and the *History of*

Manufactures, 1860-1914, by Dr. Victor S. Clark, in 1928. A one-volume reprint of Johnson's *History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce* was issued by the Carnegie Institution in 1922 in response to the demand, and the two volumes of Clark's *History of Manufactures* were, with the permission of the Carnegie Institution, reissued with two additional chapters in a three-volume edition in 1929 by the McGraw-Hill Book Company. Fuller details regarding the history of the Contributions will be found in the *Introductory Notes* to the several studies by the Chairman of the Board, Professor Henry W. Farnam, at whose request this note has been prepared.

HENRY C. TAYLOR.

September, 1932.

PREFACE

My fundamental interest in the preparation of this study has been economic rather than technological. While a generous amount of space has been devoted to the latter class of material, it has been included mainly as a significant background for tracing institutional evolution and describing the socio-economic life of the section. I have not undertaken, for instance, a critical history of breeds of livestock or of the varieties of cultivated plants. For such tasks, I confess, my technological training is inadequate. It would be possible, and some may prefer, to conceive of agricultural history as confined to a description of practices or a record of production in the narrow sense, including perhaps the course of prices and fluctuations of prosperity. I have conceived the present undertaking rather as extending to a wider horizon that includes also an attempt to understand the way of life of a great section of our country, which was almost entirely agricultural, to describe its system of agricultural organization, to discern, if possible, the forces that moulded its socio-economic life, and to trace the interrelations of its economy and its institutions. This has led me into a number of cognate subjects, such as land policy and tenure, the legal and economic characteristics of slavery and servitude, the mechanism for marketing and credit, and the relative number and characteristics of the various economic classes. In discussing these cognate subjects I have made considerable, but by no means exclusive, use of the numerous monographs on various phases of Southern institutional history.

The profusion of citations may give the work an atmosphere of excessive scholasticism. However, in a description of conditions, practices, and tendencies covering so large a section of the country a larger quantity of confirmatory material appears desirable than would be requisite in a monograph of narrower geographic scope. I am hopeful that the profusion of citations, therefore, may be justified, not only in suggesting the geographic extent of various phenomena, but also as a guide to materials that may prove serviceable in the preparation of monographs on narrower phases of the field of Southern agriculture.

The bibliography of works cited, lengthy as it may appear, will indicate that I have not been able, in spite of industrious application through many years, to consult all the materials on Southern history—and one may always stumble on some fragment of value for economic history, even in the most unexpected sources. The materials on the whole vast field of Southern history up to 1860 are so voluminous that it is doubtful if a long lifetime would permit examining them all. I am conscious of the fact that this volume might be further amplified, and perhaps its authenticity increased, if the work could be continued for some years longer, but it has become apparent that circumstances are not favorable for this. The Board of Research Associates and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics have continued their support of the project fully as long as it is reasonable to

expect. My official responsibilities promise to leave but little time for historical research. New materials are being made available more rapidly than I can hope to keep up with them. Finally, in a work of this chronological and geographic scope, one must expect to leave some latitude for the numerous monographs that will be written on segments of the subject, and which, because they are narrower in scope, will be able to explore those segments more intensively than I have been able to accomplish. I shall be satisfied if the writers of those monographs shall find this work useful as a guide to materials and in supplying a broad background for their researches, and if the general reader and student of Southern history may profit by the bird's-eye view of general characteristics and tendencies which I have undertaken to provide.

A word concerning the organization of this study may be found helpful. Except for certain chapters dealing with broad tendencies which manifested themselves throughout the ante bellum period, it will be found that there are three primary chronological subdivisions—the colonial period; a period of transition from colonial to national economy, extending from the close of the Revolutionary War to about the time of Whitney's invention of the cotton gin; and the remaining period up to the Civil War. Each of these chronological divisions is subdivided topically, and each topic is usually considered chronologically and to some extent geographically. Inasmuch as the topical treatment fails to provide a synthetic picture of agricultural development in the various important regions, at the risk of a seeming lack of unity I have introduced certain chapters sketching in broad strokes the course of agricultural expansion by regions. For the purpose of avoiding unnecessary repetition of details, already treated by topics, I have made extensive use of cross references, and while the regional chapters give the broader lines of development and the distinctive characteristics by regions, a more complete regional picture can be gained only by supplementary reference to the topical chapters.

A final pleasant duty is the acknowledgment of the generous support and assistance without which this task could never have been carried to completion.

A foremost obligation is to Professor Henry W. Farnam and the Board of Research Associates, who for the past eight years have contributed a generous amount of financial support. I am particularly grateful to Professor Farnam for the unfailing patience with which he has continued this support in the face of numerous disappointing postponements; for the interest, encouragement, and consideration he has consistently manifested; and for the numerous helpful editorial suggestions that have resulted from his readings of the manuscript in its various stages.

Professor Henry C. Taylor is in a sense the father of the project, since he first stimulated my interest in the subject, guided my steps during the first several years, and aided in making available necessary resources and facilities. Since those earlier years when we maintained the relationship of teacher and student, his unfailing encouragement and zealous concern in shaping conditions favorable to the continuance of the work have contributed notably to whatever degree of accomplishment it may represent. On reading the final manuscript he has made

a number of helpful suggestions, and I am also in his debt for undertaking to write the Introductory Note.

A significant degree of support has been officially supplied by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, particularly by the Division of Historical and Statistical Research, of which Doctor O. C. Stine is Chief. I am grateful to the administrative officials of the Bureau for their encouragement, and a similar expression of gratitude is due the officials of the institutions with which I was earlier connected—the University of Wisconsin, the University of Saskatchewan, and the George Peabody College for Teachers.

Miss Esther K. Thompson, who has been my assistant during the past eight years, assumed full responsibility for the checking and standardizing of citations, filing basic materials, and preparing the index. In addition, she has spent much time in searching for new materials and has read the text in the interest of its editorial improvement. Her loyal devotion and enthusiasm have been unbounded, and she has given unsparingly of time and strength. Whatever freedom from errors may characterize the text and citations is due largely to her painstaking exactness. She has also contributed much at various stages by discerning criticisms and suggestions.

Miss Katherine Greenwood assisted in checking citations, and Mrs. Ethel K. Day and Mrs. Anne C. Chew in various clerical tasks. Miss Nettie P. Bradshaw assisted in assembling charts and checking tables. Messrs. F. G. Marschner and Rex Hainsworth, of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, were of material assistance in the preparation of charts and maps.

A number of scholars have contributed generously of the store of historical materials which they have brought together but not yet published. Professor George R. Taylor, of Amherst College, now working under the auspices of the International Committee on Price History, furnished me a valuable series of monthly quotations of tobacco prices at New Orleans and sea-island cotton prices at Charleston, as well as other significant material. Professor Arthur H. Cole, of Harvard University, supplied certain early price quotations for upland cotton; and a similar service was rendered by Mr. Henry Plauché, of the New Orleans Cotton Exchange, and Mr. Henry M. Gill, formerly of the New Orleans Public Library. Mr. A. G. Peterson, of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, permitted me to use in manuscript his historical series of Virginia farm prices, since published. Mrs. E. J. Working loaned numerous excerpts relative to Louisiana collected from the French transcripts in the Library of Congress. Mr. Joseph C. Robert, recently a graduate student at Harvard University, furnished me some important excerpts on the market facilities for Virginia tobacco during the early decades of the nineteenth century, and permitted me to read in manuscript his dissertation, *The Tobacco Industry in the Virginia-North Carolina Area since the Revolution*. Mr. A. N. Moore permitted me to read the manuscript of a doctoral dissertation on the history of agricultural credit, which was to be submitted to Harvard University, and another graduate student of Harvard, Mr. C. P. Wright, has given me the privilege of reading certain chapters of a proposed dissertation entitled *The Trans-Atlantic Packet Lines of New York*. I am especially indebted

to Dr. Carleton R. Barnes, of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, for making available the map showing Southern natural land use areas.

Professor James Alexander Robertson, of John B. Stetson University, and Mr. E. E. Edwards, editor of the journal *Agricultural History*, have read particular chapters, and made helpful suggestions. Miss Lila K. Thompson and my daughter, Emilie B. Gray, contributed substantial assistance in the onerous task of proof-reading.

The early work on this manuscript was done mostly in the Library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and the Library of the University of Wisconsin. During the past decade the work has been carried on mainly in the Library of Congress. A good deal of material has been obtained in the Library of the United States Department of Agriculture, and use was made for short periods of the Tennessee State Library at Nashville, the Library of the South Carolina Historical Society at Charleston, and the South Carolina State Library at Columbia. I am indebted to the officials of all these libraries for courteous assistance, but particular thanks are due the officials and assistants of the various departments of the Library of Congress who have supplied special working space and facilities and have been unwearied in assisting us in finding materials. While to select a few out of the large number who have been unusually helpful would require an unwarranted discrimination, I cannot refrain from referring to Mr. V.V. Parma, of the Rare Book Division, who for some years has been alert in calling our attention to agricultural materials that might otherwise have escaped notice. Miss Emma B. Hawks, Assistant Librarian of the Library of the United States Department of Agriculture, has been assiduous in corresponding with other libraries for the loan of material. I am under obligation to the following libraries for loaning rare volumes or checking citations: John Crerar Library, University of North Carolina, Maryland Historical Society, State Historical Society of Missouri, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin, Harvard College, University of Georgia, Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, Virginia State Library, Carnegie Library of Nashville, Tennessee State Library, Clarksville (Tennessee) Public Library, Howard Memorial Library, and the New Orleans Public Library.

LEWIS CECIL GRAY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *September, 1932.*

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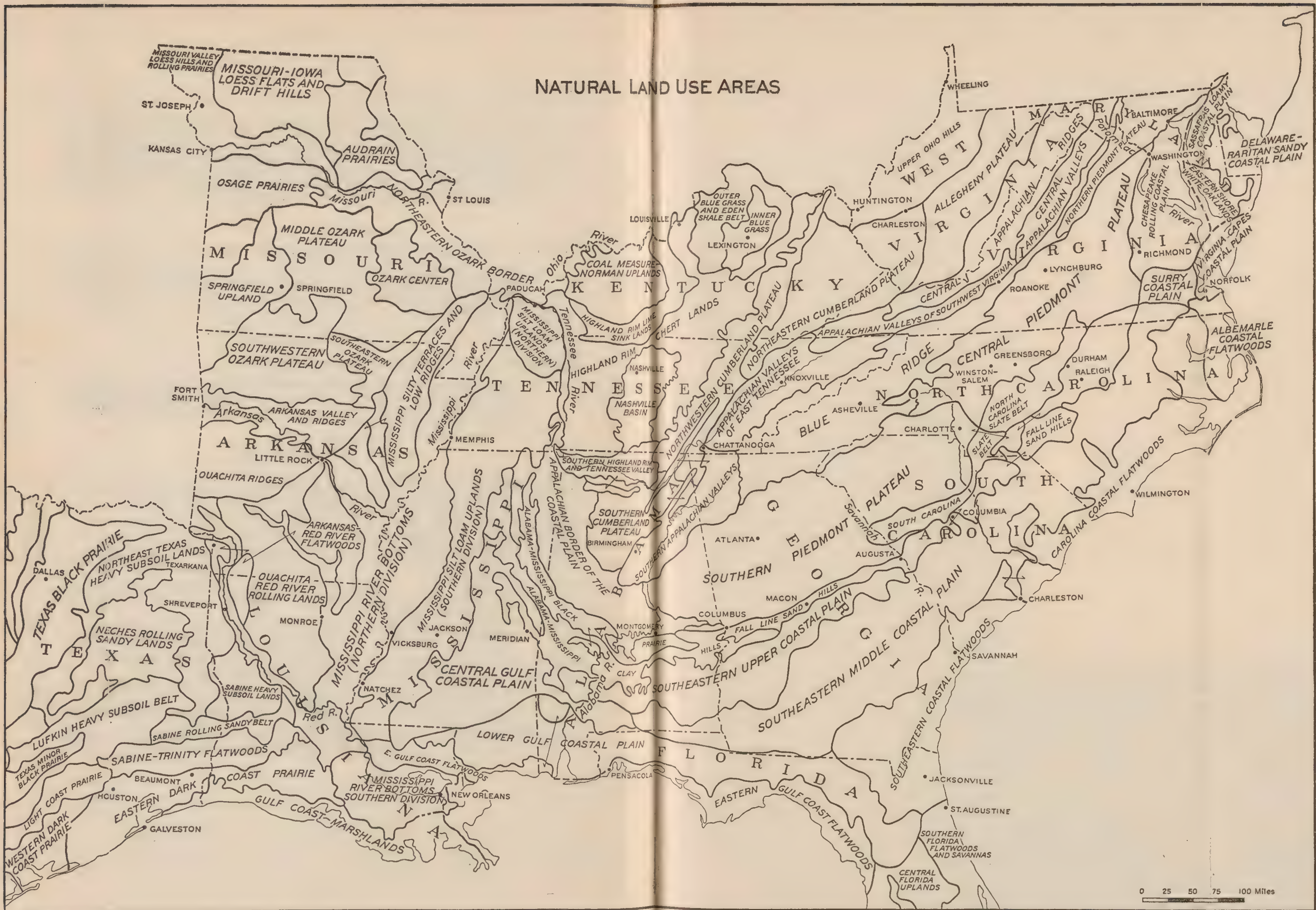


FIGURE 1. The subdivisions shown on the map are the principal natural areas that are distinctive from the standpoint of land utilization. The various conditions of topography, climate, and soil have been taken into account in defining the different areas. The map is a section of a larger map for the entire United States. It was prepared as a result of several years of research by Doctor Carleton R. Barnes, a geographer in the Division of Land Economics, Bureau of Agricultural Economics. The various boundary lines were referred to the agricultural experiment station in each State for criticisms and suggestions.

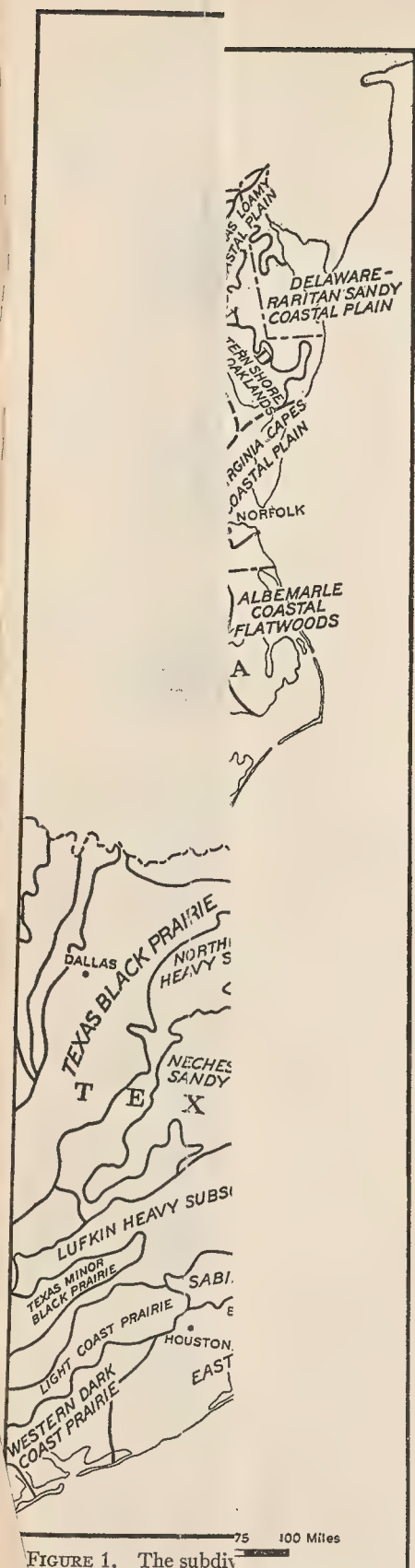


FIGURE 1. The subdivision of the Southeastern United States into different areas. The map is based on the work of the United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics. The various areas are defined by their agricultural potential.

PART I

AGRICULTURAL BEGINNINGS AND
GEOGRAPHIC EXPANSION

CHAPTER I

AGRICULTURE BEFORE THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH

Influence and Contributions of Native Agriculture in the South Atlantic Section, 3. Native Agriculture in the Lower Mississippi Valley, 6. Early Agriculture of Spanish Florida, 9.

INFLUENCE AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF NATIVE AGRICULTURE IN THE SOUTH ATLANTIC SECTION

It is probable that there was no significant agricultural product contributed to American agriculture by the natives of Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas which had not previously become more or less known to Europeans through the early Spanish, French, and English explorers and the long established Spanish settlements in the West Indies, Mexico, and Florida.¹ It is of no little significance, however, that the early settlements of Anglo-Saxons in the South were located in regions of relatively high native culture, involving particularly the cultivation and use of three of the most important crops contributed to civilization by native agriculture; corn, tobacco, and sweet potatoes.²

The economic importance of maize under New World conditions is attested by its widespread use as the principal bread grain of the natives from Canada to Brazil and throughout the West Indies. Practically all explorers from Columbus to Gilbert, Grenville, and Captain John Smith found the plant extensively grown. It was utilized in various ways by the natives, and most of these methods of use were adopted by the early pioneers.³

Other than maize no important native grain or forage crops were adopted into colonial agriculture. Various explorers reported "Corne like Rye, Oates, and Myllet."⁴ These were probably all wild plants more or less resembling oats or rye in appearance. The so-called "millet" may have been maize. According to Wissler, the southeastern Indians raised "a Kind of millet,"⁵ but Swanton thinks the word "myl" was used by early explorers for one of the methods of preparing maize.⁶ Wild rye, called "Mattoume" by the Virginia Indians, was a prevalent grass along the North Atlantic coast, and its seed was employed by the natives to make bread.⁷ Wild rice may have been employed by the natives

¹ Cf. the discussion of the origin and introduction of important agricultural plants in Carrier's *Beginnings of Agriculture*. For a detailed account of Indian economy in Virginia, see Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, Chap. III.

² Cf. Wissler, *American Indian*, 12, 15; Swanton, *Southern Contacts of the Indians North of the Gulf of Mexico*, 53.

³ Martyr, *History of the West Indies* (Hakluyt, Selection of Curious, Rare. . . Voyages, Supplement), 381. See also letter of Master Ralph Lane to Richard Hakluyt, 1585, in Hakluyt, *Early Voyages*, III, 311.

⁴ Hakluyt, "Names of Certain Commodities Growing in Part of America. . . from Florida Northward. . .," in *Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society*, VII, 140; Laudonnière, *Four Voyages* (Hakluyt, *Early Voyages*, III), 370, 382, 387, 413; Perkins, *Narrative of Le Moyne*, 2, 12; Illus. App., pp. 3-4; cf. Lescarbot, *History of New France*, I, 75, 103; Connor, *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, 175, 227.

⁵ *Material Cultures of the North American Indians* (*Anthropology in North America*), 91.

⁶ *Early History of the Creek Indians*, 42.

⁷ Smith, Capt. J., *Works*, 58.

of South Carolina and Virginia, as in the Mississippi valley and upper Great Lakes region.⁸ Some of the tribes along the Florida coast had no bread grain, but subsisted entirely by hunting and fishing, supplemented by palm berries, wild fruits, and bread made from various roots.⁹

Of the root crops, sweet potatoes were in common use in the West Indies when the Spaniards discovered these islands.¹⁰ We have no account of their employment by the Virginia Indians at the time Jamestown was settled, but they were cultivated by the Indians of northern Florida and eastern South Carolina.¹¹ Irish potatoes, probably native to Peru, had been introduced to Europe in the latter part of the sixteenth century, but had not come into general use.¹² Various roots used by the Indians were sometimes called potatoes in the crude botanical identifications of explorers and settlers, such as Wampee or Tuckahoe, Koonti, and certain other plants [*Sagittaria*].¹³ Peanuts, probably originally from Brazil, were early introduced to Europe, and soon came to be extensively grown in Africa, whence it is probable they were introduced into the Colonies by slave ships.¹⁴ Groundnuts were found growing in Virginia by the English colonists.¹⁵ They are also listed in the account of Gosnold's expedition in 1602.¹⁶ The Virginia colonists found growing large tracts of wild onions, which they ate with avidity, though the Indians would have none of them.¹⁷

Most of the Indian tribes grew legumes, variously called by the explorers beans, peas, garvances, and fagioli,¹⁸ but varieties of these vegetables had been long known to the Old World. In the accounts and descriptions of the early explorers and colonists the terms beans and peas are sometimes used interchangeably. "Several critical studies of all available evidence in regard to origin of these plants have been made from which may be safely concluded that all of the many varieties of kidney beans, lima beans, scarlet runner beans, and tepary beans are of American origin."¹⁹

The southeastern Indians grew various plants of the cucurbit family, such as squashes, cucumbers, melons, and gourds. Squashes, field pumpkins, water-melons, and possibly muskmelons, were generally grown by the Indians.

⁸ Carr, *Food of Certain American Indians*, 16; cf. Jenks, *Wild Rice Gatherers of the Upper Lakes* (U. S., Bur. of Amer. Ethnology, *Nineteenth Annual Report*, Pt. II); Stickney, "Indian Use of Wild Rice," in *American Anthropologist*, IX, 115-122.

⁹ Verrazzano, *Relation*, and Laudonnière, *Four Voyages* (both in Hakluyt, *Early Voyages*, III), 363, and 406; Ternaux-Compans, *Recueil de Pièces sur la Floride*, 10, 14, 21; Perkins, *Narrative of Le Moyne*, 11.

¹⁰ Martyr, *History of the West Indies* (Hakluyt, *Selection of Curious, Rare. . . Voyages*, Supplement), 458.

¹¹ Wissler, *American Indian*, 13; Carrier, *Beginnings of Agriculture*, 61.

¹² *Ibid.*, 84.

¹³ Carr, *Food of Certain American Indians*, 16; Carrier, *Beginnings of Agriculture*, 32-34. See Safford, "The Potato of Romance and of Reality," in *Journal of Heredity*, XVI, 113-230.

¹⁴ Carrier, *Beginnings of Agriculture*, 79.

¹⁵ *Description of the Now-Discovered River and Country of Virginia* (Archaeologia Americana, IV), 61.

¹⁶ Josselyn, *New England's Rarities Discovered* (Archaeologia Americana, IV), 121 n.

¹⁷ Strachey, *Historie of Travaile*, 122.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 117; Laudonnière, *Four Voyages* (Hakluyt, *Early Voyages*, III), 371; Perkins, *Narrative of Le Moyne*, illus. App., p. 3; Purchas *His Pilgrimes*, IV, 1667, 1686; Harriot, *Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, 14.

¹⁹ Carrier, *Beginnings of Agriculture*, 49.

Tomatoes, Jerusalem artichokes, garden peppers, and sunflowers were among the less important contributions of the New World to agriculture.²⁰

Explorers and colonists wrote in glowing terms of the wild fruits, especially the wild grapes of unusual size which excited extravagant hopes of the development of wine industries. They found raspberries, blackberries, whortleberries, gooseberries, cranberries, huckleberries, strawberries "four times bigger and better than ours in England," wild plums, cherries, crab apples, persimmons, sassafras, and white and red mulberries which aroused wild hopes for the development of silk culture. In native cookery extensive use was made of numerous varieties of nuts, such as pecans, walnuts, butternuts, hazelnuts, hickory nuts, chinkapins, and chestnuts.²¹ Few of these products were domesticated by the colonists, although in later years some of these native varieties were employed by plant breeders to improve the domestic varieties originally imported from Europe. Peaches and figs were found growing and extensively employed by the natives along the South Carolina-Georgia coast before they had had much contact with the English.²² It is probable that the prevalence of these exotic plants reflects the influence of the early Spanish missions along the coast.²³ Maple sugar was widely employed by the North Atlantic tribes. The practice did not extend far into the South, if at all;²⁴ but it later became an important aspect of the economy of the pioneers of the southern back country.²⁵

Various fibrous plants were employed by the Indians in the manufacture of textiles and basketry; some of these plants were called by the early explorers wild flax, hemp, and silk grass.²⁶ None of these influenced to any extent the agriculture of the whites, although for several years the Jamestown colonists cherished great hopes of the commercial utilization of silk grass.²⁷ Cotton was found by Coronado growing in the extreme southwest,²⁸ and it was in general use among the West Indian and Mexican natives. It was also reported by De Soto and Cabeza de Vaca as in use among tribes west of the Mississippi, but very likely these were the southwestern natives.²⁹ Probably it was not employed

²⁰ Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians*, 63; Carrier, *Beginnings of Agriculture*, 41, 64-78; Purchas *His Pilgrimes*, IV, 1655; Harriot, *Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, 14-17; Hakluyt, *Early Voyages*, III, 304; Strachey, *Historie of Travaile*, 119; *True and Last Discoverie of Florida made by Ribault* (Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, VII), 102.

²¹ Purchas *His Pilgrimes*, IV, 1655, 1660; Verrazzano, *Relation*, and Laudonnière, *Four Voyages* (both in Hakluyt, *Early Voyages*, III), 360, 362, and 372; Perkins, *Narrative of Le Moyne*, Illus. App., 1, 2; Harriot, *Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, 18; Hamor, *True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia*, 22; Strachey, *Historie of Travaile*, 60, 72, 117-120, 129; Smith, Capt. J., *Works* 56-58; Percy, *Discourse* (*ibid.*), pp. lxiii, lxx; *Description of the Now-Discovered River and Country of Virginia* (Archaeologia Americana, IV), 61; Ternaux-Compans, *Recueil de Pièces sur la Floride*, 70, 163; Carrier, *Beginnings of Agriculture*, 30-32, 41.

²² Hilton, *Relation of a Discovery*, and Sandford, *Relation of a Voyage to South Carolina* (both in Salley, *Narratives*), 44, and 100.

²³ Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians*, 75. See below, p. 9.

²⁴ Wissler, *American Indian*, 13.

²⁵ See below, p. 24.

²⁶ Hakluyt, *Early Voyages*, III, 311; Verrazzano, *Relation* (*ibid.*), 360; Harriot, *Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, 7; Strachey, *Historie of Travaile*, 61; Archer, *Discovery of Our River* (Works of Capt. John Smith), p. xliii.

²⁷ See Chap. VIII.

²⁸ Hakluyt, *Early Voyages*, III, 439, 441, 455, 469.

²⁹ Soto, *Narrative of the Expedition into Florida* (French, Hist. Collections, II), 200.

by the tribes within the limits of the South before it was introduced by Europeans.

Tobacco, indigenous to the Western Hemisphere and employed by most of the Indian tribes, was destined to become the principal object of attention in the agriculture of Virginia and Maryland.

Turkeys appear to have been the only important form of domestic livestock derived from native agriculture,³⁰ although various other kinds of wild fowl were more or less domesticated by the natives. The French, in their early settlement at Port Royal, observed that the Indians had turkeys or peacocks.³¹

NATIVE AGRICULTURE IN THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

The French found among certain tribes in the valley of the Mississippi a system of native agriculture which in some respects was more advanced than among the natives along the South Atlantic coast, although the principal native crops were the same in both regions. Everywhere, of course, maize was the important cereal crop and bread grain. It was the principal source of food for De Soto's expedition and for the various French explorers and traders.³² Along the lower Mississippi two crops could be grown in a season and in the rich alluvial lands French explorers found corn stalks fifteen to twenty feet tall.³³ Wild rice appears to have been abundant in marshy spots. It was harvested by the natives by the simple method of shaking it into their canoes as they passed along.³⁴ Apparently most, if not all, of the tribes grew pumpkins and squashes, and practically all seem to have grown beans. In the narrative of De Soto's expedition they are frequently called French beans, while some of the French travellers spoke of Apalachee beans, which were possibly similar in character to cowpeas.³⁵ The country abounded with wild hemp (*acnida cannobina*) and wild flax (*linum Virginianum*). De Soto's people had calked their boats with "an herb like hemp, which there is named. . . enequen. And. . . with the flax of the country."³⁶ In some places it grew to a height of eight to ten feet, and "in many places the country is covered with it."³⁷ Among some of the more advanced tribes cloth was woven from such materials.³⁸ The growth and use of tobacco were generally practiced among the native tribes of the valley.

The lower Mississippi valley abounded in fruits, of which the Indians made considerable use. Persimmons, which the French called *plaquemines*, were very abundant, and the natives made a sort of bread or cake out of the dried fruit.

³⁰ Strachey, *Historie of Travaile*, 72, 125.

³¹ Perkins, *Narrative of Le Moyne*, Illus. App., p. 2.

³² Soto, *Narrative of the Expedition into Florida* (French, Hist. Collections, II), 133, 137, 152, 178, 185.

³³ Rémonville, *Memoir* (French, Hist. Collections, new series), 2; Cavelier, *Account of La Salle's Voyage*, letter of Thaumur de la Source, and Gravier, J., *Journal* (all in Shea, *Early Voyages*), respectively 27, 81, and 132, 142, 145; cf. Bunner, *History of Louisiana*, 52.

³⁴ Coxe, D., *Description of Carolana*, 73.

³⁵ Soto, *Narrative of the Expedition into Florida* (French, Hist. Collections, II), 133, 136, 152, 161, 178, 185; Cavelier, *Account of La Salle's Voyage*, and Gravier, J., *Journal* (both in Shea, *Early Voyages*), 27-28, and 145.

³⁶ Soto, *Narrative of the Expedition into Florida* (French, Hist. Collections, II), 203.

³⁷ Rémonville, *Memoir* (French, Hist. Collections, new series), 3.

³⁸ Pénicaut, *Annals of Louisiana* (French, Hist. Collections, new series), 89.

There was also a fruit which the French called *Acimine*, probably the papaw.³⁹ Kalm classified this as *annono muricata*.⁴⁰ There were a number of varieties of grapes, which were very abundant. The Indian tribes generally raised quantities of watermelons. Mulberries formed a considerable element in native food supply. Wild plums, pomegranates, wild cherries, walnuts, hickory nuts, pecans, chestnuts, and hazelnuts were employed in various forms for food. Apple trees, pear trees, and peach trees were reported by some of the French explorers before the establishment of the first Biloxi settlement. As on the Carolina coast, peaches were grown by the Indians in large quantities and were regularly preserved by drying and pressing into cakes.⁴¹

One of the most striking differences between the native agriculture of the lower Mississippi region and that of the South Atlantic coast was the extent to which domestic livestock were employed in the former region, probably originally obtained from early Spanish and possibly English explorers, and from Spanish settlements in New Mexico and Texas. Horses particularly were numerous among the tribes west of the Mississippi, especially those along the Red river and in its general vicinity. Some of the horses noticed by Tonti near Natchitoches were still marked with Spanish brands, and individual animals were of such quality as to excite the admiration of the French.⁴² After the French had established settlements in the valley a more or less regular trade for horses developed with these Indian tribes.⁴³ According to Daniel Coxe, whose information was at second hand, horses were so cheap that the French could purchase one in exchange for a hatchet.⁴⁴ In the early part of the eighteenth century there were numerous horses among the Chickasaws and Choctaws.⁴⁵

Some of the tribes of the lower Mississippi had considerable numbers of domesticated fowls. In one of the Indian villages La Salle was presented with "many hens." These may have been wild fowls, as earlier references are made to numerous "wild hens."⁴⁶ In 1681 the members of La Salle's expedition saw among the Arkansas Indians "great quantities of domestic fowls, flocks of turkeys, tame bustards, etc."⁴⁷ Father Gravier, who travelled along the Mississippi in 1700, reported, "There are few villages in France where there are more cocks and hens than in that of the Houmas." They were kept, however, for religious rites.⁴⁸ The year before Indians near Bayou Goula had supplied the French with chickens.

³⁹ Charlevoix, *Voyage to North America*, II, 167.

⁴⁰ *Travels*, III, 296 & n.

⁴¹ La Salle, *Memoir*, and Joutel, *Historical Journal* (both in French, Hist. Collections, I), 40, and 174, 176; Membre, *Narrative of La Salle's Voyage* (French, Hist. Collections, IV), 169; Rémonville, *Memoir*, and Pénicaut, *Annals of Louisiana* (both in French, Hist. Collections, new series), 2, and 48; Soto, *Narrative of the Expedition into Florida* (French, Hist. Collections, II), 147, 154; Gravier, J., *Journal* (Shea, *Early Voyages*), 127, 129, 132, 135; Beer, W., "Early Census Tables of Louisiana," in La. Hist. Soc., *Publications*, V, 84, 87; Charlevoix, *Voyage to North America*, II, 167.

⁴² Tonti, *Memoir*, and Joutel, *Historical Journal* (both in French, Hist. Collections, I), 73-74, 77, and 128, 147, 153, 159, 163, 165; Rémonville, *Memoir* (French, Hist. Collections, new series), 2.

⁴³ Charlevoix, *Voyage to North America*, II, 211; Pittman, *European Settlements on the Mississippi*, 40.

⁴⁴ *Description of Carolana*, 77.

⁴⁵ Swanton, *Early Account of the Choctaw Indians*, 70.

⁴⁶ Soto, *Narrative of the Expedition into Florida* (French, Hist. Collections, II), 144, 146.

⁴⁷ Membre, *Narrative of La Salle's Voyage* (French, Hist. Collections, IV), 169.

⁴⁸ *Journal* (Shea, *Early Voyages*), 146.

The original stock were obtained from tribes living west of the Mississippi, who, in turn, had gotten them from a European ship wrecked on the coast about four years earlier.⁴⁹

De Soto carried a considerable number of swine with him on his expedition. These increased to many hundred head, and some of them were left among the Indians.⁵⁰ Coronado left cattle and sheep among the natives of the Southwest.⁵¹ When La Salle's expedition was proceeding along the Gulf coast in 1684, some Indians came aboard one of the vessels, and seeing at one end of the ship "some sheep, swine, hens, and turkeys, and the hide of a cow we had killed, they made signs that they had all of those sorts of creatures among them." As to the sheep, they may have been identified by the natives with the numerous wild goats found by the French along the shore.⁵² It is probable that the cowhide was sufficiently similar to a buffalo robe or a deerskin to explain the observation. The statement with regard to swine, however, suggests their presence among the natives. Some weight may also be given to the statement by La Salle himself that it would not be necessary for the French to import from Europe horses, oxen, swine, fowls, or turkeys, "which are to be found in different parts of the country."⁵³ The keeping of swine among the natives is also suggested by Pénicaut's incidental remark, apparently based on observations made in 1704, that the great chief of the Natchez usually ordered a feast when "in want of provisions such as flour, bacon, beans."⁵⁴

In the early French accounts of the explorations there are numerous reports of great herds of wild cattle, wild oxen, cows, or calves, found in various parts of the Mississippi valley. It is barely possible that certain tribes may have had cattle obtained from Spanish settlements in the Southwest, as was the case with horses, but it is more than probable the so-called cattle were buffalo. Frequently the accompanying description clearly indicates this.⁵⁵ The buffalo was found as far east as East Florida, where they supplied many of the wants of the natives.⁵⁶ They were also in Georgia at the time of its first settlement by the English,⁵⁷ and were numerous in the back country of South Carolina.⁵⁸ There appear not to have been many buffalo in eastern Virginia and Maryland, judging from the lack of mention of them in the early accounts. Wissler expresses the opinion that bison were found as far east as the Alleghenies,⁵⁹ but there is evidence that they strayed into Piedmont Virginia. In his expedition up the Rappahannock in 1613 Argall reported that after reaching the "head" of the river, about sixty-five leagues from the sea, and proceeding inland some distance, he found

⁴⁹ La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 9.

⁵⁰ Hernandez de Biedma, *Journal of De Soto's Expedition*, and Soto, *Narrative of the Expedition into Florida* (both in French, Hist. Collections, II), 104, and 142, 192.

⁵¹ Hakluyt, *Early Voyages*, III, 447.

⁵² Joutel, *Historical Journal* (French, Hist. Collections, I), 97, 99, 112.

⁵³ *Memoir* (French, Hist. Collections, I), 40.

⁵⁴ *Annals of Louisiana* (French, Hist. Collections, new series), 91.

⁵⁵ For instances, see Joutel, *Historical Journal* (French, Hist. Collections, I), 116, 121, 140, 130-182 *passim*; Le Moyne d'Iberville, *Historical Journal* (French, Hist. Collections, 2 series), 61 & n.

⁵⁶ Ingram, *Land Travels* (Weston, Documents), 14; cf. Stork, *Account of East Florida*, 49.

⁵⁷ Martyn, *Impartial Inquiry* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 183.

⁵⁸ Logan, J. H., *Upper South Carolina*, 16-21.

⁵⁹ *American Indian*, 14.

"great store of Cattle as big as Kine."⁶⁰ Along the lower Mississippi buffalo skins were used as blankets and articles of clothing. Some of the tribes spun the wool, although they may have learned the art from the French. One of the early economic objectives of the French was the development of a trade in buffalo wool, and to this end it was proposed that the Indians be employed to domesticate the buffalo in large numbers.⁶¹ The horns were manufactured into powder horns, spoons, and other useful articles. The flesh was an important article of food, eaten fresh or dried.⁶²

EARLY AGRICULTURE OF SPANISH FLORIDA

The Spanish settlements in Florida, their numerous missions along the Georgia and Carolina coasts, their missions in the "Appalachee" district of West Florida, and their fort among the Upper Creeks in western Georgia, probably exerted a considerable influence on native agriculture in the Southeast before the English came in contact with it.⁶³ A similar influence may have resulted from French contact with the Indians along the same coast. In spite of the disastrous results of their attempts at colonization under Ribault and Laudonnière, French corsairs continued to visit the coast of South Carolina and Georgia for the purpose of obtaining chinaroot and sassafras.⁶⁴ It is not impossible that some of the products and methods which the Indians in the vicinity of Chesapeake Bay were employing at the time of the early English explorations and colonization projects had been introduced among them by the Spaniards. As early as 1526 the Spaniards established, and maintained for about a year, a settlement called St. Miguel de Guandape, not far from the spot where the English later established Jamestown.⁶⁵ The Spaniards again visited the Chesapeake Bay region in 1559-1560. In 1570 a Spanish mission was established in the region, where it continued for a year.⁶⁶ The Spaniards may have been in the same region again in 1588.⁶⁷

The Spaniards settled Florida more than four decades before the English obtained a foothold at Jamestown, and continued in Florida for nearly two centuries before it was brought under British control. During this long period, however, the development of Florida agriculture was so insignificant and exerted so small an influence on the agriculture of the other Colonies that a brief sketch will suffice for the present study.⁶⁸ In fact, the occupation of Florida by Spain was not undertaken for the essential purpose of establishing an agricultural colony. It was but an incident in the intense rivalry among Spain, England, and France,

⁶⁰ Argall to Hawes, in Brown, A., *Genesis*, II, 642.

⁶¹ Rémonville, *Memoir* (French, Hist. Collections, new series), 14.

⁶² Bossu, *Travels through Louisiana*, I, 233, 355.

⁶³ See below, p. 108.

⁶⁴ Ross, "French on the Savannah," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, VIII, 173.

⁶⁵ Shea, *Ancient Florida* (Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, II), 240.

⁶⁶ Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, 458-461.

⁶⁷ Juan Menéndez Márquez to the King, Jan. 5, 1608, in Brooks, A. M., *Old St. Augustine*, 79.

⁶⁸ Concerning the influence of Spanish agriculture on the agriculture of the two Americas, see Robertson, J. A., "Some Notes on the Transfer by Spain of Plants and Animals to Its Colonies Overseas," in *James Sprunt Historical Studies*, XIX, 7-21; Whitaker, "Spanish Contribution to American Agriculture," in *Agricultural History*, III, 1-14; Priestley, *Coming of the White Man*, Chaps. I-VII.

and was undertaken largely because of the strategic importance of the peninsula.⁶⁹

Although various exploring expeditions and the three years' occupancy of the west coast by the expedition of Tristan de Luna y Arellano in 1559 had made the Spaniards familiar with the geography and general character of the Florida coast, the Spanish crown reached the mature conclusion as late as 1561 that settlement on the Florida coast was not justified.⁷⁰ At this juncture, however, the attention of the crown was drawn to the colonizing activities of the French Huguenots. The transitory settlement of Ribault's colony at Fort Caroline in 1562 was followed by Laudonnière's expedition, which established a colony near the mouth of the St. Johns river. Both of these expeditions were motivated largely by the desire for precious metals, and comprised but few farmers. The settlers failed to engage in the cultivation of the soil, relying on the natives for food.⁷¹ The Spaniards protested strongly against these encroachments and proceeded to organize an expedition for the ejection of the intruders⁷² and permanent occupancy of the Florida coast.

The characteristics of this early colonization project are of interest. The expedition, under the command of the able and experienced admiral, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, was a private venture financed by the leader and his associates, but proceeding under the authority and instructions of the Spanish crown and aided to some extent by royal subsidies.⁷³ The admiral agreed to repay the advances of the King out of the profits of the enterprise. He was given a personal grant of land twenty-five leagues square, with the title of Marquis attached. He was granted certain privileges of private trade with the West Indies, the plunder captured from pirates during a period of five years, the profits from two fisheries, and a salary of 2,000 ducats to be derived from the rents and profits of the colony. He was authorized to take with him 500 colonists, of whom 200 were to be soldiers and sailors, and the remainder artisans, laborers, and farmers. The colonists were under indenture to Avilés, who was also authorized to carry thither 500 Negro slaves for the purpose of producing and manufacturing sugar.⁷⁴ Thus, the enterprise was a curious mixture of the developing capitalism and the decaying feudalism of the period, a mixture that is reflected in other colonial enterprises in the course of the following century, but with the increasing importance of the capitalistic elements.⁷⁵

How the energetic and courageous but fanatical Avilés established the town of St. Augustine and annihilated the scattered French forces are matters with which we need not here concern ourselves. It is sufficient to notice briefly the economic fortunes of the Spanish Colony in the period before the English settled at Jamestown.

⁶⁹ Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, 5-14; Shea, *Ancient Florida* (Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, II), 254-256.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 232-260; Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, 49.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 41, 80, 85-92; Laudonnière, *Four Voyages* (Hakluyt, *Early Voyages*, III), 416.

⁷² Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, Chap. VI.

⁷³ Connor, *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, 70-80.

⁷⁴ Copy of the King's Agreement and Contract with Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, in Connor, *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, App., pp. 259-270; cf. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, 142-145.

⁷⁵ See Chaps. XIV, XV.

During the years 1565 and 1566 garrisons were established and several forts built along the coast, and five block houses were constructed to protect missions and trading stations.⁷⁶ In 1566 the population was increased by 1,500 people brought by Arciniega.⁷⁷ The settlers were soon seething with discontent by reason of disillusionment and scarcity of food supplies, and the numbers were reduced so rapidly by death, desertion, and return to Spain or the West Indies that by 1570 Las Alas reported that but 150 remained in the country, divided among three forts, and all remained against their will.⁷⁸

For years the Colony was maintained on food supplies obtained from Cuba by the unwearied efforts of its founder, but in spite of this there were periods when the half-starved colonists were compelled to subsist on "palmetto berries," fish, and other supplies precariously obtained from the natives.⁷⁹ Little was done in the way of agricultural development, for the Spaniards were occupied in exploration, building fortifications, and warfare with the Indians or attempts to convert them. The farmers who remained were few in number and discouraged. The forts occupied were located on inhospitable soil, consisting of sand barrens intermingled with swamps. At times troubles with the Indians compelled them to abandon their fields and remain within the fortifications. In 1570 Las Alas and his companions reported to the King that there remained in the Colony, in addition to the soldiery, but twenty-one married men. They had found that vegetables would not grow because the land was too poor. Their cattle were devoured by mosquitoes or killed by the Indians, and there remained but ten or twelve cows and fifteen or sixteen mares. Even fishing was precarious because of hostility of the natives. The Colony had a scant supply of provisions, but it would be necessary to bring more from Cuba.⁸⁰ Six years later a petition to leave the Colony was forwarded to the Spanish Government from a number of discontented farmers at Santa Elena. At the official investigation a number of witnesses testified that the government had promised each settler twelve cows, a bull, and an allotment of good soil. These promises, it was alleged, had not been fulfilled. The settlers had been kept on an island one league long and half a league wide, the larger part of which was overflowed by spring tides. The land was very light and sandy. They had planted wheat and barley by means of the hoe, as well as beans and chick-peas; but the small grain headed badly, and there was nothing to it but husk. They had succeeded in raising some maize, pumpkins, and watermelons, but the production of even these crops was seriously handicapped by the heavy rains which fell at planting time and during harvest. They had no mill for grinding their maize, but had to beat it Indian fashion with heavy wooden pestles. A few goats, cows, and swine had been brought to the island by the settlers, and Avilés had supplied them with swine with the understanding that none were to be killed for a period of ten years, after which period half of the increase was to be repaid him. The goats and hogs had soon died, the settlers had been compelled to kill many of their cattle for food, many others had perished,

⁷⁶ Connor, *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, 104, 173-177, 242.

⁷⁷ Bolton, *Arredondo's Historical Proof of Spain's Title to Georgia*, 135.

⁷⁸ Connor, *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida*, I, 295-321.

⁷⁹ *Idem*, *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, 127, 176, 185, 193, 196.

⁸⁰ Investigation of the Return of Las Alas, in *idem*, *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida*, I, 295-321.

and only a few head of cattle remained, preserved at great cost by feeding them from the scanty supply of maize. The settlers, who had been prosperous farmers in Spain, now found themselves "grown useless, old, tired, and sick."⁸¹

It is possible that the colonists had exaggerated the evil conditions, for in 1577 Bartolomé Martínez, writing the King, denied that the soil at Santa Elena was barren, declaring, "I planted with my own hands grape vines, pomegranate trees, orange and fig trees; wheat, barley, onions and garlic. All the vegetables which grow in Spain were raised in that fort."⁸² Nevertheless, in the same year the desperate colonists at Santa Elena, who included practically all the farmers of the Colony, were reduced to dependence on the Indians for food, and in endeavoring to compel them to furnish supplies, precipitated hostilities which forced the temporary abandonment of the fort.⁸³ In the same year, moreover, it was reported that the people of St. Augustine were so surrounded by enemies that they were unable to cultivate their land.⁸⁴ The governor wrote in 1577, "Let not your Majesty count on the farmers, for at two hundred paces they dare not do any ploughing."⁸⁵ The Colony was confronted with a dire shortage of supplies and was anxiously awaiting help from abroad.

Two years later official reports were more cheerful. The garrison at Santa Elena had sown "much maize," of which they had harvested over a thousand *fanegas*. There were "beginning to be many of the fruits of Spain, such as figs, pomegranates, oranges, grapes in great quantity;" besides quantities of vegetables, including beans, kidney-beans, melons, pumpkins, lettuce, cardoons, onions, and garlic—"all of this in abundance." Wild mulberry trees had aroused hopes for a silk industry, and trials of sugar-cane had been made. An attempt was made to import some "horses, mares, and other cattle" from Hispaniola. Nevertheless, there were no settlers except the garrison. By 1580 the horses of the Colony had been eaten by reason of scarcity of provisions. The lack of economic freedom is shown by appeals to home authorities to permit the establishment of farms; and the official correspondence in the years 1578-1580 is filled with the problem of importing food from Cuba, Mexico, and even from Spain, including wheat, flour and bread, wine, jerked beef, vinegar, olive oil, and salt. There were complaints of the scarcity of food in Florida, and of its high price in the West Indies, and appeals for permission to import direct from the mother country.⁸⁶

There were occasional later attempts to make the Colony more nearly self-sufficing. In 1600 Villegas wrote the King that he had undertaken the planting and cultivation of many acres of land. He hoped this would be a good example for the 250 soldiers of St. Augustine, most of whom were married, and whose small pay and rations did not suffice for their support. He was encouraged by the fact that a number were following his example.⁸⁷ As a result, the inhabitants

⁸¹ Connor, *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida*, I, 147-149; cf. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, 375-377.

⁸² Connor, *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida*, I, 245.

⁸³ Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, 193-203.

⁸⁴ Connor, *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida*, I, 231.

⁸⁵ Menéndez Márquez to the King, Oct. 21, 1577, in *ibid.*, 271.

⁸⁶ Connor, *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida*, II, 11-13, 221, 225-227, 279, 317.

⁸⁷ Francisco Redondo Villegas to the King, Apr. 18, 1600, in Brooks, A. M., *Old St. Augustine*, 65.

were apparently enjoying an unwonted abundance, for another letter a few months earlier asserted, "This Garrison and territory is at present abounding in the fruits of the earth—corn and other vegetables."⁸⁸ In 1602 Governor Canzo wrote the King concerning the great possibilities for colonial development in the Province of Guale, the Spanish name for the territory of northeastern Florida and eastern Georgia and the Carolinas. He asserted, "It is of great assistance to this presidio [St. Augustine] because, besides supplying every thing needed by way of food and sustenance . . . every time that I sent to it for a number of Indians, either to work on the fortification or to cultivate and plant the fields, they have sent me or brought me all that I have requested . . . And thus a great area of land is planted and large quantity of maize and vegetables are harvested."⁸⁹

This unusual activity, however, apparently did not permanently relieve St. Augustine of its dependence on Havana for food, which continued for nearly two centuries.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Gonzalo Menéndez Canso to the King, Jan. 28, 1600, in Brooks, A. M., *Old St. Augustine*, 61.

⁸⁹ Ross, "French on the Savannah," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, VIII, 174.

⁹⁰ Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, 145. See below, pp. 104–105.

CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNINGS AND DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE IN VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND

Geographic Basis of the First Settlements in Virginia and Maryland, 14. Struggles of the Early Virginia Colonists to Achieve an Adequate Food Supply, 15. Introduction of Livestock by Early Virginia Colonists, 19. Beginnings of Tobacco Cultivation, 21. Early Virginia Experiments with Other Crops, 22. Cereal Production during the Period of the Virginia Company, 26. Early Progress in Accumulating Livestock, 28. Further Difficulties in Maintaining an Ample Food Supply, 29. Development of Conditions Suitable for the Exercise of Individual Enterprise in Early Virginia Agriculture, 30. Economic Influences Leading to the Colonization of Maryland, 32. Beginnings of Agriculture in Maryland, 35. Development of Commercial Outlets for Maryland Products, 38.

We come now to consider in some detail the circumstances under which the original nuclei of Southern agricultural development were established, circumstances extremely pregnant for the future because they influenced so largely the character of subsequent economic evolution in the South. The seventeen stirring years during which the Company controlled the destiny of the infant Colony of Virginia were a particularly significant period, during which many of the fundamental ground patterns of Southern agriculture were established. Englishmen became more or less familiar with the physical environment of the New World, the native fauna and flora, the habits of the aborigines and methods of dealing with them, and learned much concerning the ways of maintaining existence under the rude conditions and harsh environment of the wilderness. Many of the Utopian ideals of the theoretical exponents of colonization were wrecked on the jagged rocks of experience. Numerous experiments were undertaken with many kinds of agricultural products, and the limitations of the country for various crops more or less determined. Some of the costly mistakes were repeated in other Colonies or at later times; nevertheless, the store of experience gained made the pathway easier for subsequent expansion. This significant period also produced the main outlines of the plantation system, the principal characteristics of colonial land policy and tenure, the beginnings of white and Negro servitude; in short, the characteristic institutions of Southern economic society, the evolution of which will be described in subsequent chapters.

GEOGRAPHIC BASIS OF THE FIRST SETTLEMENTS IN VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND

For fully a century after the beginnings of English settlement agriculture was confined mainly to the Atlantic coastal plain, with some settlement above the fall line along the principal rivers.¹ From about the location of Norfolk northward in Virginia and Maryland the greater part of the coastal plain is generally

¹ For a summary of the soils of the Southern States in relation to agricultural requirements, see Bennett's *Soils and Agriculture of the Southern States*. This is largely followed in the brief references to the subject in the present chapter. An older treatment showing much the same soil provinces and boundaries, but with a different scientific terminology, is that of Eugene Hilgard and his associates in the *United States Census, 1880, Agriculture*, V-VI.

flat to gently rolling, and comprises three principal classes of soils, as follows: the Sassafras series of brown loams with reddish friable clay subsoils, for the most part of good fertility and well drained; the Elkton series of gray silt loams and sandy loams, commonly known as "white oak land," frequently poorly drained and handicapped by a rather impervious subsoil; and the Portsmouth series of black wet loam and sandy loam, usually underlaid at slight depths by grayish and yellowish sand, occurring generally in swampy conditions, and of little consequence for utilization in the colonial period.² The valleys of the larger rivers contain broad stretches of alluvial soil originally of high fertility.

The general locality selected for the nucleus of the first permanent English settlement was probably the best that could have been found along the South Atlantic coast, and far superior to the location of Raleigh's futile experiments. The Jamestown settlement was strategically located for trade and defense: near the entrance to Chesapeake Bay and the superb harbor of Norfolk; readily accessible to several large rivers navigable for ocean ships far into the interior and bordered by broad stretches of rich alluvial land; and adjacent to uplands of fairly smooth topography and considerable fertility, free from the disadvantages of the flatwoods district extending southward from Norfolk.³ The immediate location of the settlement of Jamestown, consisting of a large proportion of marsh and with no available land cleared for crops, was better adapted to defense than to farming.

STRUGGLES OF THE EARLY VIRGINIA COLONISTS TO ACHIEVE AN ADEQUATE FOOD SUPPLY

The first crops planted by English colonists in America were sown in the Spring of 1586 by the Raleigh settlers, probably consisting of barley, oats, and peas, but Drake took the colonists back to England just a fortnight before harvest time.⁴ In 1603 the members of Pring's expedition planted wheat, barley, oats, peas, and garden vegetables, which during the seven weeks of their stay appeared to thrive.⁵ The colonists who inaugurated the first permanent English settlement, at Jamestown, arrived in the Spring of 1607, and about June third they began to sow English grain, probably on ground from which trees had been removed for the construction of the fort.⁶ They also prepared a garden, in which they planted various fruits and vegetables, including potatoes, pumpkins, and melons, and cotton, oranges, and pineapples from the West Indies.⁷

The unfortunate experience of the first years of the Jamestown settlement is

² A few other soils of minor extent, and resembling more or less one of the above series, occur in the region.

³ See p. 921. For a full account of the soil, natural vegetation, animals, and the native manner of life at the time of the first colonization of Virginia, the reader is referred to P. A. Bruce's *Economic History of Virginia*, I, Chaps. II-III.

⁴ Hakluyt, *Early Voyages*, III, 261, 265, 318, 322; Harriot, *Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, 15.

⁵ Purchas *His Pilgrimes*, IV, 1655.

⁶ Archer, *Discovery of Our River*, and Percy, *Discourse* (both in Works of Capt. John Smith), pp. liii, and lxx. "We have sown good store of wheat." Council in Virginia to Council in England, June 22, 1607, in Brown, A., *Genesis*, I, 107.

⁷ *Description of the Now-Discovered River and Country of Virginia* (Archaeologia Americana, IV), 61.

a matter of familiar history. The lack of cleared land in the immediate vicinity of Jamestown and the insistence of the Company for a commercial return compelled the employment of a considerable proportion of the colonists in the preparation of clapboards, pitch, and pearl ashes. Few of the settlers were practical farmers. Some were gentlemen unaccustomed to hard labor, while others were adventurers seeking an easy road to wealth and unwilling to engage in systematic toil.⁸ Moreover, the earlier systems of industrial organization were not conducive to the stimulation of industry.⁹ The difficulties of the early settlers were due also to the attempts to achieve the important aims for which the Colony had been promoted. Among these aims the discovery of precious metals and of a passage to the South Sea held perhaps the front rank; but there were other interests scarcely less significant. The nascent Mercantilist philosophy stressed the importance of colonies which would supply commodities for which England was then precariously dependent on her European rivals or their colonial possessions—entailing costly interruptions, heavy commercial impositions, and a great drain on the domestic supply of the precious metals. Colonies might be made the vent for the population, then believed to be redundant. The resulting trade would contribute to the up-building of the British fleet and provide a dependable market for English manufactures.¹⁰ The commodities most desired were wine, hemp, flax, cotton, silk, dye products, rice, sugar, spices, medicinal herbs, pineapples, oranges, olives, currants, pitch, tar, turpentine, masts and other lumber, pearl and soap ashes, salt, gold, silver, copper, iron, and precious stones.¹¹ The various exploring expeditions were alert to discover the possibilities of obtaining these products or substitutes for them, and numerous attempts were made from time to time to promote or encourage their production. As in later colonies, a great deal of energy was absorbed in experiments with various kinds of plants, many of them more or less exotic.

The early years of the Colony were marked by a severe struggle to obtain a dependable supply of food. In the Fall of 1607 fish and game afforded abundant food, but the colonists were in dire straits during the winter, and by January 67 of the original 105 had perished of disease and malnutrition. In the Spring of 1608 some 50 men were employed in clearing land and planting a crop, which, however, yielded a product wholly insufficient to maintain the Colony, augmented to 200 by the arrival of the second contingent.¹² In the Fall of 1608 the colonists failed to obtain a considerable supply of food from the natives, for it had been a year of poor crops, and the energies of the colonists had been largely

⁸ Smith, Capt. J., *Works*, 108, 126, 128, 411; Archer, *Discovery of Our River* (in *ibid.*), pp. liii-lv; Bruce, P.A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 197.

⁹ See below, pp. 313-317.

¹⁰ P. A. Bruce has fully treated this subject. *Economic History of Virginia*, I, Chap. I.

¹¹ *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, IV, 1819-1821; Johnson, R., *Nova Britannia* (Force, Tracts, I, No. 6), pp. 12-22; *True Declaration of the Estate of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 1), pp. 23, 25; Strachey, *Historie of Travaile*, 115; *Description of the Now-Discovered River and Country of Virginia* (Archaeologia Americana, IV), 61.

¹² Percy, *Discourse*, Wingfield, *Discourse of Virginia*, "Postscript," Smith, Capt. J., *True Relation*, and Symonds, *Proceedings of the English Colony* (all in *Works of Capt. John Smith*), respectively pp. lxx, lxxii; lxxvi-lxxix, lxxxii, lxxxix; cxxix; 35; and 104, 119, 129, 394.

absorbed in vain explorations for precious metals and other fantastic enterprises, as well as in the manufacture of pitch, tar, glass, and soap ashes. After six weeks of trading among the Indians, Smith succeeded in obtaining 279 bushels of maize, which tided the colonists through the second winter, though provisions were very scanty.¹³

The Spring of 1609 opened auspiciously under Smith's vigorous management, and 30 or 40 acres of ground were planted to maize under the instruction of two Indian captives. Progress was made in the manufacture of pitch, tar, soap ashes, lumber, and glass. New land was cleared. The colonists found that their stock of hogs had increased to 60 and their poultry to 500. However, half their store of corn spoiled, the remainder was consumed by rats, and the food problem again became acute.¹⁴ When Captain Argall arrived in July, 1609, the colonists were in much distress, and many were quartered among the savages. Four score lived twenty miles from Jamestown and fed solely on oysters.¹⁵ The arrival of the large numbers in the Third Supply temporarily made matters worse, for a large part of the expedition's store of food had been lost in the wreck of the flagship, and there was not enough land cleared to enable the colonists to raise food for so many. Accordingly, the authorities in England were urged to send provisions for at least a year.¹⁶

When Smith sailed for England in October, 1609, there were nearly 500 persons in the Colony, for whom there was ten weeks' provision in the store and the newly gathered harvest, besides livestock; evidently a slender stock of food to maintain so many until the following summer, even if fortune had been favorable. The increasing hostility of the natives reduced to insignificance the supplies obtained from that source, and bad management and improvidence intensified the precarious situation of the Colony. As a consequence, this tiny nucleus, from which was destined to grow the American Nation with its vast agricultural resources, came so near perishing from starvation that when Gates and Somers arrived in May, 1610, they found only about sixty gaunt and haggard wretches, who were subsisting on roots, herbs, acorns, walnuts, wild fruits, and snakes, with occasionally a little fish. "Never had any people more just cause, to cast themselves at the very foot-stoole of God, and to reverence his mercie, than this distressed Colonie; for if God had not sent Sir Thomas Gates from the Bermudas, within foure daies they had almost been famished."¹⁷ The food supply of the rescuers was so scanty, however, that it was decided to abandon the Colony, and the survivors were near the mouth of the river when they were met by Delaware and brought back to Jamestown.¹⁸

Just at the time when the fortunes of the Colony were lowest, the resources

¹³ Symonds, *Proceedings of the English Colony* (Works of Capt. John Smith), 121-130, 146.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 154-157.

¹⁵ Letter of Capt. Gabriel Archer, Aug. 31, 1609, in Smith, Capt. J., *Works*, p. xcvi.

¹⁶ Letter of Capt. John Ratcliffe to the Earl of Salisbury, Oct. 4, 1609, in Smith, Capt. J., *Works*, p. xcix.

¹⁷ Smith, Capt. J., *Works*, 486, 498, 501; Symonds, *Proceedings of the English Colony* (*ibid.*), 167, 170.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 171; Somers to Salisbury, in Brown's *Genesis*, I, 401; cf. Stith, *First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia*, 117; *Brief Declaration of Virginia during the First Twelve Years* (Colonial Records of Virginia, State Senate Doc., Extra, Richmond, 1874), pp. 70-72.

of the Company were enormously expanded by reason of the tremendous enthusiasm in England for investment, and its scope and powers were enlarged by the Second Charter.¹⁹ Consequently several well equipped expeditions were sent out, arriving in quick succession; Delaware in June, 1610, Dale in May, 1611, and Sir Thomas Gates in August of that year.²⁰ For another year the colonists were largely dependent on the supplies brought in, although Delaware had ground sown to root crops and an additional area prepared for maize. When he departed in March, 1611, he left enough provisions in the storehouse to feed the 200 colonists for ten months.²¹

Although the Colony was a mere speck in the midst of a boundless domain of undeveloped resources, one of the most important causes hitherto of its instability had been lack of a sufficient area available for crops. The hostility of the natives and the comparatively small numbers of the colonists had confined them to the Jamestown peninsula, where the only crop land must be won by laboriously clearing the large trees of the bottom land. Hitherto the pacific policy toward the natives, as well as the numerical weakness of the Colony, had restrained the natural desire to seize the already cleared Indian fields, some of which were extensive.²² But it was clearly hopeless for the colonists to clear the land requisite to produce their food supply while under the necessity of building fortifications and residences, providing for defense, fulfilling the desires of the Company for exploration and prospecting for precious metals, and preparing clapboards and pearl ashes for exportation. Consequently in the Summer of 1610 Delaware determined to seize some of the Indian fields.²³ He partially fulfilled his intention by constructing Fort Henry and Fort Charles at the mouth of the James, which commanded "a great circuit of ground, containing Wood, Pasture and Marsh, with apt places for Vines, Corne and Gardens."²⁴ In the following year the vigorous Sir Thomas Dale gave this policy more extensive execution. On his arrival in May, 1611, finding little or nothing had been done toward the planting of crops under the weak administration of George Percy, Dale immediately set a large number of the colonists at work planting the cleared lands in the neighborhood of Fort Henry and Fort Charles.²⁵ After careful exploration he selected a site for a settlement at Henrico. Here he built a fortified town, and erected a pale stretching two miles across the neck of a peninsula, enclosing a plot of corn ground sufficient "to maintaine more than I suppose will come this three yeeres." In order to obtain an enclosed range for hogs, he constructed a large fortified en-

¹⁹ Letter of Zuñiga to Philip III and circular letter of the Virginia Council, both in Brown's *Genesis*, I, 243-247, and 464.

²⁰ Symonds, *Proceedings of the English Colony* (Works of Capt. John Smith), 171-172.

²¹ Delaware's Relation, in Brown's *Genesis*, I, 480, 482.

²² Strachey, *Historie of Travaile*, 60; Smith, Capt. J., *Works*, 363; Archer, *Discovery of Our River*, and Symonds, *Proceedings of the English Colony* (both in *ibid.*), pp. xliii, li, and 165. Concerning Indian clearings, see Maxwell, "The Use and Abuse of Forests by the Virginia Indians," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, XIX, 79-86.

²³ Letter from Lord Delaware to the Patentees in England, in *Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society*, VI, p. xxxii.

²⁴ Smith, Capt. J., *Works*, 503.

²⁵ Letter of Dale to the Council in England, in Brown's *Genesis*, I, 490; Hamor, *True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia*, 26.

closure on the south bank of the river. He also seized the Indian lands near the confluence of the Appomattox and James rivers, and by constructing pales from river to river, enclosed two other large tracts.²⁶

Although the Colony was compelled for some years longer to continue on the basis of fortified community groups under military organization, the enlarged available land area made possible the beginnings of a policy of individualistic land tenure and industrial organization. Initiated by Dale, the system was considerably expanded before the termination of the Company's control, and contributed mightily to increasing the energy and initiative of the colonists and the certainty of the food supply.²⁷

INTRODUCTION OF LIVESTOCK BY EARLY VIRGINIA COLONISTS

In 1585 Sir Richard Grenville purchased in Haiti goats, swine, sheep, horses, and cattle,—probably the white Spanish cattle which had greatly excited their interest,—and brought them to Roanoke Island.²⁸ If any of their descendants survived, we have no record of their being found by the Jamestown or later settlers.

The first livestock of the Jamestown settlement were brought with the first expedition, and may have been supplemented by others brought in the First or Second Supply. By the Spring of 1609 there were upwards of 60 swine in the Colony, which "during the past eighteen months" had increased from 3 sows. There were also 500 chickens, which had largely taken care of themselves "without having any meat given them." In order to provide them a protected range, the hogs were transported to an island in the river.²⁹ When Smith left the Colony, in the Fall of 1609, there were 6 mares and a horse, 500 or 600 swine, as many hens and chickens, and some goats and sheep.³⁰ When Delaware arrived in June, 1610, however, he found that during the Starving Time the colonists or the Indians had consumed all of the livestock, including their horses, except one sow. To relieve the scarcity of meat, Delaware dispatched Sir George Somers to the Bermudas to obtain some of the wild hogs which abounded there.³¹ Fortunately, Delaware had brought with him a supply of cattle, including milch cows, for in his "Relation," written some time before June 25, 1611, he reported, "The Cattell already there, are much encreased, and thrive exceedingly with the pasture of that Countrey: The kine all this last Winter, though the ground was covered most with snow, and the season sharpe, lived without other feeding than the grasse they found, with which they prospered well, and many of them ready to fall with Calve: Milke, being a great nourishment and refreshing to our people, serving also in (occasion) as well for physicke as for Food."³²

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 29–32; Smith, Capt. J., *Works*, 509–511.

²⁷ See below, Chap. XV.

²⁸ Hakluyt, *Early Voyages*, III, 309.

²⁹ Smith, Capt. J., *Works*, 471.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 486.

³¹ Letter from Lord Delaware to the Patentees in England, in *Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society*, VI, p. xxx; Crashaw's Epistle Dedicatory, in Brown's *Genesis*, II, 619.

³² Brown's *Genesis*, I, 481.

The optimism of Delaware, as well as other contemporary writers, as to the ability of cattle to thrive on the natural pasturage of the country with little or no care was probably somewhat unfounded, for Whitaker wrote in 1612 that livestock "would multiplie exceedingly if they might be provided for,"³³ and Gondomar wrote Philip III in the following year, "The cattle which they take with them from here does not produce, nor does it improve, because there is but scanty and bad grazing on the fields."³⁴ In addition to providing a protected range, Sir Thomas Dale, who brought cattle in 1611,³⁵ resolved to build a barn to house the cattle and to store some hay.³⁶ Furthermore, he issued strict orders that no domestic livestock, not even a chicken, should be killed by any member of the Colony, whether by the owner or another, without the consent of the governor, on pain of death.³⁷ These provisions proved so effective that in 1614 the Colony possessed "two hundred neate cattell, as many goates, infinite hogges in heards all over the woods, besides those to everie towne belonging in generall, and every private man, some Mares, Horses & Colts, Poultry great store, besides tame Turkeys, Peacockes and Pigeons."³⁸ The supply of cattle was probably not yet ample, for two years later there were only 144 head in the Colony. There were also but 6 horses and 216 goats and kids. Of the above classes of livestock it was remarked that they were "carefullie preserved for increase," but swine and poultry were abundant.³⁹

The rapid multiplication of livestock, and other favorable developments, contributed notably to the solution of the food problem. By 1614 the Colony appeared to be on a most substantial basis. The colonists held a large area of cleared land well fortified, and about 500 acres planted in corn. The vigorous policy of Dale had intimidated the Indians, and the marriage of Pocahontas and John Rolfe had sealed this peace. The food supply was increased by an active trade with the Indians, particularly along the Chesapeake, whence in one expedition the roving Argall brought 2,300 bushels of corn. The fisheries, organized on a more systematic basis than in earlier years, contributed largely to the Colony's food supply. Domestic livestock of all sorts had increased to large numbers; plantings of wheat, barley, and English peas and beans were very forward, besides many kinds of garden products.⁴⁰ Two years later, when Dale sailed for England, the food problem appeared to be fully solved, and both Dale and Rolfe expressed the belief that the Colony was at last secure from famine and able to proceed with activities capable of returning some profit.⁴¹ Corn was

³³ Brown's *Genesis*, II, 586.

³⁴ Letter of Oct. 5, 1613, in *ibid.*, 660.

³⁵ Followed a few months later by 100 cattle and 200 swine brought by Gates. Brown's *Genesis*, I, 474, 481; letter of Edwin Sandys to Mayor of Sandwich, Mar. 21, 1611, in *ibid.*, 462; Hamor, *True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia*, 28; Johnson, R., *New Life of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, I, No. 7), p. 11. There is some conflict in the several accounts as to the number of cattle.

³⁶ Dale to the Council, in Brown's *Genesis*, I, 492.

³⁷ Strachey, *Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 2), p. 15.

³⁸ Hamor, *True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia*, 23.

³⁹ Rolfe, *Relation* (Virginia Historical Register, I), 103, 113.

⁴⁰ Hamor, *True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia*, 16-18, 21-24, 34-36; letter of Sir Thomas Dale, in *ibid.*, 55.

⁴¹ Dale to Winwood, June 3, 1616, in Brown's *Genesis*, II, 783.

so abundant that the former dependence on the natives was reversed, and the Indians were buying from the colonists.⁴²

BEGINNINGS OF TOBACCO CULTIVATION

A good deal of fruitless effort in preceding years had been employed in trying to find merchantable commodities, and from time to time "tastes" of this and that had been sent to the English market. As late as June, 1616, Chamberlain wrote to Carleton: "I heare not of any other riches or matter of worth, but only some quantitie of Sassafras, tobacco, pitch and clapboord, things of no great value unless there were more plentie and neerer hand."⁴³ Yet, tobacco, which was among the articles mentioned as of little consequence, was destined to occupy a dominant position in the agriculture of Virginia and Maryland and to be primarily responsible for their rapid development.

Tobacco was first made known to Europeans in 1492 when Columbus and his fellow adventurers found it in cultivation and use by the Indian tribes of the West Indies. While probably carried shortly afterward to Spain, there was little interest in the use of the plant before the middle of the sixteenth century.⁴⁴ Many of the Virginia colonists, however, were doubtless acquainted with tobacco before they set foot on Virginia soil, for it had probably been brought to England in 1565 by Hawkins, was growing there as early as 1570, and began to be popular after 1585.⁴⁵ By the first years of the seventeenth century its consumption had become sufficiently extensive to lead in 1604 to the publication of King James' *Counter Blast*. By 1610 the tobacco brought to Great Britain was valued at £60,000.⁴⁶

The colonists found it in use by the Virginia natives under the name of uppowoc,⁴⁷ being employed in various religious and secular ceremonies.⁴⁸ Strachey remarked that the tobacco of the Virginia natives was not of the best kind, being poor and weak, and of a biting taste. It grew not above a yard in height, whereas the best tobacco of Trinidad grew two or three yards from the ground.⁴⁹

Sometime before the year 1612 the English had made trial in Virginia of tobacco seed imported from Trinidad.⁵⁰ However, credit for initiating the industry is given to John Rolfe, who began in 1612 to experiment with its growth. We do not know whether Rolfe obtained the seed from the Indians or employed West Indian seed, but the product was declared to be of excellent quality, equal "to west-Indie Trinidado or Cracus."⁵¹ This, however, was probably a gross exag-

⁴² Rolfe, *Relation* (Virginia Historical Register, I), 106.

⁴³ Brown's *Genesis*, II, 789.

⁴⁴ For a recent careful summary of the evidence concerning its introduction, I am indebted to an unpublished dissertation by Alfred Rive, entitled *History of the Tobacco Trade in England*, Chaps. II-III. Cf. Holmes, "Some Features of Tobacco Industry," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1919, I, 388-391.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 389; Rive, *History of the Tobacco Trade in England* (Unpublished Manuscript).

⁴⁶ *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, IV, 1276.

⁴⁷ Harriot, *Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, 16. Various spelled "opoak," "ulipoak," "apooke," etc. Brown, A., *First Republic*, 232; Strachey, *Historie of Travaile*, 121.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 55, 72, 93, 122; Percy, *Discourse* (Works of Capt. John Smith), pp. lxviii, lxxi; Brown, A., *First Republic*, 232; *Purchas His Pilgrimage*, 955.

⁴⁹ *Historie of Travaile*, 121.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁵¹ Hamor, *True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia*, 24.

generation, for two years later Rolfe himself expressed the more modest hope that "after a little more triall and expense in the curing thereof, it will compare with the best in the West Indies."⁵² Brown thinks that a sample of Rolfe's first tobacco probably was carried to England by the *Elizabeth*, which arrived in July, 1613.⁵³ In September, 1615, the *Flying Horse of Flushing* landed in England "one great roll containing 105 lbs of Middling Tobacco."⁵⁴

The success of the new commodity was soon apparent. The large returns from the earlier shipments were sufficiently satisfactory to serve as a tremendous stimulant to the industry. Before his departure, in 1616, Sir Thomas Dale had found it necessary to promulgate a regulation that each person responsible for his own maintenance must plant two acres of corn for himself and for each man servant as a condition of raising any tobacco, on pain of forfeiture of his tobacco crop. At West and Shirley Hundreds there were twenty-five men engaged solely in raising tobacco for the account of the Company.⁵⁵ When Argall returned to the Colony in May, 1617, he found at Jamestown "the market-place, and streets, and all other spare places planted with Tobacco." The crop of this year was severely injured by a great storm, but such as was harvested was sold to the newly established "magazine," the best at 3 shillings per pound and the remainder at 18 pence.⁵⁶ From this year the industry was rapidly expanded under the stimulus of the high prices, absorbing so large a part of the attention of the colonists that the authorities were compelled to impose restrictions to prevent glutting the market in England and the insufficient production of food. The crop of 1618, shipped to England the following year, amounted to 20,000 pounds, and in 1622 a crop of 60,000 pounds was sent to England. The crop of 1627 amounted to 500,000 pounds.⁵⁷

We have no satisfactory account of the methods used in the cultivation of tobacco or the sources of the seed during the first few years. There was probably considerable experimentation during this period. An English pamphlet published in 1615 commented on methods of cultivation in the Bermudas. It was declared that the Bermuda tobacco was very inferior because of failure to prune it.⁵⁸ For a time the colonists followed the practice of throwing tobacco in piles, covering it with marsh hay and allowing it to sweat. In 1619 a Mr. Lambert introduced the method of curing tobacco by hanging on lines, instead of sun curing in piles.⁵⁹

EARLY VIRGINIA EXPERIMENTS WITH OTHER CROPS

In severe contrast to the great success and rapid development of the tobacco industry were the failures of various attempts to establish other agricultural industries yielding commercial products considered more important to the essential

⁵² *Relation* (Virginia Historical Register, I), 105.

⁵³ *First Republic*, 196, 231.

⁵⁴ Brown's *Genesis*, II, 772.

⁵⁵ Rolfe, *Relation* (Virginia Historical Register, I), 108.

⁵⁶ Smith, Capt. J., *Works*, 535-536.

⁵⁷ Neill, *Virginia Company of London*, 371; Rive, "Consumption of Tobacco since 1600," in *Economic Journal, Supplement*, Jan., 1926, p. 58; Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, III, 146.

⁵⁸ Brown, A., *First Republic*, 231.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 257, 278; Bruce, P.A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 223, 253. The development of the tobacco industry after these first beginnings is traced in Chapters X-XII.

aims of English colonial policy. The Sandys-Southampton administration undertook with new vigor the task of stimulating the production of vendible commodities other than tobacco, for King James was much disturbed at the increasing importance of tobacco in the economic life of the Colony. In 1622 he caused a Frenchman in his service, Bonnell by name, to prepare a treatise on viniculture, and on the production of silk, raisins, figs, olives, lemons, pomegranates, and almonds. The Company determined to send a copy of Bonnell's book to each head of a family in Virginia, and issued peremptory orders to the governor and council to encourage the growth of commodities favored by the King.⁶⁰

Great hopes for the development of a wine industry were favored by the abundance of wild grapes, and the colonists early began experiments in wine making.⁶¹ In quality the wine from native grapes was reported equal to Alicante. Delaware urged the sending of foreign vignerons, and the Company evidently acceded to his request, for in 1611 the French were busy "preparing to plant the Vines."⁶² In 1619 the Company had shipped out French vignerons from Languedoc, who sent back optimistic accounts of the prospects of the industry.⁶³ In the same year the assembly passed an act requiring every householder to plant and maintain ten vines yearly "untill they have attained to the art and experience of dressing a Vineyard."⁶⁴ In 1621 the assembly also devoted its attention to the encouragement of silk and wine.⁶⁵ The Company offered to receive the desired commodities in payment for newly imported servants, and to allow the growers first choice of the servants.⁶⁶ In 1620 it was stated that plants of the best kinds and additional vignerons were to be obtained from France and the Rhineland.⁶⁷ For a time the outlook was very hopeful. It was reported that vineyards were established, some of them containing 10,000 plants.⁶⁸ A sample of wine was returned to England in 1622, but spoiled by long carrying, "principally by the mustie caske wherein itt was putt so that it hath been rather of scandall than credit unto us."⁶⁹ The industry was ruined by the Massacre, but enemies of the Colony alleged that the planters had ridiculed the attempts of the authorities to stimulate the wine industry. Although this was denied by the Company, there was probably truth in the assertion that "tobacco only was the business, and for ought that I could hear every man madded upon that little thought or looked for anything else."⁷⁰

The efforts to develop a silk industry, even less justified by economic conditions

⁶⁰ Brown, A., *First Republic*, 488; *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, IV, 1787.

⁶¹ Strachey, *Historie of Travaile*, 120; Zuñiga to King of Spain, Report of Francis Maguel, and Delaware's Relation, all in Brown's *Genesis*, I, respectively pp. 110, 395, and 482.

⁶² Letter to the Patentees in England, in *Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society*, VI, p. xxxii; Smith, Capt. J., *Works*, 502. Delaware wrote in his *Relation*, "There are many vines planted in divers places."

Brown's *Genesis*, I, 482.

⁶³ Brown, A., *First Republic*, 465; Virginia Company of London, *Abstract of Proceedings*, I, 67.

⁶⁴ The First Assembly in Virginia, 1619, in *Colonial Records of Virginia* (State Senate Doc., Extra, Richmond, 1874), p. 22.

⁶⁵ Brown, A., *First Republic*, 458.

⁶⁶ Virginia Company of London, *Abstract of Proceedings*, I, 92.

⁶⁷ *Declaration of the State of the Colonie and Affaires in Virginia* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 5), p. 15; Virginia Company of London, *Abstract of Proceedings*, I, 84.

⁶⁸ *Discourse of the Old Company* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, I), 159; Virginia Company of London, *Abstract of Proceedings*, II, 149.

⁶⁹ Neill, *Virginia Company of London*, 303.

⁷⁰ Virginia Company of London, *Abstract of Proceedings*, II, 172, 179.

than viniculture, were equally futile. Great expectations had been aroused by the numerous mulberry trees growing wild in Virginia and the so-called "silk worms" which abounded there,⁷¹ as well as by the wild "silk grass," in the manufacture of which a number of experiments were made.⁷² Considerable effort was being exerted at this time in England to establish silk production.⁷³ In October, 1613, the *Elizabeth* sailed from England carrying "silkworm seed" to Virginia,⁷⁴ and the following year Hamor wrote that the silkworms had hatched out by thousands and were thriving.⁷⁵ Some silk may have been made from this experiment, for Rolfe wrote, "Silkwormes some of their labors, and tasts of other good and vendible commodities were now brought home."⁷⁶ In 1621 the Company obtained "Silkworme seed" from Italy, France, and Spain, especially from Valencia, as the stock of that place were considered very hardy.⁷⁷ Provision had been made in the previous year for sending out an apprentice to instruct the colonists,⁷⁸ who sailed January, 1621, carrying with him a good supply of "silkworm seed." An additional supply was forwarded by the *Duty*.⁷⁹ The first colonial assembly, in 1619, had supplemented the efforts of the Company in England by passing an act requiring each man in the Colony to plant six mulberry trees annually for a period of seven years.⁸⁰ In March, 1622, the *George*, arriving from Virginia, brought optimistic reports of the prospects of the industry.⁸¹

The experiments with wine and silk suffered greatly in the general disorder resulting from the Massacre, but George Sandys, probably realizing their political importance, continued for a time the attempt to forward them. In April, 1623, he wrote John Ferrar that the vignerons at Elizabeth City were "employed about silkworms," and he hoped to send silk the next year. He was compelled to admit, however, that the planters of Virginia, engaged mainly in planting tobacco and erecting houses, had shown little interest in silk production.⁸² The Company sent eighty pounds of "silkworm seed" in September, 1622, with additional experts, and it was reported the next year that the cargo had arrived safely and that the industry was flourishing.⁸³ From this time, however, we hear no more of silk experiments for a number of years.

The experiments with hemp and flax ran a somewhat parallel course, although at a later period these commodities were destined to occupy a more important

⁷¹ Strachey, *Historie of Travaile*, 60, 115, 117; Percy, *Discourse* (Works of Capt. John Smith), p. lxx; New Britain, and Price's Sermon, in Brown's *Genesis*, I, 265, and 314; Johnson, R., *Nova Britannia* (Force, Tracts, I, No. 6), p. 12.

⁷² "A True and Sincere Declaration," "Instructions for such things as are to be sent from Virginia, 1610," and "Dale to Salisbury," all in Brown's *Genesis*, I, respectively pp. 349, 385, and 504; Hamor, *True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia*, 35.

⁷³ Brown's *Genesis*, I, 320; II, 1022; Bruce, P.A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 240.

⁷⁴ Brown's *Genesis*, II, 663.

⁷⁵ *True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia*, 35.

⁷⁶ *Relation* (Virginia Historical Register, I), 105.

⁷⁷ Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, I, 483, 510.

⁷⁸ *Idem*, *Abstract of Proceedings*, I, 99.

⁷⁹ Brown, A., *First Republic*, 416; Neill, *Virginia Company of London*, 241.

⁸⁰ *Colonial Records of Virginia* (State Senate Doc., Extra, Richmond, 1874), p. 21.

⁸¹ Virginia Company of London, *Abstract of Proceedings*, I, 168.

⁸² Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, p. 43; Neill, *Virginia Vetusta*, 127.

⁸³ Virginia Company of London, *Abstract of Proceedings*, II, 149.

place in colonial agriculture. In 1611 Dale brought instructions to plant a common garden and make special trial of the growing of flax and hemp. He proceeded to examine the grounds of the dispossessed "Paspahaighes," but found them unsuited to his purpose.⁸⁴ In 1616 Rolfe reported that they raised hemp and flax, "none better in England or Holland."⁸⁵ In 1619 the assembly made the raising of hemp and flax compulsory for all colonists having sufficient seed.⁸⁶ Flax was included among the commodities the raising of which was made a condition in land grants.⁸⁷ While it is probable that a little flax and hemp continued to be produced in the Colony for local use, these products were not capable of competing with tobacco during the last years of the Virginia Company, for in 1621 flax was rated in the English market at from 22 to 30 shillings per hundred pounds, and hemp at 10 to 22 shillings the hundred, while tobacco of good quality brought 3 shillings or more per pound in Virginia.⁸⁸

There was extensive experimentation with many other kinds of agricultural products. Before Strachey left the Colony, probably in the latter part of 1611 or early in 1612, trials had been made of orange trees, cotton, potatoes, and pine-apples. Most of the important garden vegetables were introduced in the early years, including turnips, radishes, onions, peas, potatoes, cabbage, cauliflower, carrots, parsnips, pumpkins, thyme, parsley, sweet marjoram, leeks, garlic, savory hyssop, lettuce, watermelons, muskmelons, endive, cucumbers, coleworts, chicory, and maycocks.⁸⁹ In 1609 the intention was mentioned to try almonds, annis seed, rice, cummin, caraway seed, ginger, madder, olives, orris, sumac, sugar-cane, and rape seed.⁹⁰ In December, 1621, the *Concord* arrived from the Bermudas bringing two chests of rare plants and seeds, including figs, pomegranates, oranges, lemons, plantains, sugar-canes, potatoes, cassava roots, papaws, red peppers, prickly pears, "and the like."⁹¹ In addition to the commodities already mentioned the colonists had planted "pocoon," madder, and woad.⁹²

It is probable that most of the ordinary English fruits were tried out during the first few years of the Colony. According to Hamor, Sir Thomas Gates had in his garden at Jamestown "many forward apple and peare trees come up of the kernels set the year before." It was proposed to graft them on the native crab apple trees.⁹³ In 1629 it was reported that some had planted apples, pears, apri-cots, vines, figs, and other fruits, which had prospered exceedingly. Although "their diligence about Tobacco left them to be spoiled by the cattell; yet now they beginne to revive." A Mistress Pearce, who had lived in the Colony nearly

⁸⁴ Dale to the Council, in Brown's *Genesis*, I, 492-493.

⁸⁵ *Relation* (Virginia Historical Register, I), 105.

⁸⁶ Proceedings, in *Colonial Records of Virginia* (State Senate Doc., Extra, Richmond, 1874), p. 22.

⁸⁷ Virginia Company of London, *Orders and Constitutions* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 6), p. 21.

⁸⁸ Williams, E., *Virginia . . . Richly and Truly Valued* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 11), p. 51. See below, p. 192.

⁸⁹ Strachey, *Historie of Travaile*, 31; Whitaker's "Good News from Virginia," in Brown's *Genesis*, II, 587; *True Declaration of the Estate of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 1), p. 13; *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, IV, 1806; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 251.

⁹⁰ Johnson, R., *Nova Britannia* (Force, Tracts, I, No. 6), p. 22.

⁹¹ Brown, A., *First Republic*, 461; *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, IV, 1786.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 1785 [Misprinted 1787].

⁹³ *True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia*, 23.

twenty years and had just returned to England, said she had a garden at Jamestown of three or four acres, where in one year she had gathered nearly a hundred bushels of excellent figs.⁹⁴

During the same period experiments were made with three crops destined to be of great importance in the later economic history of the South—cotton, indigo, and rice. We have already noted that cotton seed was planted in the first garden established at Jamestown in June, 1607. In 1622 Master Gookin planted cotton at Newport News, probably the tree cotton of the West Indies. In a year it grew to be "so thicke as ones arme, and so high as a man."⁹⁵ The next year the governor and council wrote that they had great hopes of cotton wool.⁹⁶ About the same time experiments were made with rice and indigo, although knowledge was lacking of the method of curing indigo.⁹⁷

CEREAL PRODUCTION DURING THE PERIOD OF THE VIRGINIA COMPANY

Although wheat had been planted in the first year of the Colony, it is probable that little attention was devoted to small grain before 1617. In that year Rolfe wrote Sir Edwyn Sandys that English wheat and barley were in the ground and that the "ploughes yerely worke."⁹⁸ In 1618 thirty or forty acres were broken up by means of one plow and sown, but the harvest was so long delayed that most of the grain was shattered. That which was harvested was of excellent quality.⁹⁹ In 1619 the shattered grain came up and yielded bountifully, after which Indian corn was sown on the same ground; "and so by this meanes we are to enjoye two crops in one yeare from off one and the same field."¹⁰⁰ Argall had reported in the Summer of 1617 that ground worn out with maize would "bring English Grain."¹⁰¹ In 1621 a letter from the governor and council reported "the plentiful sowing of all sorts of English graine with the Plough, having now cleared good quantitie of ground."¹⁰² In January, 1621/2, the governor and council requested the Company to send "greate store of all sortes of the best graine, as wheate, Barlie, Oates, and pease of all the best kindes, for though wee bee very desirous to falle to the sowinge of all sorts of our English graine, . . . yet are wee at this tyme very much unprovided of any good seed corne. . . . As for Barlie, oates, and the best Pease there is either none or a very small quantitie of any of them in the Countrey."¹⁰³ Defending the Colony against its detractors, who had reported that the land would yield only 16 bushels of wheat per acre, a yield that would seem to have needed no apology, Rolfe wrote that they had harvested 30 bushels.¹⁰⁴ Two years after the downfall of the Virginia Company colonists arriv-

⁹⁴ Smith, Capt. J., *Works*, 887.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 565.

⁹⁶ Virginia Company of London, *Abstract of Proceedings*, I, 168.

⁹⁷ *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, IV, 1784, 1786; Brown, A., *First Republic*, 465.

⁹⁸ *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, X, 136.

⁹⁹ Smith, Capt. J., *Works*, 538. Hamor reported also that the wheat and barley grown in the Colony were of excellent quality. *True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia*, 22; *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, IV, 1806.

¹⁰⁰ Letter of Pory to Carleton, in Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia*, 284.

¹⁰¹ *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, IV, 28.

¹⁰² *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, IV, 1785 [Misprinted 1787].

¹⁰³ Neill, *Virginia Company of London*, 275.

¹⁰⁴ Smith, Capt. J., *Works*, 541. Concerning the development of methods of producing small grain, see Chap. VII.

ing in England reported "divers [persons] have much English corne, especially Master Abraham Perce [Piersey], which prepared this yeere [1627] to sow two hundred acres of English wheat, and as much with barley; feeding daily about the number of sixtie persons at his owne charges." In 1629, however, it was reported that they "finde the *Indian* corne so much better than ours, they beginne to leave sowing it [i.e. English grain]."¹⁰⁵

In fact, by reason of its peculiar advantages under the conditions of a pioneer economy in a wooded region,¹⁰⁶ maize early became the principal bread grain of the Colony, as it was destined to be in the South as a whole. Rolfe asserted in 1619 that one man could tend 4 acres of maize, and 1,000 plants of tobacco. Including the beans and peas raised in the corn, the yield would be 30 to 40 bushels per acre; in short, one man could provide enough corn for five, besides the profit on his tobacco.¹⁰⁷ About 1635 it was estimated that the labor of one man could produce 100 bushels of corn, 20 bushels of beans and peas, and from 800 to 1,000 pounds of tobacco.¹⁰⁸ According to an estimate in 1669, the labor of one man would produce 50 barrels of maize.¹⁰⁹

It is probable that these statements represented the product of hoe cultivation, and that it was a number of years after the first settlement at Jamestown before a plow was in operation. In 1609 the Company advertised for plowwrights to go to Virginia;¹¹⁰ but if any responded their journey was temporarily fruitless, for the Starving Time swept away the horses and oxen. In 1614 Hamor wrote, "Of our yong Steeres the next winter we doubt not to have three or foure Ploughes going."¹¹¹ In 1617 Argall stated that there were about 40 bulls and oxen in the Colony, "but they wanted men to bring them to labour and Irons for the Ploughs, and harnesse for the Cattell." Some 30 or 40 acres (of wheat) had been sown with one plow. Two years later Rolfe was lamenting the lack of carpenters to make carts and plows and of "skilfull men that know how to use them, and traine up our cattell to draw them."¹¹² From this time the number of plows probably increased gradually, but because of the necessity of planting mostly in newly cleared land and the predominance of intertilled crops, the hoe was for a long period of more significance than the plow. As late as 1649 there were not more than 150 plows in Virginia.¹¹³ These early Virginia pioneers carried on their farming mainly with simple hand tools. A contemporary list of the requisite implements included broad and narrow hoes, broadaxes, felling axes, handsaws, whipsaws, shovels, spades, and various tools for carpentering.¹¹⁴

From the Indians the colonists learned the methods of planting and cultivating maize and the various ways of using it.¹¹⁵ The Indians greatly enjoyed the young corn wrapped in the leaves and boiled or roasted, and they were fond of sucking

¹⁰⁵ Smith, Capt. J., *Works*, 885, 888.

¹⁰⁶ See below, p. 161.

¹⁰⁷ Smith, Capt. J., *Works*, 541.

¹⁰⁸ *Relation of Maryland* (Sabin Reprint), 27, 55.

¹⁰⁹ Shrigley, *True Relation of Virginia and Maryland* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 7), p. 5.

¹¹⁰ "True and Sincere Declaration," in Brown's *Genesis*, I, 353.

¹¹¹ *True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia*, 23.

¹¹² Smith, Capt. J., *Works*, 538, 541.

¹¹³ *Perfect Description of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, II, No. 8), p. 14.

¹¹⁴ Smith, Capt. J., *Works*, 608.

¹¹⁵ Concerning the methods. see Chap. VI.

the sweet sap from the green stalk. Green roasting ears or dried corn were boiled in various messes or stews, consisting of meat, roots, beans and peas, squashes, mulberries, and other ingredients. The dried grain was pounded in a mortar. The finer meal was sifted out, from which round cakes called *appones* (pones) were made. These were first boiled and afterwards baked on a hot stone covered with ashes. The coarser portions of the broken kernels were boiled three or four hours, making a "thick pottage," which they called *Usketehamun* (hominy). The kernels were frequently parched and eaten whole. The early colonists also experimented in the manufacture of malt and beer from maize.¹¹⁶

EARLY PROGRESS IN ACCUMULATING LIVESTOCK

Prior to 1619 the stock of cattle in Virginia had increased but slowly, and in that year the assembly of the Colony found it necessary to pass an act forbidding the slaughter of any cattle without the governor's consent.¹¹⁷ The Sandys-Southampton administration of the Company inaugurated a vigorous policy of supplying the Colony with livestock. In November, 1619, as a part of the plan for sending out 300 tenants on the Company's account, it was proposed to supply 20 heifers for each hundred tenants.¹¹⁸ The next January the Company had contracted for two ships to transport cattle to the Colony. During the preceding year (1619) it had sent 112 head of cattle and 4 mares. Eleven new quasi public joint-stock companies were also making preparation to send out large numbers of cattle.¹¹⁹ The program of the Company for 1620 included the sending of 200 head of cattle, 400 goats from Wales, 20 mares, and 80 asses from France. The Company contracted with an agent of a Mr. Gookin, a resident of southern Ireland, to furnish and transport English cattle and she-goats. It was reported in November that the various ships sent had arrived safely, with the loss of but few cattle on the voyage.¹²⁰ The next year, the Company's funds being seriously depleted, a contract was made with Gookin to transport cattle to the Colony on a free-trade basis, and the colonists were advised to pay him in tobacco.¹²¹ In the same year the Company sent to the Colony bees, pigeons, peacocks, conies, and mastiffs.¹²²

As a result of these measures the number of cattle in the Colony in 1620 was estimated at nearly 500.¹²³ Without doubt they were greatly increased the next year, but the number must have been seriously depleted by the Massacre. The assembly wrote the Company, "We have not the safe range of the Country for increase of Cattle, Swyne, etc."¹²⁴ The inventory of the condi-

¹¹⁶ Strachey, *Historie of Travaile*, 73; Harriot, *Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, 13-15; Smith, Capt. J., *Works*, 62; Percy, *Discourse*, and Spelman, *Relation of Virginia* (both in *ibid.*), pp. lxi, and cxii. Concerning the various uses of maize among the Choctaws of the Gulf region, see Swanton, *Early Account of the Choctaw Indians*, 57.

¹¹⁷ *Colonial Records of Virginia* (State Senate Doc., Extra, Richmond, 1874), p. 26.

¹¹⁸ Virginia Company of London, *Abstract of Proceedings*, I, 23.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 37, 69.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 83, 87, 89, 96; Neill, *Virginia Company of London*, 196.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 240; Virginia Company of London, *Abstract of Proceedings*, I, 133.

¹²² Neill, *Virginia Company of London*, 270.

¹²³ *Declaration of the State of the Colonie and Affaires in Virginia* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 5), p. 5.

¹²⁴ Brown, A., *First Republic*, 576, 578.

tion of the Colony made for the special commissioners in 1625, after the dissolution of the Company, showed that the Colony contained about 500 head of cattle, 526 tame swine, 300 goats, and but 1 horse and 1 mare.¹²⁵ The vigorous measures taken to punish and subdue the Indians must have improved the conditions of livestock production, for in 1629 the number of cattle were variously estimated at from 2,000 to 5,000, besides an abundance of the smaller kinds of stock. In winter some of the colonists had hay for their cattle, "but in other places they browse upon wood [woods], and the great huskes of their corne, with some corne in them, doth keepe them well."¹²⁶

FURTHER DIFFICULTIES IN MAINTAINING AN AMPLE FOOD SUPPLY

Although by the close of Dale's administration the Colony had apparently reached a stage of comparative security in food supply, there were subsequent periods of food shortage, due largely to too great absorption in tobacco planting, bad harvests, or the necessity of providing for a sudden augmentation of population. Thus, the winter following Dale's departure Yeardley was forced to exact corn from the Indians to relieve the necessities of the Colony. In 1618, by reason of a great drouth followed by a severe storm, the Colony was again partially dependent on the natives for food. The arrival in that year of about 240 persons from England ill-provided with supplies and the necessity of provisioning the ships intensified the shortage. Learning that large numbers were preparing to immigrate to the Colony, Argall sent a vigorous protest, urging that "great miserie would insue, if they sent not provision as well as people." The food shortage was apparently not relieved until June, 1619, when the *Triall* arrived with corn and cattle.¹²⁷ The next year must have been one of bountiful harvests, for Edwin Sandys declared that the Colony was prospering so well they no longer desired any more provision of meal to be sent them. The large number of tenants who came ill-provided with food and the Massacre which occurred just before planting time resulted in such great disorganization that another severe shortage resulted in 1622, and George Sandys wrote John Ferrar in April of the next year, "If the *Seaflower* does not quickly come in they will hardly be preserved against famine."¹²⁸ Relief was sent by the Company, and "though the scarcity was great . . . none . . . perished through want."¹²⁹

The assembly of 1623 passed an act requiring each planter above eighteen years of age who had been in the Colony at least one year to contribute one bushel of grain to a granary to be erected in each parish, and providing also for a committee of three men in each parish to compel each head of a family to plant sufficient food crops for his dependents. In order to stimulate corn production, free sale of the product was provided for instead of fixed prices.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 627.

¹²⁶ Smith, Capt. J., *Works*, 885, 887.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 527-529, 536-538, 541.

¹²⁸ Letters of George Sandys to Samuel Wrote, in Neill, *Virginia Velusta*, 123, 126; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, p. 43.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 49, 51, 57; Virginia Company of London, *Abstract of Proceedings*, II, 225-228.

¹³⁰ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 125.

Although in 1626 there was again a shortage of corn¹³¹ and the Virginia General Court authorized an expedition to Chesapeake Bay to purchase from the natives,¹³² the food supply was gradually reaching a more dependable basis. By 1627 the food supply of the Colony was reported to be ample. The colonists had developed methods of fishing which supplied an abundance of fish, hitherto obtained from trade with New England. They had taught their servants to hunt for game. Hogs and poultry were abundant, and the stock of cattle had increased sufficiently to permit the slaughter of steers and bulls, but not of cows or heifers. Maize was plentiful. Beer and ale were being obtained from corn and barley.¹³³ In 1634 a traveller visiting Jamestown wrote, "This countrey aboundeth with very great plentie insomuch as in ordinary planters houses of the better sort we found tables furnished with porke, kidd, chickens, turkeyes, young geese, Caponetts, and such other foules as the season of the yeare affords, besides plentie of milk, cheese, butter and corne, w^{ch} latter almost every planter in the country hath."¹³⁴

DEVELOPMENT OF CONDITIONS SUITABLE FOR THE EXERCISE OF INDIVIDUAL ENTERPRISE IN EARLY VIRGINIA AGRICULTURE

The last eight years of the Company's rule were marked by notable changes in agricultural organization, particularly in the direction of a greater measure of individual initiative. This tendency was made possible partly by elimination of some of the restrictions on trade. Under the original plan of colonization the settlers were commanded during a period of five years to "trade together all in one stocke or deuideably, but in two or three stocks at the most, and bring not only all the fruits of their labours there, but alsoe all such other goods and commodities which shall be brought out of England, or any other place."¹³⁵ According to the Second Charter trade was to be in a common stock for seven years. It was promised, however, that at the end of that time members of the Company should enjoy freedom of trade with the Colony.¹³⁶ When the year 1616 arrived, the Company had no profits to show for its operations, and its capital was largely depleted. Therefore a subsidiary corporation was set up for the purpose of furnishing the magazine with supplies and receiving in exchange the products of the Colony.¹³⁷ As the period of communal production had reached an end and the land was to be distributed to individual adventurers and subsidiary companies, the function of the magazine was to exchange its commodities for the products of individual colonists. The monopoly of purchase was confined to tobacco and sassafras, although grossly violated by the piratical Argall.¹³⁸ Even in the early

¹³¹ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 129.

¹³² *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, IV, 27.

¹³³ Smith, Capt. J., *Works*, 885.

¹³⁴ Yong, *Extract from a Letter to Sir Toby Matthew, 1634* (Hall, *Narratives*), 60.

¹³⁵ First Charter, and "Instructions," in Brown's *Genesis*, I, 59, 71. These rates were doubled in the Second Charter. *Ibid.*, 235.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 273, 318.

¹³⁷ *Virginia Company of London, Court Book*, I, 93-95, 235-238.

¹³⁸ *Idem, Abstract of Proceedings*, II, 32.

years, however, there had been infringements of, or exceptions to, the rule of community of supply and trade.¹³⁹

The breakdown of the monopoly occurred gradually by reason of the development of the quasi public projects of colonization.¹⁴⁰ In 1618 the Company issued an order that the magazine should continue during the term formerly fixed, trading with the colonists on the basis of 25 per cent profit, but the quasi public corporations that were already established or about to be established were to be allowed to ship their products to England on their own account, "in one entyre lump and not dispersed," provided they were of their own raising and not acquired by trade. At the termination of the magazine, the established plantations must take over the goods remaining in it before purchasing from private merchants.¹⁴¹ In January, 1619/20, the Company resolved to terminate the magazine, but to dispose of all goods on hand before authorizing private merchants to trade in the Colony.¹⁴² In 1620 and 1621 individual members of the Company associated themselves in sending out a cargo of goods to be disposed of in exchange for tobacco, but these ventures proved unprofitable. In sending the magazine of 1621, the Company notified the governor and council that they could no longer take tobacco at the old rate and warned them that if the current magazine did not prove profitable the colonists would have to shift for themselves in the future.¹⁴³

After this time the number of private traders to Virginia increased considerably. In January, 1622/23, the governor and council wrote the Company that private adventurers were coming so frequently and in such numbers "as five times ye Cropp of this yeere will nott satisfie."¹⁴⁴ Bruce thinks some Dutch ships had begun trading to Virginia.¹⁴⁵ For several years, however, trade was not regular and dependable. After the Massacre members of the Company were compelled under pressure from the privy council to subscribe to a last magazine in order to provide a food supply to relieve the resulting scarcity. In 1625 Yeardley, who represented the Colony in London, urged the privy council that supplies be sent out to relieve the necessities of the planters, and accordingly, a ship was fitted out and sent to the Colony. In 1626 supplies must have been still irregular, for the governor and council wrote the privy council urging the establishment of "a constant magazine."¹⁴⁶

The removal of the restrictions on individual ownership of land and individual initiative in production and the evolution of the plantation system, which are traced in a succeeding chapter,¹⁴⁷ contributed powerfully to the exercise of a

¹³⁹ Symonds, *Proceedings of the English Colony* (Works of Capt. John Smith), 95-97, 127. See Bruce, P.A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 273; Neill, *Early Settlement of Virginia and Virginiola*, 45.

¹⁴⁰ See Chap. XV.

¹⁴¹ Proceedings of the Assembly, 1619, in *Colonial Records of Virginia* (State Senate Doc., Extra, Richmond, 1874), p. 23.

¹⁴² Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, I, 293, 303.

¹⁴³ Letters of the Company to Governor and Council, in Neill, *Virginia Company of London*, 238, 242-245, 268, 277; Virginia Company of London, *Abstract of Proceedings*, I, 124, 158.

¹⁴⁴ Neill, *Virginia Company of London*, 371.

¹⁴⁵ *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 292.

¹⁴⁶ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, pp. 75-76, 81.

¹⁴⁷ Chap. XV.

greater degree of individual initiative. These changes were gradually made possible as increasing population and the vigorous repression of Indian hostility after the Massacre relieved the Colony of the necessity of dwelling in a few fortified strongholds. This development had been delayed by the extreme mortality in the Colony, for far more persons died from "seasoning" than were slain by the Indians. No more impressive evidence could be presented of the difficulty of establishing this first colonial nucleus than Alexander Brown's estimate that out of nearly 4,600 persons who embarked for Virginia prior to the Massacre, only 1,240 remained in the Colony after that event. Only a few of the remainder had returned to England.¹⁴⁸

Immediately after the Massacre Governor Wyatt was expressing his disapproval of the great dispersion of settlement, attributable partly to the system of land grants and partly to the fact that the occupants of many tracts had either died or left the Colony. He urged closer settlement, confined within the peninsula between the James and the Pamunkey, by means of a fortified palisade between the two rivers.¹⁴⁹ Any tendency toward compact settlement, however, was but transitory. The colonists entered upon a policy of extermination of Indian tribes in the vicinity of the settlements. Removal of the Indians from the valley of James River below the falls was practically completed within the next three or four years. In 1646 the Indians formally ceded all the peninsula between the York and the James below the falls of the rivers, but this was merely a recognition of a *de facto* condition.¹⁵⁰ By 1634 the Colony numbered a little more than 5,000 persons.¹⁵¹ Henceforth the Indians might menace the frontiers, but the nucleus of settlement was firmly rooted and no longer in serious danger of extermination by Indian, Spaniard, or famine.

ECONOMIC INFLUENCES LEADING TO THE COLONIZATION OF MARYLAND

The early agricultural development of the sister Colony of Maryland was less significant than that of Virginia because many of the costly experiments had been made, the precedents established, and the project rendered vastly easier by the existence of sister Colonies in Virginia and New England, where supplies of food and livestock were obtainable. The territory bordering Chesapeake Bay and the lower Potomac, known to the Spanish explorers, visited by Verrazzano, by Ralph Lane's colonists, and by Captain Bartholomew Gilbert, was explored by Captain John Smith in two expeditions during the Summer of 1608.¹⁵² During the early years of the Virginia Colony a number of other expeditions were made to the region for the purpose of obtaining corn and furs.

Recognition of the rich possibilities of the Indian trade of Chesapeake Bay and its tributary rivers and the desire to monopolize this trade constitute the

¹⁴⁸ *First Republic*, 285, 381, 464.

¹⁴⁹ Letter of Francis Wyatt, and Wyatt, *Documents, 1621-1626* (both in William and Mary Quarterly, 2 series), VI, 120, and VIII, 163-167.

¹⁵⁰ Neill, *Virginia Company of London*, 364; Brown, A., *First Republic*, 627; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 296; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 324.

¹⁵¹ *Colonial Records of Virginia* (State Senate Doc., Extra, Richmond, 1874), p. 91.

¹⁵² Scharf, *History of Maryland*, I, 5-23.

keynote of the early economic history of the region. Just after the Massacre Governor Wyatt authorized a number of expeditions up the Bay to trade for corn, which was to be secured peaceably if possible, but otherwise, by force. In some instances trading for furs was included in the authorizations. During the next four years authorizations mention the aim of the authorities to regularize the trade, for indiscriminate trading by individuals was impairing the relations with the tribes, injuring the prospects of trade by cheapening the value of English goods in native eyes, and causing the colonists to depend unduly on trade rather than on production for the supply of corn.¹⁵³ In 1627 Henry Fleet, who had dwelt for several years a captive among the Anacostan Indians near the present site of Washington, returned to England, where he spread abroad exaggerated accounts concerning the richness of the region. He interested an English fur trading firm, William Claberry and Company, in financing trading expeditions in which Fleet's knowledge of the country and of the native language was to be turned to good account. Fleet appears to have made at least one voyage to the Chesapeake for his employer, establishing trading connections with the Indians and arranging for them to accumulate a supply of furs. In 1631 he returned in the employ of another English firm, obtained a cargo of corn, which he carried to New England, and then returned to the Chesapeake. In 1632 he stopped for several days in the Accomac settlements with William Claiborne, one-time secretary of the Colony of Virginia, and then proceeded "with the company of Captain Claybourne, being in a small vessel" to the Potomac. For some time Claiborne and his associates had been engaged in the establishment of trading posts in the region of Chesapeake Bay, and the two men were probably already jealous rivals for the trade of the region, for Claiborne and others from Accomac had made representations to the governor of Virginia against Fleet. The latter also found that a pin-nace under one Charles Harmon had preceded him by a few days and by alleging Fleet's death had induced the Indians along the lower Potomac to part with a considerable proportion of their accumulated store of beaver furs. Thereupon, Fleet sailed up the river to Great Falls and entered into negotiations with tribes above the falls, who had been accustomed to sell their furs to French traders from Canada. Fleet obtained a good supply of beaver and prospects for permanently diverting the trade from the French by way of the upper Potomac. Returning down the river, he was arrested by Captain John Utie, who had been sent at Claiborne's request by Governor Harvey, of Virginia. But on reaching Jamestown Fleet appears to have aroused the governor's cupidity by promising him participation in his trading enterprise, whereupon Harvey became his firm ally, and an opponent of Claiborne and his associates.¹⁵⁴

Claiborne had begun his trading activity in the region as early as 1627, when under a commission from Yeardeley he proceeded on a trading and exploring expedition in Chesapeake Bay. In 1628 and 1629 he received similar commissions

¹⁵³ Wyatt, *Documents, 1621-1626* (William and Mary Quarterly, 2 series), VII, 42-44, 205-207, 212-214, 249, 252-254; VIII, 48.

¹⁵⁴ Fleet, *Brief Journal* (Neill, *Founders of Maryland*), 19-37; Scharf, *History of Maryland*, I, 13 n.; Neill, *Maryland in the Beginning*, 29-31; *idem*, *English Colonization*, 219-237; cf. Steiner, *Beginnings in Maryland*, 9-13.

from Governor John Pott, one of the objects being to forestall the Dutch in their attempt to divert a large part of the Indian trade.¹⁵⁵ About this time Claiborne formed a business association with the firm of William Claberry and Company, which had formerly financed Fleet, and with certain English gentlemen and prominent Virginia planters. In 1629 Claiborne established on Kent Island a plantation to serve as headquarters for trading expeditions and as a center for lumbering operations. The island afforded a secure range for cattle and hogs, and the colonists, who in 1638 numbered upwards of 120 men, besides women and children, engaged in the Indian trade and in herding stock. They also planted crops, set out orchards, and established a mill for their own support. Claiborne also acquired Edward Palmer's settlement at the head of the Bay and established there a trading post to control the trade of the Susquehanna river and to divert a part of the trade in furs from the French in Canada.¹⁵⁶

At this stage of the struggle over the fur trade there appeared a third contender in the person of George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore, who had achieved a position of considerable influence at the court of the Stuarts. Somewhat dissatisfied with his Colony of Avalon, in Newfoundland, prevented from obtaining a foothold in Virginia through the influence of Claiborne and other prominent Virginia planters, and disappointed in an attempt to obtain territory south of Virginia, Baltimore sought and obtained a charter to a large territory north of the Virginia settlements included in earlier grants to the Virginia Company. The Virginians, and especially the interested group led by Claiborne, protested vigorously this intrusion and infringement of a trading commission granted them by the King in 1631,¹⁵⁷ but their petition was rejected in July, 1633, and the King enjoined Governor Harvey to aid Lord Baltimore in his projected settlement. For several years following, the rival interests struggled to obtain the support of the King, but Baltimore had apparently formed an alliance with Claberry and Company and as a result had secured the services of Captain Fleet in promoting his interests in the Indian trade. Moreover, Baltimore's influence at court proved to be paramount, and a decision in 1638 revoked Claiborne's commission on a technicality.¹⁵⁸

Meanwhile Cecilius Calvert proceeded vigorously to carry out the former purposes of his deceased father. While these purposes reflected somewhat a spirit of adventure, the primary objectives were the establishment of a great family estate and the building up of large commercial interests. By reason of George Calvert's long association with the Virginia Company and his experience in the Avalon project, the promotion of the Maryland Colony was characterized by

¹⁵⁵ Claiborne's Petition and Accompanying Papers, in *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), V, 159-162.

¹⁵⁶ Steiner, *Beginnings in Maryland*, 9-13; Allen, *Maryland Toleration*, 8-10; *Calvert Papers*, I, 186; Neill, *English Colonization*, 220; *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), III, 66; petition of William Claiborne, in *ibid.*, V, 199, 236.

¹⁵⁷ Documents relating to the settlement of Maryland, 1629-1637, in *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), III, 15-17, 20, 24; cf. Steiner, "The First Lord Baltimore and His Colonial Projects," in *Amer. Hist. Assn., Annual Report*, 1905, I, 114-122.

¹⁵⁸ Documents relating to the settlement of Maryland, 1629-1637, in *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), III, 21-23, 27, 32, 65-72; Streeter, "Maryland Two Hundred Years Ago," in *Md. Hist. Soc., Publications*, III, 14 & n., 18; *Calvert Papers*, I, 141-149. Cf. the interesting interpretation of this struggle, in Morrison, "The Virginia Indian Trade to 1673," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2 series, I, 221-226.

shrewd common sense in avoiding the mistakes of these earlier enterprises.¹⁵⁹ Cecilius Calvert formed a joint-stock company for the purpose of financing the establishment of his Colony. During the first two years the adventurers agreed to trade in a common stock and to share the profits in proportion to stock subscribed. Thereafter each was to be free to trade on his own account, a right which the Calverts later attempted to withdraw. The establishment of plantations, however, was not to be on a communal basis, as in the early years of Virginia, but each adventurer was to transport as many persons as he saw fit and establish them on land granted to each investor in proportion to the number transported. The Colony, therefore, was established from the beginning on the basis of individual initiative and freedom of enterprise.¹⁶⁰ It was the intent of the Proprietor to develop a Colony characterized by large estates, and the land policy was shaped to promote this end.¹⁶¹

BEGINNINGS OF AGRICULTURE IN MARYLAND

In the late Fall of 1633 an expedition consisting of about two hundred persons was equipped and dispatched to the Colony.¹⁶² Most of them were servants indentured for three to five years, but there were also about twenty gentlemen. Arriving first in Virginia, the expedition was provided with livestock and other necessities by Governor Harvey, in accordance with the King's instructions. Harvey was compelled to supply the cattle from his own herd, for the majority of the Virginia council were so hostile to the new enterprise that they declared they would rather knock their cattle in the head than let Calvert have them.¹⁶³ Proceeding up the Potomac in the early spring of 1634, Calvert's expedition was joined by Captain Henry Fleet, who was living among the Indians. Fleet, who with Governor Harvey probably had a financial interest in the Calvert enterprise,¹⁶⁴ acted as guide and interpreter, and helped the colonists to select the site of their first establishment, at St. Marys. A favorable arrangement was made with the Indians whereby the colonists were allowed the use of the houses of the Indian village and part of the cleared corn land, while the Indians agreed to abandon all their cleared lands to the colonists after harvest. Thus, the colonists were enabled to fulfill Baltimore's instruction that they proceed immediately to plant ample provision crops, including corn and many kinds of English garden seeds.¹⁶⁵

The colonists were impressed with the number of useful products found growing wild, particularly the abundance of grapes and white mulberry trees. Among the

¹⁵⁹ Morris, J. G., "The Lords Baltimore," in Md. Hist. Soc., *Fund Publications*, No. 8, p. 26; Kennedy, J. P., "Life of George Calvert," in Md. Hist. Soc., *Publications*, II, 14.

¹⁶⁰ *Calvert Papers*, III, 21-23, 25; also *ibid.*, I, 161, 173, 176, 195-197, 208-211.

¹⁶¹ See below, Chap. XVII.

¹⁶² Browne, W. H., *Maryland, the History of a Palatinate*, 49; Allen, *Maryland Toleration*, 18; Neill, *Maryland in the Beginning*, 11 n.; Steiner, *Beginnings in Maryland*, 15-21.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 21-34; Documents relating to the settlement of Maryland, 1629-1637, in *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), III, 22, 25-27, 29-30, 33-39; *Calvert Papers*, I, 134-136; Bozman, *History of Maryland*, II, 25; Neill, *Founders of Maryland*, 49-55.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹⁶⁵ *Relation of Maryland*, 1635 (Hall, Narratives), 73, 76; *Calvert Papers*, III, 21; cf. also *ibid.*, I, 169.

other indigenous fruits and nuts were persimmons, several kinds of plums, cherries "as big as damsons," May apples, strawberries, gooseberries, and raspberries. In the translation reprinted by Force, Father White also mentions "esculent blackberries." (The passage is translated raspberries in the edition in Hall's *Narratives*. The Latin original, reprinted in *Fund Publications* is *Rubos Idaeos*.) Mention is also made of acorns, walnuts, chestnuts, and sassafras.¹⁶⁶ Father White reported that the country bore apples, lemons, and quinces, and that peaches (translated "apricots" in the Force edition) were so abundant "that an honorable man and worthy of credit positively affirmed that he had cast an hundred bushels to the hogs."¹⁶⁷ Since the Colony had been established but a year, the author probably had his information concerning peaches and apples from one of the Kent Island settlers or from Virginia. The statement as to lemons was probably based on misinformation. He advised new settlers to bring in kernels of pippins, pear-mains, and deuzans, and also plenty of clover seed for sowing meadows. The colonists had made trial of muskmelons, watermelons, cucumbers, carrots, parsnips, turnips, cabbages, radishes, and many other kinds of garden roots and herbs.¹⁶⁸ Father White also was impressed with the adaptability of the country for lupines.¹⁶⁹ In the *Relation of Maryland* (1635),¹⁷⁰ mention is made of many other commodities and experiments including saffron, woad, madder, rape seed, annis seed, figs, pomegranates, and flax. It appears evident from the text, however, that the author is speaking of Virginia, rather than of the first year's experiments in Maryland.

From the beginning maize was the principal bread grain. Fearing that the Virginians might not furnish them seed, the colonists had purchased a supply in Barbados. Shortly after settlement, however, the Maryland colonists were able to obtain such an abundance from the Indians that they shipped a thousand bushels to New England to exchange for salt, fish, and other products. Father White wrote that maize, or "King's corn," as he called it, would yield from two hundred to sixteen hundred times the amount of seed planted and that "the fertility of the soil affords three harvests."¹⁷¹ In 1638 one of the leading colonists, Captain Cornwallis, set up a water mill at great expense, but through the mistake of a miller located it on a stream with an inadequate flow of water. In 1639 the

¹⁶⁶ The early impressions and experiments of the colonists are described in detail in an account attributed to Father White, a priest who accompanied the expedition. Three reproductions of his accounts have been used here. They are separate translations and differ in details. *Relation of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore* (Force, Tracts, IV, No. 12), p. 6; *idem*, *Account of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore*, 1633 (Hall, Narratives), 9; *Declaratio Coloniae Domini de Baltimore* (Md. Hist. Soc., Fund Publications, No. 7), p. 51. See also *Relation of Maryland*, 1635 (Hall, Narratives), 79-80; *ibid.* (Sabin Reprint), 22; *Calvert Papers*, III, 45.

¹⁶⁷ White, A., *Relation of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore* (Force, Tracts, IV, No. 12), p. 7; *idem*, *Account of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore*, 1633 (Hall, Narratives), 10; *Relation of Maryland*, 1635 (Hall, Narratives), 82.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 82, 98 & n.

¹⁶⁹ *Relation of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore* (Force, Tracts, IV, No. 12), p. 7; *idem*, *Account of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore*, 1633 (Hall, Narratives), 10.

¹⁷⁰ Hall, C. C., *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 82.

¹⁷¹ *Relation of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore* (Force, Tracts, IV, No. 12), p. 7; *idem*, *Account of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore*, 1633 (Hall, Narratives), 10; *Calvert Papers*, III, 19, 31; *Relation of Maryland*, 1635 (Hall, Narratives), 75, 82.

assembly authorized the lieutenant governor and the council to spend up to 10,000 pounds of tobacco in order to induce some one to establish such a mill.¹⁷²

Profiting by the experience of Virginia, the Maryland authorities early adopted the policy of compelling the planting of an adequate supply of maize. In 1637 the general assembly proposed the adoption of the two-acre rule, which had been the established policy of the Virginia Colony for a number of years. For each laborer engaged in planting tobacco two acres of corn must be planted and carefully tended under heavy penalty. In common with the other legislation proposed in that year, the bill failed to become a law.¹⁷³ Such an act, however, was certainly passed in 1638/9, and similar enactments in 1640, 1642, 1649, and 1654.¹⁷⁴ In 1642 an act was passed prohibiting the exportation from the Province or sale to Indians before the first of February of the corn raised in a given year, and thereafter only on license from the governor and council. One or more persons in every "hundred" were to be appointed as viewers to inspect annually the store of corn of each family and report to the county authorities the quantity and the number of persons.¹⁷⁵ As a consequence of these precautions the Colony was never in serious danger of starvation, but there were occasional shortages in this early period. In 1647 corn was so scarce that it was being hoarded, and the governor was compelled to forbid its exportation and to acquire for the maintenance of the soldiers all corn above an allowance of two barrels for each person other than sucking children.¹⁷⁶ In 1652 corn was scarce again. Various persons were buying up the Indian supply and exporting it, whereupon the governor prohibited the practice except under license.¹⁷⁷

It is probable that tobacco was not planted in the first year of the Colony, but it soon became the principal money crop and medium of exchange. In 1638 an act was passed for regulating payments of tobacco.¹⁷⁸ It was of sufficient importance in 1638/9 to justify a tax on tobacco exported elsewhere than England, Ireland, or Virginia, and two years later to require legislation providing for inspection before exportation.¹⁷⁹ In 1642 an act was passed regulating the use of tobacco as legal tender.¹⁸⁰ In the same year various penalties, assessments, and fees were made payable in tobacco.¹⁸¹ The preoccupation of the colonists with tobacco and the Indian trade was probably responsible for the legislation with reference to the planting of corn already mentioned, but an act proposed in 1640 for stinting the planting of tobacco was rejected by the assembly.¹⁸²

It is probable that the first colonists did not bring any livestock from England, but depended on obtaining a supply from Virginia. In spite of the hostility of

¹⁷² *Calvert Papers*, I, 174; Bozman, *History of Maryland*, II, 156.

¹⁷³ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 152; *Calvert Papers*, I, 164; *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1637, ch. 14.

¹⁷⁴ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), I, 79, 95, 97, 160, 251, 349; (Coun. Proc.), III, 98.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.* (Assem. Acts), I, 161.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 217-218.

¹⁷⁷ Bozman, *History of Maryland*, II, 464.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 78. Only the titles of acts passed in 1638 are available.

¹⁷⁹ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), I, 80, 97. For details, see Chap. X.

¹⁸⁰ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), I, 162. For further details concerning the Maryland tobacco industry, see Chaps. X-XII.

¹⁸¹ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), I, 142-146, 159, 162-164.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 90.

the majority of Virginians, it was declared that the Maryland settlers had procured from Virginia hogs, poultry, cows, and male cattle, "which hath given them a foundation for breed and increase; and whoso desires it, may furnish himselfe with store of Cattell from thence, but the hogges and Poultry are already increased in Maryland, to a great stocke, sufficient to serve the Colonie very plentifully." In Virginia a cow could be purchased for English commodities worth about £5 sterling, and a sow for about 20 to 30 shillings.¹⁸³ Probably no sheep were brought to Maryland during the first few years, but in 1638 Baltimore, desirous of establishing a well stocked plantation of his own, was negotiating through his brother with Secretary Kemp, of Virginia, for 10 ewes and a ram, besides 40 cattle, 10 sows, and 40 hens.¹⁸⁴ In the following year Secretary Lewger, of the Maryland Colony, wrote to Lord Baltimore that he was pressing Secretary Kemp to furnish 50 ewes. Lewger wrote that cattle were "very slow profit," and that when his Lordship's herd arrived it would be necessary to find some family located far from the town to provide for them in order that they might be furnished with winter fodder. Concerning the establishment of a dairy, which his Lordship desired, a woman must be obtained to operate it. Lewger advised his Lordship that it would be unnecessary to buy more cattle in Virginia, since Claiborne's cattle seized on Kent Island, when brought to the Western Shore, would be all that could be cared for through the winter. An ample supply of hogs and poultry could also be obtained in Maryland. All in all, Lewger considered that Baltimore should go in largely for hogs, which might be "kept some 6. mile hence at the head of St. Georges river where all the cheife marshes bee in w^{ch} the swine delight."¹⁸⁵ It had not been found entirely practicable to maintain cattle without winter feed, and it was even considered profitable to feed some corn to hogs. Probably no horses were brought to the Colony during the first two or three years. In 1647 the governor issued a proclamation alleging that the stock of horses was still very small, and prohibiting their exportation. This action was confirmed by the assembly.¹⁸⁶

DEVELOPMENT OF COMMERCIAL OUTLETS FOR MARYLAND PRODUCTS

Almost from the beginning of its settlement the Colony appears to have enjoyed a ready market for its products. It was stated, "No man neede to doubt of the vent of these Commodities." Pipe staves might be sold in the Canaries for £15 or £20 sterling per thousand, though costing but £4 in Maryland. Pork and bacon could be sold in Spain or in the West Indies at good prices. Corn found a ready sale in the West Indies.¹⁸⁷ In a short time there was also active trade in provision crops with New England and possibly also with the Dutch at Manhattan and the Swedes on the Delaware. In 1640 a special license was conveyed to Captain Thomas Gaines to export corn to New England and to im-

¹⁸³ *Relation of Maryland*, 1635 (Hall, Narratives), 76, 78, 98.

¹⁸⁴ *Calvert Papers*, I, 149-151.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 196-199.

¹⁸⁶ Bozman, *History of Maryland*, II, 314; *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), I, 218.

¹⁸⁷ *Relation of Maryland*, 1635 (Hall, Narratives), 96.

port such commodities as might be obtained in trade.¹⁸⁸ Some of the earlier tobacco raised in Maryland was probably marketed by way of Virginia.¹⁸⁹ As in the case of Virginia, Dutch traders probably soon obtained an important share, for in 1638 and again in 1642 the Proprietor was granted a special tax of 5 per cent on all tobacco exported to countries other than Virginia, England, or Ireland. In 1649 a specific tax of 10 shillings per hundred was placed on all tobacco shipped on Dutch vessels and bound to non-English ports. In January, 1643/4, it was provided by the governor's proclamation that by virtue of the scarcity of tobacco English ships must first have their full lading before any tobacco should be exported in ships of other nations.¹⁹⁰ About 1666 a special fleet of twenty English ships was engaged each year in transporting Maryland tobacco.¹⁹¹

Although after the first two years trade was left to individual initiative, the proprietary jealously guarded its right to control and regulate it. Instructions were given the colonists to suppress all unlicensed trade, and the attempt to execute these instructions resulted in conflict with Claiborne's colonists of Kent Island and seizure by the Marylanders of one of Claiborne's trading vessels.¹⁹² The struggle between these factions continued, but Claiborne's partners in England, probably foreseeing the ultimate triumph of Baltimore's influence, proved disloyal to Claiborne, and through their agent, Robert Evelyn, betrayed the Kent Island holdings to the Marylanders in 1638, when Claiborne was absent.¹⁹³ The Proprietor sought not only to extinguish the trade of the Kent Island Colony, but also to prohibit unlicensed trade on the part of the Maryland colonists. Commissions were issued to various officials to seize unlicensed vessels, but complaints of illicit trade continued. In 1638 Governor Harvey seconded the efforts of the Proprietor by forbidding under penalty all unlicensed trade by Virginians.¹⁹⁴

The Proprietor was particularly desirous of controlling Indian trade. A tax of one tenth of all goods used in trading for beaver and also one tenth of the beaver obtained was imposed. The Proprietor proposed that he himself should have a complete monopoly of the trade. This was strongly opposed by the original adventurers, who had been granted freedom of trade for life. It was alleged that such a violation of the original compact made them also uneasy as to the validity of their land grants. In January, 1638/9, however, Secretary Lewger wrote, "The trade of beaver is wholly now in the Govern^rs and the Captaines [probably Cornwallis] hands, without any rivall."¹⁹⁵ Even as late as 1649 the Indian trade was probably the most important economic factor in the life of the Maryland Colony. Although their statement must be taken with reservations, the Vir-

¹⁸⁸ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), III, 63, 84, 87, 91.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.* (Prov. Ct.), IV, 154, 454; Bozman, *History of Maryland*, II, 79.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 218, 270, 362; *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), III, 144.

¹⁹¹ Alsop, *Character of Maryland* (Hall, Narratives), 363.

¹⁹² *Calvert Papers*, I, 141-149; Claiborne's Petition and Accompanying Papers, in *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), V, 169-172; Bozman, *History of Maryland*, II, 34.

¹⁹³ *Calvert Papers*, I, 134-135, 182-189; Streeter, "First Commander of Kent Island," in Md. Hist. Soc., *Fund Publications*, No. 2, pp. 4-43; *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), III, 59, 64-67; Claiborne's Petition and Accompanying Papers, in *ibid.*, V, 170-175, 181-239.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 62, 73, 84, 91; Bozman, *History of Maryland*, II, 72, 113.

¹⁹⁵ *Calvert Papers*, I, 159-168, 176, 190, 198, 209-211; *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), III, 57-59, 63, 67, 73, 78.

ginians alleged in their petitions of that year that the crops of the entire Colony amounted to not more than 400 acres, most of it tobacco, and that the Colony was still merely a factory for the carrying on of the Indian trade; much of the trade, however, had been diverted to the Dutch and Swedes after the seizure of the Kent and Palmer Island settlements by the Marylanders.¹⁹⁶

As the importance of the Indian trade of Maryland declined,¹⁹⁷ agriculture, as in Virginia, became the predominant economic activity. The experiments of the earlier years had established tobacco as almost the sole commercial product in both Colonies, supplemented by the production of corn as the principal cereal, a little small grain for the consumption of the well-to-do, garden vegetables, and fruit. As livestock multiplied on the abundant range, the meat of domestic animals, supplemented by game and fish, became abundant. The corporate forms of agricultural organization under which colonization was achieved soon gave way to individual enterprise and the development of private plantations, traced in later chapters.

¹⁹⁶ Claiborne's Petition, in *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), V, 181.

¹⁹⁷ See Chap. VI.

CHAPTER III

BEGINNINGS OF AGRICULTURE IN THE CAROLINAS

Early Attempts at Anglo-Saxon Colonization South of Virginia, 41. Disadvantages of North Carolina for Commercial Agriculture, 42. Early Agricultural Economy of North Carolina, 44. Attempts to Push the Frontier Southward, 48. Establishment of the Ashley River Settlement, 50. Problems of Food Supply at Ashley River, 51. Experiments with Various Crops in the Ashley River Settlement, 52. Beginnings of the Livestock Industry in South Carolina, 55. Other Staple Products during the Early Decades, 57.

EARLY ATTEMPTS AT ANGLO-SAXON COLONIZATION SOUTH OF VIRGINIA

The expansion of agriculture into the Carolinas consisted partly of an extension of the Virginia frontier and partly of the establishment of original colonial nuclei which became the foci of further expansion and the centers of distinctive systems of agriculture and of economic and social life.

The region south of Virginia early became the objective of colonization projects. As a result of various explorations, the tragic attempts at colonization in 1562–1564 by French Huguenots, and the equally tragic attempts of Raleigh to plant a colony on Roanoke Island, the general character of the coast had become fairly well known.¹ About 1629–1633 French Protestants made a second futile attempt at colonizing the South Atlantic coast. After protracted negotiations with Heath, who had been granted all the territory between 31° and 36° north latitude from the Atlantic to the Pacific, a Huguenot stock company obtained a grant of land from Lord Berkeley, a subproprietor of Heath, and made arrangements to send out an initial colony of about forty persons. The colonists landed in Virginia in October, 1633, intending to winter there and proceed in the Spring to Carolina. On account of the alleged failure of their leader, Vassall, to provide means of transportation, the colony did not reach its destination.² Sometime before 1638 Lord Maltrevers, under a grant from Heath, “immediately began to plant the norther’most part of it Bordering upon Virginia. And yt there might be a perfect good Corespondence between him & that Colony by the Neighborhood of his Colony,” Governor Harvey, under orders from the King, granted Maltrevers in 1638 a tract of land south of the James, to be called the county of Norfolk.³ Lord Maltrevers “was at great expence & trouble to plant that little Province. he design’d from thence to propogate his plantations to the South having many plantations Tenants Magazins, &c for his views were chiefly Carolina, Thereupon he Comissioned divers Persons some to plant the North

¹ McCrady, *South Carolina under the Proprietary Government*, 41–50; Carroll, *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, I, pp. xiv–xxiii, xxxi–lxvii; Rivers, *Sketch of South Carolina*, 11–32; Ingram, D., *Land Travels* (Weston, Documents), 7–24. For English translation of Laudonnière’s narrative, see Courtenay, *Genesis of South Carolina*, pp. xvi–xlvii.

² Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574–1660, pp. 102, 108–111, 113–115, 120–121, 190, 194, 197–199, 207; South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, I, 199–202.

³ British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts*, 15903, f. 116 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 135. For copy of grant, see *ibid.*, App., pp. 410–413; also *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 14–16.

part of his Province of Carolina as Hartwell &c. Others the South part as Capt. Henery Hawley and his friends."⁴ During the Protectorate a colonization company was formed under the leadership of Sir William Waller (the elder). This concern dispatched a number of ships to explore the country from Apalachee Bay nearly to the Mississippi. "They planted and settled in two or three places where they resided some Years" and sent home a description of the country together with "Samples of divers Comodities, as dying Woods & Roots, Cotton, Indico, Cochinil, Pearl &c." These products excited so much interest that a large colonizing expedition of more than two thousand persons was prepared, but the death of the Protector and the ensuing confusion terminated the enterprise. Those who had already settled withdrew to the British West Indies.⁵

In the fifth decade of the seventeenth century there were a number of expeditions aimed at the general region of North Carolina, and probably as early as 1650 settlers had crossed the then ill-defined southern boundary of Virginia and established themselves as squatters in the territory along the Chowan and the northern border of Albemarle Sound.⁶ In 1654 the Virginia Assembly granted to one Roger Green on behalf of himself and certain inhabitants in the region of Nansemond River 10,000 acres to be assigned to the first one hundred persons who would settle "on Moratuck or Roanoake river and the land lying upon the south side of Choan river and the branches thereof."⁷ The grant of the territory of Carolina, on March 20, 1663, to eight influential courtiers as joint proprietors and the annulment of the Heath grant⁸ established a legal basis for the existing settlements and for their further extension. Within a few months Governor Berkeley, of Virginia, one of the Proprietors, was authorized to set up a local government for the settlers on the Albemarle and to establish land titles, not recognizing the large grants purchased by squatters from the Indians.⁹

DISADVANTAGES OF NORTH CAROLINA FOR COMMERCIAL AGRICULTURE

Throughout the colonial period commercial disadvantages were the most important influence shaping the economic and social fabric of the Colony. The sea along the coast of North Carolina is notorious for its storminess, and the greater part of the coast is paralleled by narrow sandy islands separated from one another by shallow inlets with shifting sand bars. About 1700 Lawson observed that all the various inlets north of Cape Hatteras were so shallow as to admit only small vessels. South of Hatteras were several inlets capable of admitting "Ships of Burden, such as Ocacock, Topsail-Inlet, and Cape Fair [Fear]."¹⁰ Even these inlets, except Cape Fear, were narrow and treacherous. Circumstances prevented the establishment of a permanent settlement along

⁴ British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts*, 15903, f. 116 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 117.

⁶ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, Pref., p. ix; Martin, F. X., *History of North Carolina*, I, 95, 114; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 262; Salley, *Narratives of Carolina*, 5-19.

⁷ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 381; Martin, F. X., *History of North Carolina*, I, 114.

⁸ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 20-33; South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 7-9, 56.

⁹ The Lords Proprietors to Sir Wm. Berkeley, Sept. 8, 1663, in Rivers, *Sketch of South Carolina*, App., pp. 330-332.

¹⁰ Lawson, *Carolina*, 61, 64.

the lower Cape Fear until nearly three quarters of a century after the Colony began to be peopled.

Consequently throughout most of the colonial period there was but little direct trans-Atlantic trade. With the exception of a small amount of direct trade which developed after the middle of the eighteenth century,¹¹ the greater part of the commercial intercourse of the Colony with Europe was carried on through Norfolk or Charleston. As the back country developed, a large part of the productions of western North Carolina was sent to Charleston by way of the Catawba and the Yadkin rivers. A considerable part of the products of the Colony was carried to the West Indies or to New England, mainly in small New England ships. In 1676 the Proprietors wrote the governor and council urging them to divert the trade from New England to the mother country, "itt beinge a certain Beggery to our people of Albemarle if they shall buy goods at 2^d hand" and sell their tobacco and other commodities at lower prices than prevailed for shipment to England. They also hinted that some of the officials were in collusion with the New England merchants "to engross that poore trade you have and Keepe you still under hatches." Some of the planters owned sloops, with which they carried on a coastal trade with the other Colonies and the West Indies.¹² In 1679, however, Virginia forbade the importation and reexportation of North Carolina tobacco, on account of its inferior quality, a policy continued until vetoed in 1731 by the royal government.¹³ This compelled the Albemarle settlers to ship their tobacco by way of New England, and in order to evade customs restrictions much of it was carried thence to Newfoundland for reshipment to Europe.¹⁴ Another experience illustrating the inferior commercial position of North Carolina was the imposition by South Carolina of prohibitive duties on naval stores and indigo from the former Colony, which led to a protest by Dobbs in a letter to the Earl of Halifax, urging that North Carolina be given control of the north side of the Pedee river to the sea.¹⁵

Thus, although the Colony was not without commercial outlets, the routes were indirect and costly. The intercolonial trade was subject to the duties on enumerated commodities included in the parliamentary act of 1673. Fortunately, by reason of the apparent oversight of the extra specific duty on tobacco, the lawful duty up to 1685 was only one half the import duty imposed on tobacco shipped direct to Great Britain.¹⁶ Moreover, for many decades there appears to have been a large amount of evasion of customs and commercial regulations.¹⁷

¹¹ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, VII, 429.

¹² *Ibid.*, I, 232, 244-246, 663; IV, 169-173; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1696-1697, p. 73; 1702-1703, p. 14; *American Husbandry*, I, 336; Morse, *American Gazetteer*, article "North Carolina;" Brickell, *Natural History of North Carolina*, 14; Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, I, 111-113, 119, 128, 145, 152; Williamson, *History of North Carolina*, II, 218; Borden, *Addresses to the Inhabitants and Burgesses of North Carolina* (Boyd, *Some Eighteenth Century Tracts concerning North Carolina*), 12, 94.

¹³ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), II, 445; Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, III, 345. See below, p. 231.

¹⁴ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1702-1703, p. 14.

¹⁵ North Carolina, Historical Commission, *Calendars of Manuscript Collections*, I, 102.

¹⁶ Beer, G. L., *Old Colonial System*, I, 81-83.

¹⁷ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 439-442, 496-504.

EARLY AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY OF NORTH CAROLINA

These commercial handicaps retarded the progress of settlement and discouraged the immigration of men of capital, prevented the extensive development of the plantation system, and produced a type of small-scale farm economy primarily self-sufficing and essentially local and isolated.

It is true, a few of the early settlements appear to have been promoted by men of capital. On September 25, 1663, Governor Berkeley issued land patents to five different individuals for transporting persons to the region under the Virginia headright rule. Two of them were responsible for bringing in 30 persons, one for 17, one for 14, and one for 7.¹⁸ Like the settlers of southern Virginia, however, the inhabitants of the Albemarle region were principally men of little capital, many having been indentured servants. The region was essentially a "southern frontier for overflow from Virginia; and in many ways was assimilated to the type of the up-country in its turbulent democracy, its variety of sects and peoples, and its primitive conditions."¹⁹ The Proprietors encouraged the settlement of nonconformists. French Huguenots settled on Pamlico Sound and on the Neuse and Trent rivers, in what is now Bath County.²⁰ About 1710 a colony of some hundreds of Swiss and Palatines was established between the Neuse and Trent rivers, under the leadership of De Graffenried, but it suffered many misfortunes and was eventually dispersed.²¹ So many Quakers, severely persecuted in other Colonies, settled in North Carolina that in 1704 they had the predominant influence in the assembly.²²

In the early decades of its existence the Colony, like many other frontier regions before and since, acquired a very bad name as the refuge of criminals, debtors, and escaped servants.²³ In 1681 Governor Culpeper, of Virginia, wrote the British Lords of Trade, "North Carolina is and always was the sink of America, the refuge of our renegades."²⁴ For years the coast of the Carolinas was a favorite refuge for pirates and privateersmen, and there is evidence that these gentry were regarded with a tolerant attitude by the inhabitants, some of whom were accomplices.²⁵ In 1708 the British Board of Trade asked why so many people were leaving Virginia to settle elsewhere. In explanation the Virginia Council gave three reasons: the scarcity of land in Virginia, its abundance and cheapness in North Carolina, and the fact that it was almost impossible

¹⁸ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 59-67.

¹⁹ Turner, F. J., "Old West," in Wis. State Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, 1908, p. 208.

²⁰ Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 305-307; Saunders' prefatory note to *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, p. x; cf. Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, I, Intro., p. 76; Martin, F. X., *History of North Carolina*, I, 125, 142.

²¹ Letter from John Lawson from North Carolina, Dec. 30, 1710, in British Museum, *Sloane Manuscripts*, 4064, f. 249 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); De Graffenried's Manuscript, translated by Du Four, in *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 905-984.

²² Blair's Mission to North Carolina in 1704, in Salley, *Narratives of Carolina*, 216; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 779-783, 798, 865.

²³ South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, II, 196; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 256-261, 326, 329, 331, 798.

²⁴ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1681-1685, p. 155; cf. also Spangenberg, *Extracts from Journal* (Southern History Assn., Publications, I), 102.

²⁵ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1696-1697, pp. 73, 113, 222, 260, 356, 538, 563-565, 573, 614.

to win a suit in North Carolina against a person who had fled from his debts in Virginia.²⁶ An act passed in 1707, but vetoed the next year, provided that new settlers should be exempt for five years from arrest on account of previous debts, except indebtedness to the British Government.²⁷ Nevertheless, while the Colony attracted a large number of the lawless or ne'er-do-wells, there was undoubtedly a considerable element of orderly, industrious settlers, attracted by religious freedom, cheap land, mild climate, and abundance of the necessities of life.

According to Lawson, the first settlers who migrated to North Carolina from Virginia went thither mainly because of the advantages of the region for livestock. The abundant supply of mast in the hardwood lands and of roots in the swamps provided plentiful feed for hogs, and there were rich meadows and savannahs which afforded ample range for cattle and horses. Even the pine lands were considered "a good Range for cattle though very indifferent for Swine." It was believed that the mild winters made it unnecessary to provide fodder or shelter. There were many planters in Lawson's time who had hundreds of cattle, and beef, pork, tallow, and hides early came to be among the most important articles of export. Even some cheese and butter were exported from the Colony. Lawson reported that sheep thrived very well, though they did better after the country was opened up. They were kept mainly to supply materials for homespun clothing.²⁸

Tobacco, mainly produced in the Albemarle region, was the principal export crop. In 1679 Robert Holden reported to the Proprietors that the tobacco produced in North Carolina was considerable and was increasing every year. Much of it did not appear upon the customhouse books because it was mostly shipped to New England, thus evading the customs.²⁹ Indeed, the attempt to enforce the collection of the intercolonial duty imposed in 1673 led to the so-called Culpeper Rebellion, in 1677.³⁰ The wonderful pine forests supplied the basis of another important industry, the production of tar, pitch, turpentine, clapboards, staves, barrel heading, masts, and other kinds of lumber, all of which constituted an important part of the export trade. As in the neighboring Colonies, the Indian trade also contributed to colonial exports, in the form of deerskins, with some other furs.³¹

As in the other Colonies, maize was the principal grain for man and beast. It was exported to the Bermudas and the West Indies. According to Lawson, the Colony produced considerable quantities of wheat, which seldom yielded less than thirtyfold, and in one instance, as he had been told, upwards of a hundredfold. He suggests that some wheat was exported, though probably not in large quantities. The settlers had tried rye, which grew very well; but "having

²⁶ Byrd, *Writings* (Bassett), Intro., p. xii n.; Spotswood, *Official Letters*, I, 108.

²⁷ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1706-1708, pp. 598, 679.

²⁸ *Carolina*, 59, 62-63, 79-81. For the later development of the industry and its regulation, see Chap. IX.

²⁹ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 242-245, 247, 265, 628.

³⁰ Beer, G. L., *Old Colonial System*, II, 195-200; Chalmers, G., *Political Annals* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 301-310.

³¹ Lawson, *Carolina*, 81, 87. See p. 138

such Plenty of Maize, they do not regard it." Oats were not generally grown, for the same reason. Barley grew well, but "because that Grain requires the Ground to be very well work'd with repeated Ploughings, which our general Way of breaking the Earth with Hoes, can, by no means, perform," it was little used. Some rice was grown, probably upland rice for domestic use, and a little buckwheat was produced and fed to swine.³²

Beans and peas were largely grown, and some were exported. Lawson wrote that the most successful varieties were obtained from the Indians and domesticated by the colonists. These included various kinds of pole beans, bush beans, kidney beans, and field peas. English peas grew well, but European beans tended to degenerate "if not prevented by a yearly Supply of foreign Seed, and an extravagant rich Soil."³³ The same writer also mentions a long list of other garden plants grown for home use, including carrots, leeks, parsnips, turnips, potatoes, artichokes, radishes, horse-radish, beets, onions, shallots, garlic, cives (chives), wild onions, lettuce, spinach, various native wild greens, French and English cress, wild purslane, parsley, asparagus, cabbage, coleworts, watermelons, muskmelons, cucumbers, pumpkins, and squashes of various sorts; besides numerous potherbs, including Angelica, balm, bugloss, borage, burnet, clary, marigold, "pot-marjoram," savory, columbines, tansy, wormwood, "nep," mallows, "drage," lamb's-quarters, thyme, hyssop, sweet basil, rosemary, and lavender. He also mentions a large assortment of native or domestic plants used for medicinal purposes.³⁴

The colonists made use of many kinds of native or European fruits. Varieties of native and foreign grapes had been tried. About a dozen European varieties of apples, and a number of varieties of pears and quinces had been introduced. Peaches were largely employed for food for the inhabitants, with large quantities available for swine. Nectarines, apricots, damsons, and a number of varieties of native plums, figs, native and foreign cherries, gooseberries, native and foreign currants, native and foreign raspberries, native blackberries and dewberries, native and foreign mulberries, native strawberries, persimmons, huckleberries, papaws, and red and black haws. There were many native varieties of nuts, such as hickory nuts, walnuts, chinkapins, chestnuts, and hazelnuts.³⁵

The isolation of the Colony led to a considerable diversity in domestic and community economy and to a great development of household industry. Lawson wrote that hemp, flax, and cotton were considerably grown for home use. He asserted that the women of the country made a great deal of cloth of cotton, flax, and wool, "some of them Keeping their Families (though large) very decently apparel'd, both with Linnens and Woollens, so that they have no occasion to run into the Merchant's Debt."³⁶ The men also were compelled to turn their hands to many trades. John Urmstone, who travelled through the Colony in 1711, wrote:³⁷

³² *Carolina*, 63, 74-76, 81.

³³ *Ibid.*, 76.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 77.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 102-114. See p. 90.

³⁶ Lawson, *Carolina*, 83-85, 114.

³⁷ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 764.

"Men are generally of all trades and women the like within their spheres except some who are the posterity of Old planters or have been very fortunate and have great numbers of slaves who understand most handicrafts men are generally carpenters Joiners Wheelwrights Coopers Butchers Tanners Shoemakers Tallow Chandlers Waterman & what not Women Soap makers Starch makers Dyes &c he or she that cant do all these things or hath not slaves that can over and above all the common occupations of both sexes will have but a bad time on't for help is not to be had at any rate every one having business enoo' of his own."

According to De Graffenried, there was "in the whole province, only one wretched water mill: the wealthiest people use handmills, and the poorer class are obliged to pound their grain in mortars made of oak, or rather tree-stocks which are dug out, and, instead of sifting it in a regular sieve, they shake it barely in a kind of basket." His own settlers established a water mill, an innovation in the Colony.³⁸

In short, a bird's-eye view of the Colony in the first decade of the eighteenth century reveals a rude frontier society. There was but little money in circulation, and the colonists, finding it very difficult to pay taxes and quitrents, continually resisted such payments.³⁹ In 1701 Edward Randolph wrote the British Council of Trade and Plantations, "North Carolina has a few inhabitants who live scattered up and down upon the rivers and lakes. Their poverty is their security."⁴⁰ Many of the inhabitants were rough borderers who lived a crude, half savage existence. Some were herdsman, dependent mainly on the product of the range and "under the necessity of eating meat without bread."⁴¹ There were also many thriftless and lazy families who had been attracted to the country by the mild climate and the ease with which a bare livelihood could be obtained by hunting and fishing, raising a little corn, and keeping a few head of swine and possibly a cow or two on the range. On the other hand, there were small farmers, many of Northern or European extraction, living industrious and thrifty lives amidst a rude abundance and considerable diversity of food supplies. They maintained good-sized herds of cattle, swine, and sheep, and the women made butter and cheese. The meat supply was frequently supplemented by fish and game. Such families produced surpluses of tobacco, maize, pulse, livestock, and timber products for export.⁴² There were a few plantations and a few people of some wealth at this period, but they were not numerous. A letter written about 1710 described what was then regarded as a considerable estate as follows:⁴³

"I have lodged above this year past in the house of a planter, an old man . . . He has, after his own decease and his wife's, left a considerable legacy for the encouragement of a minister in the parish where he lives, which is as follows, viz: A very good plantation, upon which he lives, with all the houses and some household furniture, two slaves and their increase forever, together with a stock of cows, sheep, hogs, and horses, with their increase forever, all which . . . may moderately be valued at £200."

³⁸ The De Graffenried Manuscript, translated by Du Four, in *ibid.*, 913.

³⁹ Lichtenstein, *Early Social Life in Edgewcombe*, 11.

⁴⁰ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1701, p. 105.

⁴¹ Lichtenstein, *Early Social Life in Edgewcombe*, 11; the De Graffenried Manuscript, translated by Du Four, in *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 922, 941, 946. See also pp. 148-151.

⁴² Lawson, *Carolina*, 83-87.

⁴³ Letter of James Adams to the Secretary, *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 734.

Such statistics of population as are available also suggest the slight development of a plantation system. In 1694 Albemarle County was said to contain 787 tithables.⁴⁴ In 1710 the parish of Currituck, one of the most fully settled districts in the tobacco section, consisted of 539 people, of whom only 97 were Negroes.⁴⁵ In 1715 the population of North Carolina was 11,200, including 3,700 slaves.⁴⁶

ATTEMPTS TO PUSH THE FRONTIER SOUTHWARD

Settlement slowly extended itself southward. In 1704 settlers had just established themselves on Pamlico Sound, but they were separated from the main body of population on Albemarle Sound by about "fifty miles of desert and no human inhabitant."⁴⁷ In 1710 the Neuse River district was still a frontier, shortly afterwards subjected to Indian massacres and a severe Indian war.⁴⁸ Meanwhile, events were shaping themselves for the establishment of a second nucleus of settlement to the southward. About 1660 a stock company composed of investors residing in New England and in London dispatched a small colony from New England, who established themselves near the mouth of what is now known as the Cape Fear river and apparently engaged mainly in the herding of cattle. Not finding the fisheries of the region and the fertility of the soil to meet their expectations and becoming embroiled with the Indians, the settlers soon abandoned the colony,⁴⁹ giving the country a bad name.

Shortly before this settlement was established, William Hilton, sent by prominent Barbadian planters on two expeditions to explore the Carolina coast, had returned with glowing reports of the resources of the country.⁵⁰ Whereupon the Barbadians entered into negotiations with the Proprietors for a grant of land and privileges of establishing a colony. Since the markets were already glutted with such colonial products as tobacco, ginger, cotton, indigo, and sugar, it was considered desirable to establish a colony which would concern itself largely with the production of wine, olive oil, silk, currants, and raisins.⁵¹ Probably before these proposals were received, the Proprietors had issued a set of general conditions of settlement, which they caused to be widely circulated. Certain commercial privileges received by the Proprietors in their charter from the King were granted by them to any who would settle in the colony. These included exemption for seven years from British import duties on exports from the colony of silks, wines, currants, raisins, capers, wax, almonds, oil, and olives. Liberal terms were provided for the granting of land to new settlers.⁵²

⁴⁴ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 428.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 722.

⁴⁶ Chalmers, G., *Revolt of the American Colonies*, II, 7.

⁴⁷ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 603.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 808-811, 819-829, 834-840, 860-905.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 36-39, 46; Martin, F. X., *History of North Carolina*, I, 116.

⁵⁰ *Relation of a Discovery* (Salley, Narratives), Intro., pp. 37-53; *Shaftesbury Papers* (S. C. Hist. Soc., Collections, V), 10 & n.

⁵¹ "Proposells of Severall Gentlemen of Barbadoes, August this 12th, 1663," in *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 39-42; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1661-1668, p. 161.

⁵² A Declaration and Proposals, in *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 45; cf. *ibid.*, 27. The privilege was renewed in the Second Charter, granted in 1665. *Ibid.*, 108.

After extended negotiations between representatives of the Barbadian adventurers and the Proprietors, the latter issued early in 1664 what are known as the Barbadian Concessions; which provided a contract with the Barbadians and certain associates in New England, the Bermudas, England, and various islands in the Caribbean Sea, for the establishment of settlements in the Carolinas. It was agreed that the Proprietors would contribute the military equipment for a fort and its garrison provided the Barbadians would fit out two ships and send out and maintain the necessary colonists. It was further agreed that each person who subscribed a thousand pounds of sugar to the enterprise should receive a grant of 500 acres of land, which must be taken up to the south or westward of Cape Romania, on which he must establish within one year at least one settler well equipped for military defense. In view of the greater perils involved in establishing a settlement south of Cape Romania, in the very teeth of the Spaniards, the Concessions provided for more liberal land grants than had been specified in the "Declaration and Proposals" of 1663.⁵³ The Proprietors, however, indicated a shrewd interest in obtaining financial profits from their holdings and a desire to make no more liberal grants than might be necessary to attract settlers.⁵⁴

Early in the Spring of 1664 an expedition from Barbados sent to the Cape Fear river established a settlement called Charles Town.⁵⁵ For a year or two the settlement appeared to give promise of permanence. It numbered about 800 persons, who had established fortifications. It was reported in 1667 that they had grown two crops of maize in a year, that all grains, plants, and seeds "do prosper exceedingly," also vines, mulberries, and olives. The colonists had produced excellent tobacco, indigo, cotton, and potatoes. Orange, lemon, lime, and other tropical fruit trees were thriving, and apples, pears, and other English fruits grew from the kernels. There were many open meadows, which provided such abundant range for cattle that they kept fat all winter without other feed. Game and fish were to be had in unlimited abundance.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, this second attempt to establish a colony at Cape Fear, like the previous attempt, was shortly destined to failure. The colonists had become disgruntled over the requirements for quitrents and for keeping a man on every hundred acres, irrespective of the quality of the land.⁵⁷ The Barbadian capitalists who had helped to finance the enterprise had become discouraged and failed to support the colony with needed supplies. Difficulties were encountered with the Indians. Finally, desperate and discouraged, the colonists dispersed in 1667, some going to New England and others to Virginia.⁵⁸ Although it is possible that a few

⁵³ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 75-93. See below, p. 389.

⁵⁴ Letter to Governor Berkeley, Sept. 8, 1663, in Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1661-1668, p. 160.

⁵⁵ Horne, *Brief Description of Carolina* (Salley, Narratives), 67.

⁵⁶ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1675-1676 (Addenda 1574-1674), p. 145; Horne, *Brief Description of Carolina* (Salley, Narratives), 67-70.

⁵⁷ *Shaftesbury Papers* (S. C. Hist. Soc., Collections, V), 82-88.

⁵⁸ Letter of John Vassall to Sir John Colleton, Oct. 6, 1667, in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 89; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 159; Samuel Mavericke to Secretary Arlington, Oct. 16, 1667, in *ibid.*, 161.

stragglers remained for several years, the region continued essentially deserted for many decades.⁵⁹

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ASHLEY RIVER SETTLEMENT

The failure of the Cape Fear settlement, the noncommercial character of the Albemarle settlement, and the apparent discouragement of the plantation interests of Barbados induced the Proprietors to undertake themselves the task of establishing a plantation settlement. For strategic and political reasons they were anxious to establish a colony in the southern portion of their immense domain, which had been enlarged by the Second Charter.⁶⁰ With these ends in view, they engaged the great English philosopher, John Locke, close friend of Lord Ashley, afterwards the Earl of Shaftesbury, to draw up a pretentious plan for the political and social organization of their possessions. This grandiose plan, known as the Grand Model,⁶¹ was predominantly feudal in character and wholly unsuited either to the rude conditions of a pioneer settlement or to a plantation régime. It shaped the economic development of the Carolinas very little. The principal influence was on land policy and tenure, described in a subsequent chapter.⁶² The Proprietors proceeded to the actual business of colonization with little reference to the stiff and anachronistic provisions of the Grand Model. Indeed, they issued instructions not to try to put it into operation on the first landing.⁶³

Early in 1669 the Proprietors fitted out in England the frigate *Carolina* and two smaller vessels, the *Port Royall* and the *Albemarle*.⁶⁴ Arriving at Barbados, the *Albemarle* was lost on the rocks. However, Captain West found it possible to recruit servants to fill up the complement desired by the Proprietors, and Sir John Yeamans, former governor of Cape Fear, and Thomas Colleton, a prominent Barbadian planter, fitted out two vessels on their own account. It is probable that this force consisted partly of Barbadian slaves.⁶⁵ All in all, the first expedition amounted to only about 150 men⁶⁶ (probably not including slaves), with a few women and children. It had been the intention of the Proprietors to establish their first colony at Port Royal, but the colonists decided to settle on Ashley River, at a spot called Albemarle Point, where, by constructing a palisade and ditch across a neck of land, they enclosed nine acres.⁶⁷ About a year later the place came to be known as Charles Town. In 1671 instructions were sent to Sir John Yeamans to establish a port town on Ashley River. Accordingly, in 1672 a town was laid out at Oyster Point, to which the settlers at Albemarle Point gradually removed.⁶⁸

⁵⁹ For later settlement, see below, p. 94.

⁶⁰ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 102-114.

⁶¹ Reprinted in *ibid.*, 187-206; also in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 93-117.

⁶² See below, Chap. XVII.

⁶³ *Shaftesbury Papers* (S. C. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, V), 90-93, 119; *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, II, 215.

⁶⁴ Concerning the composition and organization of the expedition, see pp. 322, 333.

⁶⁵ Letter of Joseph West, Nov. 8, 1669, in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 156.

⁶⁶ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1669-1674, p. 59.

⁶⁷ South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 165-171, 173 & n., 188, 283.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 102; V, 342-344; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1669-1674, p. 260; Rivers, *Sketch of South Carolina*, 127-129.

Shortly after the settlement was established, the Proprietors made an important change in the policy of the land grants, which probably did much to promote the development of a plantation colony. In 1670 they wrote Sir John Yeamans that he was mistaken in believing that they did not intend to grant 150 acres for each Negro imported in the first expedition,⁶⁹ thus extending the headright basis of land grants to slaves as well as to servants and modifying previous instructions, which had provided a smaller grant for each slave over fourteen years of age.

PROBLEMS OF FOOD SUPPLY AT ASHLEY RIVER

Although the colonists on landing probably had provisions for only about three months, at one time these were so reduced that it was necessary to purchase largely from the Indians. Fortunately, ample supplies were obtained in this way;⁷⁰ therefore the Colony did not suffer the heavy mortality and hardships encountered by the early settlers at Jamestown. Moreover, the nearness of food supplies in Virginia, New York, New England, and the British West Indies greatly decreased the precariousness of the enterprise. The Proprietors made arrangements for shipping hogs, cattle, and other supplies from Virginia; and in May, 1670, they sent a supplementary supply of flour, together with letters of credit on New York to be used in case of emergency. In September, 1670, the *Carolina* returned to the Colony with provisions of maize, peas, and meal sufficient for eight months. It was reported also that a supply of cattle and hogs had been received from Virginia, but small and of poor quality, and obtained at exorbitant cost.⁷¹

Nevertheless, there were times of anxiety. On June 27 West wrote Lord Ashley that he was forced to send a shallop to the Bermudas for provisions, as the Colony had a supply sufficient for only seven weeks, consisting of peas rationed to each individual at only one pint per day. However, corn, potatoes, and other provision crops were thriving, and he had no question but that the Colony could provision itself the following year.⁷² Letters from the Colony written in September, 1670, reported that the necessity of keeping constant guard against attack and the preliminary work involved in constructing fortifications and buildings and in clearing land had prevented the colonists from planting very abundantly.⁷³ The crops planted had been largely ruined, for "all things blasted in October."⁷⁴ Nevertheless, in November it was declared that the new settlement was amply supplied with provisions.⁷⁵ The arrival of additional settlers ill-provided with food led to further scarcity, and in the Spring

⁶⁹ Letter of May, 1670 (?), in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 164.

⁷⁰ Letter of Joseph West to Lord Ashley, Nov. 8, 1669, Stephen Bull to Lord Ashley, Sept. 12, 1670, and William Owen to Lord Ashley, Sept. 15, 1670, all in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 157, 194, and 201.

⁷¹ Letter of Thos. Godwin from Virginia, Apr. 26, 1670, from Lord Ashley to Sir John Yeamans, May, 1670, and from the Council to the Proprietors, Sept. 9, 1670, all in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 163-165, and 179; letter of Joseph West to Lord Ashley, June 27, 1670, in Courtenay, *Genesis of South Carolina*, 120.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 119.

⁷³ Joseph Dalton to Lord Ashley, Sept. 9, 1670, and Stephen Bull to Lord Ashley, Sept. 12, 1670, both in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 184, and 194.

⁷⁴ Letter of West to Ashley, Mar. 2, 1671, in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 267.

⁷⁵ Barbados Proclamation, Nov. 4, 1670, in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 211.

of 1671 the Colony was depending on the arrival of food supplies from the Bermudas.⁷⁶ The council was compelled to place those dependent on the Proprietors' stores on strictly limited rations and to require each head of a family to tend at least two acres of provisions for each member of his household.⁷⁷ There was another severe drouth in the Spring of 1671, though crops did well after the rains came.⁷⁸ The continual arrival of persons "slenderly provisioned"⁷⁹ caused the necessity of importing food supplies to continue in 1672. In the Spring of 1673 Sir Peter Colleton wrote, "Our frends in Carolina sing the same song they did from the beginning—great want of victuall, cloathes, & tools." In June of that year there was an extreme scarcity of provisions, though an abundant corn harvest was expected.⁸⁰ Apparently the necessity of importing food was not relieved until after the harvest of 1674.⁸¹

EXPERIMENTS WITH VARIOUS CROPS IN THE ASHLEY RIVER SETTLEMENT

In the settlement of South Carolina there was the same uncertainty concerning the products that would prove adapted to the climate and soil as in the case of Virginia and Maryland, and the same initial process of experimentation.⁸² The instructions issued by the Proprietors concerning the establishment of their private plantation indicate that they intended to engage in the production of ginger, sugar, indigo, grapes for wine, and cotton as the principal money crops. For provision crops they suggested the planting of maize, beans, peas, turnips, carrots, and potatoes.⁸³

The first two years witnessed a great many experiments and resulted in some disillusionment. Letters written in June, 1670, reported that the settlers had planted corn, potatoes, and other things, which were thriving but would not yield sufficiently to supply the Colony. They had also planted some flax, and they believed that the country would produce sugar-cane, wine, tobacco, silk, and the various kinds of English grain.⁸⁴ In September it was reported that cotton, tobacco, and other provisions were doing well. They had planted orange, lemon, and lime trees, also plantains, "Pomcitterne," pomegranate, and fig trees.⁸⁵ The ensuing winter, much more severe than in the West Indies, caused doubts to arise with respect to a number of the commodities which had appeared to flourish under the heat of summer. In January, 1672, Joseph Dalton wrote that he believed the winters too cold for cotton and sugar-cane. He thought the profitable commodities would be wine, oil, silk, indigo, tobacco, hemp, flax,

⁷⁶ Letter to Sir Peter Colleton, in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 272.

⁷⁷ South Carolina, *Journal of the Grand Council*, 1671-1680, pp. 26-27.

⁷⁸ Maurice Matthews to Ashley, Aug. 30, 1671, in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 333.

⁷⁹ South Carolina, *Journal of the Grand Council*, 1671-1680, p. 53.

⁸⁰ Letters to John Locke, in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 423, 425.

⁸¹ Proprietors to Shaftesbury, Nov. 20, 1674, in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 455.

⁸² See pp. 22-26.

⁸³ Instructions to West, in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 125-129.

⁸⁴ West to Ashley, June 27, 1670, and the Council to the Proprietors (about same date), in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 174-176.

⁸⁵ F. O'Sullivan to Lord Ashley, Sept. 10, 1670, and Stephen Bull to Lord Ashley, Sept. 12, 1670, in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 188, 193.

"and some Ginger."⁸⁶ In March, 1671, West wrote that wheat planted before Christmas was looking well. He had planted ginger and a number of other things as experiments. Some of the planters from Barbados believed the country would grow anything that was produced in the "Charibbe" (Leeward) Islands, but West made reservation as to cotton, saying, "I feare this will not prove a Cotton Country."⁸⁷ In the Summer of 1671 it was reported that guinea corn was flourishing, as well as cotton and indigo; but these were all regarded as experiments. The colonists had been very successful with watermelons, muskmelons, potatoes, pumpkins, and tobacco.⁸⁸ The following January it was asserted that ginger grew well, but was found difficult to cure on account of the severe winters.⁸⁹ In 1674 Lord Shaftesbury ordered experiments on his private plantation with oranges, cassava, and Irish potatoes.⁹⁰

In South Carolina, as in the other Southern Colonies, wine and silk were the subjects of perennial experiment.⁹¹ West had been ordered to take vines from Barbados to plant in Carolina.⁹² In 1672 Dalton wrote that he believed vines and olive trees would be the only profitable commodities. He asserted, "Wee have indeed plenty of diverse sorts of grapes here some very pleasant and large but being prest the thickness of their outward skinn yields a kind of harshness which gives us reason to feare (though we intend to make tryall of them) that they will hardly ever be reclaymed or with very great difficulty." He urged the sending out of good plants of vines and olives, and persons skilled in their husbandry.⁹³ In 1698 the Proprietors were requested to send out seeds and slips of "Zant and other Late Ripe Grapes, . . . Capers French Prunella's Smirna Currants."⁹⁴

The abundance of wild mulberry trees had raised the same high hopes of a silk industry as in the early years of Virginia. In May, 1671, instructions were issued by the Proprietors to Captain Halsted which illustrate their eagerness to establish the silk industry. He was ordered to stop by Virginia and "to learn as much as you can any of ye husbandry of Manufactures of ye place, w^{ch} may be usefull to our people in Carolina, as particularly in Virginia ye sorts & ordering of mulberry trees, silkworms & all belonging to ye right way of makeing ye best Silk, Tobacco, Indigo, Cotton, &c., & this to communicate to our people at Ashley River & particularly you are to carry from Virginia some of ye best sort of mulberry trees for Silkworms & plant them there."⁹⁵ Another promising effort which also came to naught was made in the arrival of the forty-five Hu-

⁸⁶ Letter to Ashley, Jan. 20, 1672, in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 376-378.

⁸⁷ Letter to Ashley, Mar. 21, 1671, in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 297.

⁸⁸ Maurice Matthews to Ashley, Aug. 30, 1671, in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 333.

⁸⁹ W. Owen to Proprietors, about Jan. 20, 1672, in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 388.

⁹⁰ Instructions to Percivall, May 23, 1674, in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 440-442.

⁹¹ Concerning the later experiments, see below, pp. 184-190.

⁹² South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 125.

⁹³ Letter of Jan. 20, 1672, in *ibid.*, 382.

⁹⁴ South Carolina, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly*, Sept. 13-Oct. 8, and Nov. 9-19, 1698, p. 36.

⁹⁵ South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 321.

guenot refugees who came on the *Richmond* in 1680. The silkworm eggs which they brought with them were hatched at sea, and the worms for want of provision were lost.⁹⁶ In May, 1700, Edward Randolph wrote, "The making of silk is also much improved,"⁹⁷ and by 1707, under the fostering care of Sir Nathaniel Johnson, the making of silk had progressed to such an extent that some families produced as much as 40 or 50 pounds a year, employing Negro children in feeding the worms. The inhabitants mixed the silk with wool in the manufacture of druggets for domestic wear.⁹⁸ It is probable that during the first decade of the eighteenth century small quantities of silk were produced for export.⁹⁹ Lawson, who was in South Carolina in 1700, reported that the Colony produced "great Quantities."¹⁰⁰

It is interesting that rice, indigo, and cotton, crops destined at later periods to become important staples, were apparently tried with but little success.¹⁰¹ In 1672 it was reported that they could be sure of two or three crops of indigo a year "as likely as any in Barbadoes." Two years later they still expected shortly to make considerable quantities of indigo and cotton.¹⁰² In 1682 Thomas Ash wrote, "Indigo they have made and that good: The reason why they desisted I cannot learn."¹⁰³ In 1690 instructions were sent the South Carolina authorities to accept indigo, silk, and cotton in payment of quitrents.¹⁰⁴ In 1694 an act was ratified providing special encouragement for the production of wine, indigo, and salt,¹⁰⁵ but two years later a committee recommended its repeal.¹⁰⁶ In the time of Governor Archdale indigo was mentioned as an article in which quitrents might be paid.¹⁰⁷ In 1693 some cotton was probably being exported, for the Proprietors wrote the governor commending the care he had taken in regard to the cotton transported from Carolina to other plantations.¹⁰⁸ In 1699 Edward Randolph reported, "The trades of cotton-wool, indigo, ginger, etc. not answering their expectations, the inhabitants are now upon making of pitch, tar and turpentine, and planting of rice."¹⁰⁹

For a number of years tobacco appeared to be a most promising crop. Some of the early settlers had undertaken to repay their indebtedness either in tobacco or pipe staves.¹¹⁰ Good reports were given of the quality of South Carolina

⁹⁶ Ash, *Carolina* (Salley, Narratives), 143.

⁹⁷ South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, I, 214.

⁹⁸ Archdale, *Description of Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 118.

⁹⁹ Robt. Holden to the Lords of Trade (1707), in *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 664.

¹⁰⁰ *Carolina*, 5.

¹⁰¹ Concerning the earlier experiments with rice, see below, p. 277.

¹⁰² Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1669-1674, pp. 320, 620.

¹⁰³ Ash, *Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 69. See editor's note giving summary of these experiments. South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 377.

¹⁰⁴ Salley, *Records in the British Public Record Office relating to South Carolina*, 1685-1690, p. 289; *idem*, *Commissions and Instructions to the Public Officials of South Carolina*, 17. This gives the date 1691, probably the year when the instructions were received.

¹⁰⁵ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), II, 78.

¹⁰⁶ South Carolina, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly*, Jan. 30-Mar. 17, 1696, p. 20.

¹⁰⁷ Rivers, *Sketch of South Carolina*, 163.

¹⁰⁸ Salley, *Commissions and Instructions to Public Officials of South Carolina*, 71.

¹⁰⁹ South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, I, 211; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1699, p. 106.

¹¹⁰ South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 300; South Carolina, *Journal of the Grand Council*, 1671-1680, pp. 43, 79.

tobacco, which was said to be superior to that of Virginia.¹¹¹ In 1674 it was believed that the settlers would soon be able to make considerable returns in tobacco, which they considered equal in quality to the Spanish product.¹¹² About 1682, however, Ash wrote that while the country could produce a quality equal to the Spanish, yet, "finding a great deal of trouble in the Planting and Cure of it, and the great Quantities which Virginia, and other of His Majesties Plantations make, rendring it a Drug over all Europe; they do not much regard or encourage its Planting."¹¹³

In spite of early optimistic predictions,¹¹⁴ small grain made little headway. In 1682 Thomas Newe wrote his father, "The English Barly and Wheat do thrive very well, but the Indian corn being more hearty and profitable, the other is not much regarded."¹¹⁵ An act passed by the assembly in 1693 provided special encouragement for the planting of wheat,¹¹⁶ but it was repealed two years later.¹¹⁷ In 1710 Thomas Nairne wrote that the Colony produced oats, rye, barley, "and some Wheat, tho' not much."¹¹⁸

BEGINNINGS OF THE LIVESTOCK INDUSTRY IN SOUTH CAROLINA

It is a fitting commentary on the difficulty of forecasting the course of economic development of new colonies that the commodities that became the principal staples in the early decades of the Ashley River settlement were not contemplated in the original plans. These commodities were barrelled beef and pork; tar, turpentine, and other timber products; and furs obtained from the Indian trade.

Although the Proprietors exerted themselves to procure small stocks of cattle and hogs, they did not cherish the intention of developing the livestock industry beyond the point of domestic supply, declaring that they "intended to introduce planters and not graziers."¹¹⁹ The colonists, on the other hand, early recognized the advantages for livestock of the mild winters and abundant range.¹²⁰

The early supply of livestock was obtained from various sources. In addition to the cows and hogs brought from Barbados, Virginia, the Bermudas, and New York,¹²¹ Sir John Yeamans imported in 1671 a hundred head of cattle from Virginia.¹²² The Virginia cattle were described as exceedingly small, while those from Bermuda and New York, the latter probably Dutch breeds, were very large and gave two gallons at a milking.¹²³ Horses were also early introduced.

¹¹¹ South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 334, 347; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1669-1674, pp. 320, 436.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 620.

¹¹³ *Carolina* (Salley, *Narratives*), 147.

¹¹⁴ West to Sir George Carteret, Mar. 2, 1671, in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 269; Salley, *Narratives of Carolina*, 146, 170.

¹¹⁵ Letter of May 17, in *American Historical Review*, XII, 323.

¹¹⁶ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), II, 78.

¹¹⁷ South Carolina, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly*, Jan. 30-Mar. 17, 1696, p. 27.

¹¹⁸ *Letter from South Carolina*, 9.

¹¹⁹ South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, I, 99; V, 437.

¹²⁰ Stephen Bull to Ashley, Mar. 2, 1671, in *ibid.*, V, 275.

¹²¹ See above, p. 51.

¹²² South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 348.

¹²³ Council to Proprietors, Sept. 9, 1670, West to Ashley, Mar. 2, 21, 1671, both in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 180, and 267, 298.

In March, 1671, the council urged the Proprietors to send "some horses fit for plowing, which the people doe intend to fall upon;"¹²⁴ and two years later it was resolved by the authorities that all the horses in the Colony should be "taken up" for an expedition against the Westoes.¹²⁵ During the first decade of the Colony a considerable number were imported from New York and New England, particularly Rhode Island. They were described as "not so good as those in England, but by reason of their scarcity much dearer," an ordinary three-year old colt being worth £15 or £16.¹²⁶ Evidently they were of sufficient quality to justify imposition in March, 1701, of an import tax on horses brought overland from Virginia or other northern Colonies, in order to prevent the South Carolina stock from suffering deterioration.¹²⁷ A dozen years after the first settlement horses were not employed extensively for field work or even in travel, for Newe stated, "As they are scarce, so there is but little use of them yet, all Plantations being seated on the Rivers, they can go to and fro by Canoo or Boat."¹²⁸ Before sailing on the first expedition, Captain West had been instructed to obtain sheep for the new Colony.¹²⁹ In November, 1670, Captain Brayne wrote that he had three sheep on his plantation.¹³⁰ The next year it was reported that sheep and goats "thrive here very well, Yet we are something in feare of ye Wolves w^{ch} are too plenty."¹³¹

Within ten years South Carolina was well on the way to being an important herding region. About 1682 Ash observed that the settlers had many thousand head of cows, hogs, and sheep,¹³² and about the same time Samuel Wilson wrote that some individual planters had as many as 700 or 800 head of cattle. He asserted that an ox could be raised "at almost as little expence in Carolina, as a Hen is in England."¹³³ Sheep did well but required a shepherd to protect them from the wolves. Hogs prospered on the mast, but great numbers had become wild in the woods, where wild animals obtained their share of them.¹³⁴ In 1691 an act was passed for "ascertaining the Guage of Barrells and for avoiding of deceits in selling and buying Beefe and Porke." The act recited the fact that beef and pork "are two of the principal commodities of the product of this part of this province, and greate quantities thereof are transported beyond the seas." The act specified the size of barrels and required every cooper to stamp his mark, registered with the secretary of the Colony, on each barrel manufactured by him, and forbade the packing of "bull's flesh, boare's flesh, or any other unmerchantable or corrupt meate." Searchers or gaugers were appointed to

¹²⁴ South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 286.

¹²⁵ South Carolina, *Journal of the Grand Council*, 1671-1680, p. 63.

¹²⁶ Newe, *Letters from South Carolina* (American Historical Review, XII), 325; Wilson, S., *Account of Carolina* (Salley, Narratives), 172.

¹²⁷ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), II, 164; Salley, *Commissions and Instructions to Public Officials of South Carolina*, 148.

¹²⁸ *Letters from South Carolina* (American Historical Review, XII), 325; Wilson, S., *Account of Carolina* (Salley, Narratives), 172.

¹²⁹ South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 127.

¹³⁰ Letter to Ashley, Nov. 9, 1670, in *ibid.*, 215.

¹³¹ An old letter, probably about Mar., 1671, in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 308.

¹³² *Carolina* (Salley, Narratives), 149.

¹³³ *Account of Carolina* (Salley, Narratives), 171.

¹³⁴ Ash, *Carolina*, and Wilson, S., *Account of Carolina* (both in Salley, Narratives), 149, and 172.

inspect all exported meat.¹³⁵ About 1682 Samuel Wilson declared hogs were so numerous that frequently a single man without any servants would maintain a drove of 200 or 300 head.¹³⁶ In 1695 Governor Nicholson, of Maryland, spoke of the "vast flocks of cattle" in the Carolinas,¹³⁷ and in 1710 Thomas Nairne wrote, "South Carolina abounds with black Cattle, to a Degree much beyond any other English Colony." Some people had as many as a thousand head "but for one Man to have 200 is very common." The colonists had an abundance of hogs "and some sheep and goats."¹³⁸

OTHER STAPLE PRODUCTS DURING THE EARLY DECADES

Another industry which inevitably came to the front in the early economic life of the Colony was the production of pitch, tar, and turpentine, besides various timber products, such as clapboards and barrel heading. The latter were chiefly important for the West Indian trade, although pitch and tar were also sent to the Islands. As early as 1671 provision was made for the appointment of viewers to inspect pipestaves and determine which were merchantable.¹³⁹ As a result of the encouragement given by the British Government in 1705, the industry in the Carolinas began to expand in the closing years of the period under consideration.¹⁴⁰ Although the beginnings of the rice industry occurred before 1710, the principal development of this staple was after the period considered in the present chapter.¹⁴¹

A bird's-eye picture of the economic life of South Carolina about the close of the first decade of the eighteenth century reveals a very considerable diversity in commercial production. About 1680-1682 the principal exports had been pork, corn, some pitch, tar, and cedar to Barbados. To England the colonists sent principally furs and cedar. They also furnished provisions to vessels touching at the port of Charleston.¹⁴² As late as 1687 it was declared that the inhabitants had "hardly overcome ye Want of Victuals & not as yett produced any Commodities fitt for ye Markett of Europe, butt a few Skins . . . & a little Cedar."¹⁴³ By 1704 the trade to the Leeward Islands included corn (twice a year), beef, pork, potted venison and fowl, soap, candles, butter, cheese, staves, boards and planks, timber for houses and sugar factories, and spirits made from various kinds of fruits.¹⁴⁴ In 1709, according to an official account,¹⁴⁵ exports to England consisted of rice, pitch, tar, buck and doe skins in the hair and also dressed by the Indians, some few furs such as beaver, otter, wildcat, and

¹³⁵ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), II, 55-57. Concerning the general regulation of the industry in the Carolinas, see Chap. IX.

¹³⁶ *Account of Carolina* (Salley, Narratives), 172.

¹³⁷ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1693-1696, p. 511.

¹³⁸ *Letter from South Carolina*, 13.

¹³⁹ South Carolina, *Journal of Grand Council*, 1671-1680, p. 17; Ash, *Carolina* (Salley, Narratives), 158.

¹⁴⁰ See below, pp. 153-155.

¹⁴¹ See Chap. XIII.

¹⁴² Newe, *Letters from South Carolina* (American Historical Review, XII), 324; Ash, *Carolina* (Salley, Narratives), 158.

¹⁴³ London, P.R.O., C.O. 324/5, p. 6 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

¹⁴⁴ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1706-1708, p. 120.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 1708-1709, pp. 466-468, supplemented by Nairne, *Letter from South Carolina*, 15-17.

raccoon, buffalo and bear skins, some ox and cow hides, "a little silk," and staves. Since the Colony imported from England more than its exports could pay for, a balance was struck partly by reexporting to England a number of products and money brought from the West Indies in the course of trade. South Carolina exports to the West Indies consisted of staves, hoops, shingles, beef, pork, rice, pitch, tar, wax candles made of myrtle berries, tallow and tallow candles, butter, "English and Indian pease," and sometimes a small quantity of tanned leather. To New England, Pennsylvania, New York, and Virginia the exports consisted of Indian slaves, light deerskins dressed, some tanned leather, gloves, pitch, tar, and a small quantity of rice. There was also a trade to the Madeira Islands, from which the Colony received most of its wine in exchange for provisions, staves, and barrel heads. To St. Thomas and Curaçao the colonists sent the same commodities as to the British West Indies except rice, pitch, and tar, which had been lately prohibited, much to the disadvantage of the Colony. It is evident that not all of the commodities included in the list of exports were important. It is probable that the most important were rice, tar, pitch, salt beef and pork, some maize, peas and beans, and deerskins. About this time twenty-two ships were engaged in the English trade, and there cleared annually about sixty sail in all. About ten or twelve vessels were owned in the Province.¹⁴⁶

In exchange for these exports the Colony received rum, sugar, molasses, salt, cotton, fustic, chocolate, brazilwood, logwood, Peruvian bark, "Isleathera," coconuts, ambergris, tortoise-shell, pimento, a considerable quantity of English manufactured goods, and some prize goods taken from the French and Spaniards. One of the most important items of importation was slaves, mostly from the West Indies, to which South Carolina in turn exported Indian slaves. From the North came beer, cider, flour and biscuits, onions, apples, hops, dried fish, and sometimes European commodities. It was believed that, including slaves, the value of imports considerably exceeded that of exports, the difference being represented mainly by credit extended to the Colony by British merchants.¹⁴⁷

Contemporary accounts indicate a great diversity of other products of less commercial importance, most of them mainly for domestic consumption. These include potashes, cheese, hemp and flax, cole (kale), rape, linseed oils, safflower, tobacco, almonds, raisins, figs, tea, pomegranates, nectarines, prunes and plums, oranges, lemons, various kinds of domestic wines and brandies, apricots, apples, pears, cherries, quinces, peaches (which were said to be so abundant that they were fed in large quantities to hogs), raspberries, blueberries, blackberries, strawberries, white and black mulberries, five or six kinds of Indian peas, several kinds of Indian beans, kidney beans, French beans, pumpkins, squashes, six or seven kinds of potatoes, gourds, "ponelons," cucumbers, radishes, lettuce, coleworts, parsnips, turnips, carrots, muskmelons, and watermelons. The woodlands of the country yielded also a great diversity of natural products, such as walnuts, hickory nuts, chestnuts, chinkapins, acorns, wild "potatoes" and

¹⁴⁶ Nairne, *Letter from South Carolina*, 15-16; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1708-1709, p. 467.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 466-468; Nairne, *Letter from South Carolina*, 15-17.

several other edible roots, wild plums, grapes, medlars, huckleberries, hazelnuts, cedarberries, sassafras, chinaroot, snakeroot, and a variety of other roots and herbs. The woods also abounded in game and the waters in fish, and in this early period the Indians were hired to hunt game for the whites.¹⁴⁸

There had been as yet but little development of domestic manufactures, although some of the planters made "a few stuffs of silk and cotton, and a sort of cloth of cotton and wool of their own growth to cloath their slaves."¹⁴⁹ In 1695 Governor Nicholson wrote, "I hear that in Carolina they go much upon trade and manufacture, especially the French that are there."¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ Ash, *Carolina*, and Wilson, S., *Account of Carolina* (both in Salley, *Narratives*), 142-152, and 170-176; South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, II, 213; Nairne, *Letter from South Carolina*, 7-11.

¹⁴⁹ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1708-1709, p. 467.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 1693-1696, p. 511.

CHAPTER IV

AGRICULTURE IN THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY AND GULF COASTAL PLAIN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY¹

Circumstances Leading to Colonization, 60. Slow Development of Agriculture in the Early Period, 62. Progress in Production of Cereal Crops, 65. Miscellaneous Food Crops, 68. Tobacco, 69. Indigo Production, 73. Other Staple Products, 74. Experiments with Sugar and Cotton, 76. Livestock, 78. Conditions Retarding the Development of Commercial Agriculture, 80.

CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING TO COLONIZATION

While the English were securing a foothold and developing populous agricultural colonies along the Atlantic coast, the French succeeded early in the eighteenth century in establishing themselves on the Gulf coast and along the Mississippi and its tributaries. The explorations of Ménard, Allouez, Marquette and Joliet, La Salle, Hennepin, and Tonti, covering the period from 1660 to 1682, had made the French aware of the great possibilities of the Mississippi valley, familiar with the portages from Canadian settlements, and acquainted with the character and habits of the native tribes.

In 1684 the Sieur de la Salle set out from France with a well equipped expedition, intending to establish a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. On account of ignorance of the geography of the Gulf coast the expedition passed to the westward of the great river and finally, landing on the coast of Texas, built a fort named St. Louis. The expedition had brought various kinds of domestic livestock and an ample supply of agricultural implements; and shortly after its arrival land was cleared and sown to grain. The Colony was unfortunate from the beginning,² and finally La Salle set out by land with a small force for the Mississippi. After the murder of the leader by malcontents, the survivors succeeded in penetrating to the Mississippi, and some of them ultimately reached Canada. The Colony itself disappeared, probably destroyed by the Indians.³ Accordingly, the permanent beginnings of French colonization on the lower Mississippi were postponed for more than a decade.

It was only by a narrow margin that the wave of English expansion along the Atlantic coast failed to swing around the Florida straits and spread along the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico. The English had early acquired claims to and some knowledge of this section. Although not all of the assertions concerning early explorations in the Gulf coastal region are historically authenticated, the assertions are sufficiently numerous and varied to indicate considerable early activity in that region. Shortly after the beginning of the Protectorate a British

¹ Concerning the early evolution of the plantation system in Louisiana, see Chap. XV, below.

² Joutel, *Historical Journal* (French, Hist. Collections, I), 115; Cavelier, *Account of La Salle's Voyage* (Shea, *Early Voyages*), 17 & n.; Le Clerq, *Account of La Salle's Attempt to Reach the Mississippi by Sea* (French, Hist. Collections, IV), 194.

³ Extract from the Spanish account, in Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, 208-210 n.; Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States*, Chaps. IV-V.

captain, Watts by name, touched on the Gulf coast, and falling in with a shipwrecked Englishman named Leet, gained knowledge of the country and acquired some titles to land from the Indians.⁴ Mention has already been made of the British settlement in West Florida during the Protectorate, later abandoned, with which Captain Watts had been connected.⁵ In 1668 an English naval expedition under Sir John Harman landed at the mouth of the Mississippi for fresh water and proceeded several hundred miles up the river, where they settled for a time on one of its tributaries, in latitude 33°.⁶ Ten years later an exploring expedition from New England was reported to have penetrated as far as New Mexico, and on returning, some of the Indians who had accompanied the expedition are said to have given La Salle an account of the regions explored.⁷ Dr. Daniel Coxe, who had inherited a claim to Carolina, developed a great interest in the Gulf region. He asserted that in the twenty-three years preceding the close of the century he had expended upwards of £9,000 in various exploring expeditions beyond the Mississippi. Just before the close of the century Coxe entered into an arrangement with certain Huguenot refugees who agreed to settle in the Mississippi valley. In the latter part of 1698 Coxe sent two ships for preliminary exploration. He also attempted to interest certain English merchants in financing a colonization project. The matter was referred to the English Commissioners for Trade and Plantations for an opinion as to the validity of the undertaking, but that body after due consideration decided unfavorably.⁸ In 1681 three English ships explored the Gulf coast and entered the Mississippi, and in 1688 an expedition from South Carolina landed at various points on the coast in search of a Spanish caravel. Probably for a decade or more before the close of the century fur traders from the Carolinas had been penetrating among the tribes of the lower Mississippi valley, and by the close of the century had become "as well acquainted with those parts as most of the English with the road from London to York, and have frequently travelled to the borders of New Mexico."⁹

In 1697 M. de Rémonville had proposed to Count de Pontchartrain the formation of a stock company for the purpose of establishing a French colony in the lower Mississippi valley. It was the news, however, of the awakening of English interest in the seizure of the region that suddenly convinced the French crown that quick action was necessary.¹⁰ Accordingly, a force was fitted out under the command of Le Moyne d'Iberville. The expedition reached the Gulf coast in

⁴ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1699, p. 523.

⁵ See above, p. 42. Cf. account by Dr. Daniel Coxe, in Alvord & Bidgood, *First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region*, 243.

⁶ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1699, p. 523.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 524.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 517, 520, 559, 572, 578-580; 1700, p. 69; Coxe, D., *Description of Carolana*, 121. See brief biography of Coxe, in Alvord & Bidgood, *First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region*, 231 n. Concerning the doubtful character of some of Coxe's claims, see Crane, "Projects for Colonization in the South, 1684-1732," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XII, 25.

⁹ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1699, p. 525; cf. Winsor, *Mississippi Basin*, 20-21.

¹⁰ Rémonville, *Memoir* (French, Hist. Collections, new series), 8-11; Heinrich, *Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes*, p. xxviii.

January, 1699. Finding that the Spaniards had built a small fort at Pensacola several months earlier, the French proceeded westward, and established a settlement at Biloxi, west of Mobile Bay. Leaving eighty men to garrison the fort, Iberville set out for France to procure additional forces and supplies, having previously compelled the soldiers to plant beans and maize.¹¹

The action of the French Government was none too soon. In May, 1699, the French were informed of the activity of two English traders among the Chickasaws, with whom the English had already an established trading relationship,¹² and in the following year a French detachment encountered an English trader on the river.¹³ In September, 1700, Bienville met an English ship in the lower reaches of the Mississippi. The English captain asserted prior claims to the region, but proceeded peaceably on his way. The French then established a small fort near the spot, which, however, they abandoned in 1707.¹⁴

SLOW DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE IN THE EARLY PERIOD

For more than two decades after the establishment of the Biloxi settlement there was no agricultural development of consequence. It is true, the French made some incidental experiments in agriculture;¹⁵ but no important agricultural staple was developed, and the Colony continued largely dependent on food from abroad.¹⁶ There was almost a chronic shortage. Thus, in December, 1700, Father Gravier found the garrison near the mouth of the Mississippi so short of food that they were compelled to subsist mainly on maize procured from the Indians. A little wheat sown had been spoiled by high water, and the garden vegetables planted had fared little better. At Biloxi conditions were not so bad; the settlers there had more "open meadow,"—that is, land already clear of trees and available for crops,—and they had planted many kinds of garden products.¹⁷ Yet, when Iberville returned from France, the garrison had been subsisting for three months on only a little maize. The Spanish garrison at Pensacola had made even less provision for producing their supplies of farm products. Consequently for a number of years the two Colonies were compelled from time to time to resort to each other for the necessary food to stave off starvation. This reciprocal dependence continued for nearly a decade, but in time the relatively greater neglect of agriculture by the Spaniards caused their Colony to become a market for farm products from Louisiana.¹⁸

The dependence of the French Colony on external sources of food supplies was rendered the more precarious by reason of interruption of communications during the struggle between France and England from 1702 to 1713. In 1707, when the

¹¹ Le Moyne d'Iberville, *Narrative of the Voyage to Louisiana in 1698*, and Pénicaud, *Annals of Louisiana* (both in French, Hist. Collections, new series), 19–31, and 35–50.

¹² La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 15.

¹³ Pénicaud, *Annals of Louisiana* (French, Hist. Collections, new series), 63.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 59; Heinrich, *Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes*, pp. xxviii–xxxi, xxxiii, xlvi.

¹⁵ For an account of these experiments, see pp. 67–69.

¹⁶ Charlevoix, *History of New France*, V, 134; VI, 32, 39.

¹⁷ French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, 2 series, 90 n.

¹⁸ La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 37, 79–80, 85–86, 97, 101–102, 108; Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 419.

Eagle arrived, the colonists had been living for some time on the products of hunting.¹⁹ Throughout the year 1709 and part of 1710 they were in a desperate condition. In January, 1709, the garrison was compelled to live mainly on acorns, and in the following year it became again necessary to distribute the garrison among the Indians.²⁰ Although occasional supplies came through from France, the Colony was compelled to rely largely on food obtained from the Spaniards at Vera Cruz and Havana, whose restrictive policy rendered this dependence a precarious one.²¹ Even after the close of the war interruptions of trade caused the settlers to face occasional food shortages. In 1716 food was very scarce, and it was necessary to send a ship to San Domingo for provisions.²² The following year the empty warehouses were supplied by an English vessel, in spite of the restriction on such trade; and in 1718 provisions were again so scarce that it was found necessary to abandon Fort St. Joseph.²³ The large accession to the population due to the colonizing activity of the *Compagnie d'Occident* and the *Compagnie des Indes* resulted in another acute shortage in the Fall of 1721, when it again became necessary to quarter the troops among the Indians.²⁴

The comparatively slight development of the Colony prior to the beginning of control by the *Compagnie d'Occident* in 1717 is largely attributable to the fact that the initial settlement for the purpose of forestalling England was but an obscure phase of the world-wide colonial struggle between the rival powers. The economic interest was for the time being merely incidental, and such concern as existed took the form mainly of a desire to exploit the Indian trade, to discover mines, and to develop a trade with the Spaniards in New Mexico.²⁵ This last objective led to an exploring expedition up Red River as early as 1701 and the establishment in 1713 of a fortified post at Natchitoches, which, though abandoned the next year, was reestablished in 1717.²⁶ The French Government, indeed, had made a vain attempt on the return of Iberville from his second voyage to associate the Spaniards with its American policy,²⁷ but throughout the period Spanish jealousy of French aims and their traditional exclusiveness in trade policy proved obstacles which the French did not succeed in effectively overcoming.²⁸

Unfortunately, the Colony was literally established largely on sand, for the immediate neighborhood of the first settlement at old Biloxi consisted of light, sandy soils, of comparatively low fertility and limited durability.²⁹ The location

¹⁹ Pénicaud, *Annals of Louisiana* (French, Hist. Collections, new series), 98.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 104; Heinrich, *Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes*, pp. xlviii-1; Gayarré, *Romance of the History of Louisiana*, 151.

²¹ La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 107-109, 111, 114-115; Pénicaud, *Annals of Louisiana* (French, Hist. Collections, new series), 111, 113; Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 388, 431.

²² La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 123.

²³ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 445; La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 142.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 261.

²⁵ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 155-157.

²⁶ Pénicaud, *Annals of Louisiana* (French, Hist. Collections, new series), 72, 114-127; La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 31-35, 113, 129-131; Charlevoix, *History of New France*, VI, 20.

²⁷ Heinrich, *Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes*, pp. xxxv-xxxvii.

²⁸ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 388-391, 407-409, 418-421, 431-433.

²⁹ Charlevoix, *History of New France*, VI, 16, 39 & n.

was unhealthful because surrounded by a morass. Shallow water near the coast prevented the direct trade of large ships with the mainland and made it necessary to establish a landing depot on an island some leagues distant.³⁰ In 1702 a settlement was established at Fort Louis de la Louisiane, eighteen leagues from the mouth of the Mobile river, but it was later found that the location was subject to inundation, and in 1711 the fort was removed to the mouth of the river. In 1717 the French built new Biloxi, one league west of old Biloxi.³¹

During the first two decades a large proportion of the settlers were officials, Indian traders, and soldiers.³² Thus, most of the population were nonproducers in an agricultural sense. The numbers increased but slowly. In 1712, when Crozat took the Colony over, it comprised about 400 souls, including but 20 Negroes. There were only 28 families, and not half of them engaged in agriculture.³³ Although his exclusive contract with the Government, involving monopoly of trade and control of the resources and administration of the Colony, required Crozat to send out two shiploads of colonists each year and permitted one shipload of Negroes per year, the population did not increase rapidly during the five years of his control. Crozat did not command the resources necessary for so extensive an undertaking, and he was interested principally in mining and trade.³⁴ When he surrendered his control to the Compagnie d'Occident in 1717, the Colony comprised only 700 persons. There was still but little agricultural activity, and the principal exports consisted of peltry and some lumber and tar.³⁵

The Compagnie d'Occident was possessed of more ample resources than Crozat had been able to command.³⁶ It shortly passed under the control of that financial juggler and prince of promoters, John Law, and under the wizardry of his influence there was soon blown up a marvelous bubble of popular madness for irrational and ill-considered investment.³⁷ In Law's hands there was soon effected a tremendous concentration of governmentally created special privileges, while the original Compagnie d'Occident was enlarged by the addition of three other great monopolistic trading companies, the entire aggregation assuming the name of the Compagnie des Indes.³⁸ Consequently, during the three or four years that the "System" lasted, there was apparently an unlimited amount of capital, and the resources of the company were further supplemented by granting large tracts of land to concessionaires who undertook to colonize them. Through the

³⁰ Beer, W., "Early Census Tables of Louisiana," in La. Hist. Soc., *Publications*, V, 102; Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 24, 41; Hamilton, P. J., *Colonial Mobile*, 31.

³¹ Pénicaut, *Annals of Louisiana* (French, Hist. Collections, new series), 77, 103, 135; Hamilton, P. J., *Colonial Mobile*, 36-39, 69; Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 25.

³² Baudry des Lozières, *Voyage à la Louisiane*, 6-8.

³³ Pénicaut, *Annals of Louisiana* (French, Hist. Collections, new series), 113; Charlevoix, *History of New France*, VI, 32.

³⁴ Letters Patent to Crozat, in Louisiana Historical Society, *Publications*, IV, 43-61; Vergennes, *Mémoire sur la Louisiane*, 141; La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 113; Gayarré, *Romance of the History of Louisiana*, 173, 190.

³⁵ La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 139-140; Charlevoix, *History of New France*, VI, 32.

³⁶ Heinrich, *Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes*, p. lxxix.

³⁷ For a contemporary relation of the absurd hopes and expectations of an immigrant, see the account written by the engineer Franquet de Chaville. *Voyage en Louisiane, 1720-1724* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, IV), 104, 113, 142.

³⁸ Montagne, *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, 8-27, 34-39, 51-70; Heinrich, *Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes*, Bk. I, Chaps. I-II; Gravier, H., *Colonisation de la Louisiane*, 32-35.

joint activity of the companies and the concessionaires, new settlers were rapidly poured into the Colony. During the three years 1717–1720 there arrived a total of 7,020 persons, of whom 2,462 were *engagés*, or indentured servants sent out to establish the concessions, while 119 were heads or managers of concessions. Not less than 1,278 persons were classed as criminals or other exiles. There were also approximately 1,500 slaves.³⁹

It had been recognized for some time that the prosperity of the Colony depended on the development of agriculture, and that the rich alluvial lands of the Mississippi afforded a much better location for such a purpose than the region near Biloxi. One of the first steps taken by the Compagnie d'Occident had been to reestablish a settlement on the Mississippi, designed to be the capital of the Colony, on part of the site of the present city of New Orleans. Henceforth the Mississippi and its tributaries became the principal region of economic activity.⁴⁰

As early as 1719 the French began building levees and constructing drainage ditches.⁴¹ Bienville had obligated the planters to make levees before each plantation, but as early as 1724 it was becoming apparent that without a unified policy these attempts would be futile. The superior council sent engineers, who recommended a uniform plan of protection and drainage.⁴² Three years later there is a record of the sale of a plantation three leagues above New Orleans protected by a levee.⁴³ In the same year the governor announced that the levee was finished before New Orleans, that it was 900 fathoms long and in that year would be extended 6 leagues above and 6 leagues below the city.⁴⁴ By the close of the French régime both banks for about 50 miles above New Orleans and for some distance below the city had been afforded protection.⁴⁵

PROGRESS IN PRODUCTION OF CEREAL CROPS

Because of the comparatively large proportion of the population not engaged in agriculture, rice and other kinds of food had a commercial value in Louisiana, though produced mainly for consumption within the Colony. By 1720 rice was being grown in considerable quantities at various points along the Mississippi.⁴⁶ The following year, in order to give encouragement to the industry, the price was fixed at 12 livres per quintal.⁴⁷ A large quantity was sown in 1722,⁴⁸ and by this time rice was so important a source of supply that the loss of about half the crop through a storm resulted in a very acute scarcity of food.⁴⁹ By 1726 large har-

³⁹ "Faux sauniers, fraudeurs ou exilés," Heinrich, *Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes*, 47 n. See p. 332.

⁴⁰ La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 142; Pénicaut, *Annals of Louisiana* (French, Hist. Collections, new series), 138.

⁴¹ Beer, W., "Early Census Tables of Louisiana," in La. Hist. Soc., *Publications*, IV, 94.

⁴² *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, I, No. 3, p. 141.

⁴³ Louisiana, *Records of the Superior Council* (Louisiana Historical Quarterly, IV), 237.

⁴⁴ Cruzat, "New Orleans under Bienville," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, I, No. 3, p. 80.

⁴⁵ Jefferys, *French Dominions in North and South America*, Pt. I, 148–149.

⁴⁶ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 268.

⁴⁷ La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 291.

⁴⁸ Beer, W., "Early Census Tables of Louisiana," in La. Hist. Soc., *Publications*, IV, 98.

⁴⁹ La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 339.

vests of rice were reported, yielding at the rate of 200 pounds per pound of seed. Officials hoped that Louisiana would soon be able to supply France with all the rice she consumed.⁵⁰ In 1728 there was enough to supply the vessels sailing to the French West Indies.⁵¹ In the earlier period rice was largely employed, along with maize, for the feeding of slaves and was eaten by the poorer class who could not afford to purchase flour.⁵² By the latter part of the colonial period, however, maize had come to be relied upon probably to a greater extent than rice as a food for slaves.⁵³ Broadly speaking, rice never became an important export staple. Although it appeared frequently in the list of exports, it was in small quantities, representing mainly the available product of abundant years.⁵⁴ The demand of the troops and of the urban population of the Colony provided a domestic market, but the comparatively small stretch of territory in which it was produced made the supply peculiarly fluctuating and prices extremely erratic.⁵⁵

The considerable attention to the cultivation of rice along the lower Mississippi was due to the facility with which the lands lying back from the river could be flooded by openings in the levees during the period of high water, which usually began in January and continued for several months. The water was removed through ditches to a point lower down the river or by way of a secondary drainage system through the inland swamps.⁵⁶

Apparently methods of cultivation resembled those which prevailed in Carolina in the early years of the industry. According to Le Page du Pratz, the land to be planted to rice was broken with either a plow or a mattock. It was sown in drills or trenches about the width of a mattock.⁵⁷ About 1753 it was the practice to put on a sprout flow just after sowing. After the rice had taken root, the water was drained off and left off for a period of ten or twelve days, during which time the vigilance of one or two slaves was required to drive away predatory fowls. There was also another flow when the shoots were three or four inches high.⁵⁸ The grain was cut with a sickle, bound in bundles, and stacked for threshing at convenience. As in the Carolinas, it was hulled by beating in a wooden mortar with a heavy wooden pestle ten or twelve feet long. After the first harvest it was customary to stimulate a second growth, from which a second, and sometimes even a third, harvest was obtained. These subsequent crops, however, were inferior both in quantity and in quality to the first crop.⁵⁹

The cultivation of maize was begun in the first years of the Colony, and as early as 1710 settlers sold the government 116 barrels of 150 pounds each.⁶⁰ In 1776

⁵⁰ France, AC, C 13, A 10, f. 143 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, AC, C 13, A 11, f. 119.

⁵² *Present State of the Country and Inhabitants of Louisiana*, 25; Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 183.

⁵³ See statement in Bouligny, *Memoir* (Fortier, *History of Louisiana*, II), 29.

⁵⁴ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 164, 166, 171, 376, 378-380; Price, W., "Indexing Louisiana 'Black Boxes'," in *La. Hist. Soc., Publications*, VIII, 10; Wallace, J., *Illinois and Louisiana*, 378 n.; Vergennes, *Mémoire sur la Louisiane*, 178.

⁵⁵ Louisiana, *Records of the Superior Council* (Louisiana Historical Quarterly, V), 377, 399, 592; Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 192, 214.

⁵⁶ Berquin-Duvallon, *Travels in Louisiana and the Floridas* (Davis), 15.

⁵⁷ *Histoire de la Louisiane*, III, 346.

⁵⁸ *Loc. cit.*; Dumont, *Mémoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, I, 28.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 29; Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, II, 8.

⁶⁰ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 269.

Boulogny asserted that were the crop of maize to fail the greater part of the Negroes would perish, "as they are accustomed to this food and prefer it to the best bread."⁶¹ Near the close of the century Robin observed that its use was general among the rich, as well as among the poor.⁶² It was grown on the plantations for home use,⁶³ but its comparatively quick deterioration under semi-tropical conditions did not favor regular export trade, even if economic conditions had been favorable. Small surpluses of corn were sent to the West Indies or used in provisioning ships, and there was a considerable domestic trade.⁶⁴

Le Page du Pratz describes a number of varieties in Louisiana. These included maize for flour (meal), which he described as flat and wrinkled, and softer than other species; maize for groats or gruel (*Mahiz à gruau*, possibly meaning grits or hominy), which was round, hard, and smooth, and in colors, white, yellow, red, or blue, the two later kinds more common in upper than in lower Louisiana. There was also small maize (*le petit bled ou petit Mahiz*), which was sown by newly arrived settlers because it grew and ripened quickly, so that two crops could be made in a single season. He mentions also Turkey wheat, which he believed to be indigenous since it was grown by the natives. It produced a stalk 6 to 8 feet high, on which were 6 or 7 heads, each containing 600 to 700 grains.⁶⁵

The strong preference of the French for wheaten bread gave to wheat a special importance in the life of Louisiana. The unfortunate results of Bienville's early experiment with wheat along the lower Mississippi were repeated in later attempts.⁶⁶ In 1708 the tendency of wheat to suffer severely from rust was noted.⁶⁷ By about the close of the second decade of the Colony, it had become apparent that the region was not suitable to its successful cultivation. The alluvial lands appeared to be too rich, and the crop inclined to go to straw.⁶⁸ This failure in lower Louisiana was offset in part by the development of wheat-growing in upper Louisiana. Cultivation of wheat was early introduced in the Illinois villages, and by 1721 the settlers of that region were growing a fine grade, which was said to have put them "pretty much at their ease." In that year wheat was shipped to lower Louisiana.⁶⁹ Two years later there was a surplus for sale to the troops. Several of the inhabitants had horse treadmills for grinding their grain.⁷⁰ By 1725 shipments, in sacks made of deerskins, had become an annual occurrence.⁷¹ The *ordonnateur* reported for the period 1732-1734 that only 50 tons of flour had

⁶¹ *Memoir* (Fortier, History of Louisiana, II), 30.

⁶² *Voyages*, III, 40.

⁶³ Artaguiette, *Journal* (Mereness, Travels), 44, 46, 68; La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 186; Baudry des Lozières, *Voyage à la Louisiane*, 22; Jefferys, *French Dominion in North and South America*, Pt. I, 154.

⁶⁴ *Present State of the Country and Inhabitants of Louisiana*, 10; Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 269, 379, 382, 386.

⁶⁵ *Histoire de la Louisiane*, II, 3-5.

⁶⁶ See above, p. 62.

⁶⁷ Charlevoix, *History of New France*, VI, 16.

⁶⁸ Franquet de Chaville, *Voyage en Louisiane* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, IV), 141.

⁶⁹ Charlevoix, *Voyage to North America*, II, 166; Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 288.

⁷⁰ Artaguiette, *Journal* (Mereness, Travels), 67-68.

⁷¹ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 289; Louisiana, *Records of the Superior Council* (Louisiana Historical Quarterly, V), 604.

been brought to Louisiana from abroad, because of large receipts from the upper Mississippi and the large consumption of rice bread.⁷² By 1760 shipments of grain from the upper Mississippi amounted to as much as 800,000 pounds.⁷³ Nevertheless, the population of the upper Mississippi region increased slowly, and wheat continued to be imported from France throughout the period of French control, a dependence on foreign supplies emphasized at times when naval conditions seriously interrupted communications.⁷⁴

Oats, barley, and rye are occasionally mentioned,⁷⁵ but the cultivation of these crops attained no significant importance, for other cereals were preferred for food, and corn was more economical for stock. In lower Louisiana oats, barley, and rye, like wheat, tended to grow too rank and to lodge before harvest.⁷⁶

MISCELLANEOUS FOOD CROPS

Peas and beans were early cultivated and became important elements in the food supply.⁷⁷ French beans were grown and also a native variety known as the "forty-day" bean. As in the Carolinas, the so-called Apalachee beans were raised in large quantities. According to Le Page du Pratz, these were named after the Indian tribe from whom the French adopted their cultivation, and it was believed that the variety had come originally from the English in the Carolinas or from Guinea. Du Pratz describes them as a vine that grew along the ground to the length of four or five feet, with a leaf resembling ivy.⁷⁸ As early as 1731 peas and beans were being exported to the French West Indies, and they continued to be a fairly regular item of exportation.⁷⁹ In 1744 an officer stationed at New Orleans wrote that peas and beans were the most important exports from Louisiana to those islands.⁸⁰ Just before the cession to Spain annual exports of wheat, rice, peas, and beans were valued at about 50,000 francs.⁸¹

A large number of other crops were grown, principally for domestic consumption. Mention is made in various accounts of such garden vegetables and fruits as cabbage, cauliflower, lettuce, chicory, celery, turnips, radishes, watermelons, "French melons" and "English melons," pumpkins, gourds, cucumbers, sweet squashes (*callebassis douces*), artichokes, hops, garden cress and wild cress, parsley, *chervil de l'appétit*, onions, garlic, shepherd's purse or cassweed (*bourssette*), sweet potatoes, and asparagus. Of wild food plants, mention is made of tarragon, strawberries, ginger, St. John's-wort, and mushrooms. Use was also made of a large variety of garden or wild plants for dyes and medicinal remedies.

⁷² Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 183.

⁷³ Jefferys, *French Dominions in North and South America*, Pt. I, 137 [Second p. 137, book has error in paging].

⁷⁴ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 262; Villiers du Terrage, *Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française*, 148.

⁷⁵ La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 186; Beer, W., "Early Census Tables of Louisiana," in La. Hist. Soc., *Publications*, IV, 93; Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 270.

⁷⁶ Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, II, 6.

⁷⁷ Artaguiette, *Journal* (Mereness, *Travels*), 43-44; Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 270; Price, W., "Indexing Louisiana 'Black Boxes'," in La. Hist. Soc., *Publications*, VIII, 10.

⁷⁸ *Histoire de la Louisiane*, II, 9; Dumont, *Mémoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, I, 17-22.

⁷⁹ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 166, 376, 378-382.

⁸⁰ *Present State of the Country and Inhabitants of Louisiana*, 10.

⁸¹ Dubroca, *L'itinéraire des Français dans la Louisiane*, 85.

Of the tree fruits then in lower Louisiana, oranges, olives, figs, apples, plums, peaches, red and white mulberries, and persimmons are mentioned. There were grapes and whortleberries. Pecans were grown on the plantations, and use was made of walnuts and hickory nuts.⁸²

According to Berquin-Duvallon, fruit trees in general did not succeed very well in lower Louisiana. He asserted, "The orange, fig, peach, pear, apple, and the vine grow there. But they neither conciliate the eye nor the taste."⁸³ Figs, oranges, and peaches, however, were raised in considerable abundance. Bossu declared that there were so many orange and peach trees that the fruit was left under the trees to rot.⁸⁴ According to Du Pratz, orange trees and other citrus trees had been imported from San Domingo and had succeeded very well in lower Louisiana, though they were less subject to frost on the Gulf coast than on the lower Mississippi.⁸⁵ Several times, however, orange trees were killed by frost, notably in 1748-49, 1767-68, and 1772-73.⁸⁶ The peaches most commonly grown were a clingstone variety called Alberges, which grew to a large size. They were commonly grown from the seed, and began to bear in the third year.⁸⁷ In his travels north of Mobile Bartram found a number of deserted plantations on which were large numbers of fig trees and peach trees. On Pearl Island, he reported that the planters grew an abundance of peaches and figs, as well as pears, plums, and grapes.⁸⁸ Varieties of apples, pears, plums, and cherries had been introduced from France, but it was found that in lower Louisiana they produced more wood than fruit. The higher lands, such as at Natchez, were found to be more suitable.⁸⁹ An inventory of the Noyan plantation in 1763 mentions a fine avenue of pecan trees.⁹⁰

TOBACCO

From an early period the French planned to make tobacco an important commercial staple in Louisiana. France was importing large quantities from the British Colonies, and, in accordance with the Mercantilist ideas of the time, eagerly desired to escape this dependence. As early as 1711 D'Artaguiette wrote that "Maubile tobacco was esteemed above Virginian."⁹¹ The real establishment of the industry, however, dates from the period of the Compagnie d'Occident, which exerted itself to promote this form of cultivation. In 1719 M. de Montplaisir came to the Colony with thirty laborers for the express purpose of cultivating and manufacturing tobacco, and established himself in the Natchez

⁸² Dumont, *Mémoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, I, 17-27; Bossu, *Travels through Louisiana*, I, 230, 347-350, 353-355; Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, II, 9-26.

⁸³ *Travels in Louisiana and the Floridas* (Davis), 126.

⁸⁴ *Travels through Louisiana*, I, 348.

⁸⁵ *Histoire de la Louisiane*, II, 21.

⁸⁶ Monette, *Discovery and Settlement of the Mississippi Valley*, I, 296; Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, II, 181; Bunner, *History of Louisiana*, 103, 144.

⁸⁷ Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, II, 21.

⁸⁸ *Travels*, 405, 421.

⁸⁹ Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, II, 22.

⁹⁰ Price, W., "Indexing Louisiana 'Black Boxes'," in *La. Hist. Soc., Publications*, VIII, 19; also *ibid.*, 10.

⁹¹ Charlevoix, *History of New France*, VI, 16.

district.⁹² In September, 1721, in order to encourage the industry, the Compagnie des Indes fixed a scale of prices according to grade which it agreed to pay for the product. The regulations also provided that tobacco might be shipped loose or in *carottes*, or hands, and either in casks or in boxes, the latter to consist of 200 pounds of tobacco well packed.⁹³ On account of lack of laborers for manufacturing the boxes, the colonists found it difficult to comply with the shipping requirements.⁹⁴ It is probable shipment in *carottes* was not desired in the markets, for in 1728 Governor Périer wrote that they would ship no more in that form.⁹⁵ By 1722 considerable tobacco was being produced, mostly in the Natchez district, where the crop of that year amounted to 1,000 hogsheads. The volume of production would have been much larger but for the lack of slaves.⁹⁶ The quality of the product was reported excellent, better than that of Virginia. It was said that several cuttings were obtainable in a single year; and high hopes were entertained that Louisiana would soon be able to supply all the requirements of France.⁹⁷

The collapse of the Law régime temporarily checked the progress of tobacco production, but ultimately tended to emphasize its importance. The breakdown of the large "concessions" and the greater development of small enterprises were favorable to the tobacco industry, which was essentially the market crop of the small producer unable to finance the ditches and other expensive works necessary for rice and indigo.⁹⁸ In 1727 Governor Périer was instructed to give preference to tobacco growers in the distribution of slaves.⁹⁹ Furthermore, the Company provided special price inducements to new growers and to those on the point of abandoning the industry. These measures encouraged the planters, and although the crops of 1728 and 1729 were short, 300,000 pounds were sold in the latter year.¹⁰⁰

In 1730 the Compagnie des Indes receded the monopoly of tobacco to the Farmers General, and this was the occasion of the renewal of royal interest in the industry. Count de Maurepas recognized the necessity of better marketing conditions and more favorable prices.¹⁰¹ Accordingly the Government provided a special scale of prices for the best grade, covering a period of five years. The Farmers General were to be reimbursed by the Compagnie des Indes for the difference between these prices and the 25 livres per quintal which the former had offered to pay.¹⁰² Although apparently liberal, these provisions did not immediately relieve the critical condition of the industry. In October, 1736,

⁹² Pénicaut, *Annals of Louisiana* (French, Hist. Collections, new series), 146.

⁹³ La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 290; Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français*, V, 626; Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 161.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 162.

⁹⁵ France, AC, C 13, A 11, f. 119 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

⁹⁶ Artaguette, *Journal* (Mereness, Travels), 21-22, 45-46; cf. letter of Father Poisson, in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LXVII, 311.

⁹⁷ France, AC, C 13, A 10, f. 143 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); Artaguette, *Journal* (Mereness, Travels), 45; Beer, W., "Early Census Tables of Louisiana," in La. Hist. Soc., *Publications*, V, 98.

⁹⁸ Heinrich, *Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes*, 259; Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 448.

⁹⁹ Heinrich, *Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes*, 192.

¹⁰⁰ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 165.

¹⁰¹ Heinrich, *Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes*, 259-261.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 260; Beer, W., *French Manuscripts: Mississippi Valley* (La. Hist. Soc., Publications, IV), 39.

Maurepas wrote Bienville and Salmon he was sorry to learn that the inhabitants were disgusted with the cultivation of tobacco.¹⁰³ The prices offered were for tobacco delivered in France. Many of the small producers had not the means to ship tobacco at their own risk paying the freight in advance, but were obliged to sell to local merchants at any price offered. Furthermore, apparently prices and conditions of shipment and of sale had not been fixed for the lower grade, and the industry suffered from irregular and fraudulent methods of packing and shipment.¹⁰⁴ Finally, it was provided in 1740 that all tobacco must be shipped in hogsheads packed in the presence of an inspector, who was required to affix an official stamp on each hogshead. This action improved the position of the industry, and a number of planters abandoned indigo in favor of tobacco. The following year it was provided that tobacco should be paid for only according to quality. In order to supply a market for the lower grades, the crown agreed to take a third of the shipment of each planter from the first grade, a half from the second, and a sixth or more from the third. In case these proportions were violated, the inspector was authorized to allow only the price of third grade for the entire lot. By 1747, however, as a result of favorable seasons and inadequate transport facilities, the tobacco crops of two years had accumulated at Pointe Coupée and New Orleans, prices were extremely low, and the farmers were contemplating abandonment of the industry. To meet the crisis, the French Government gave priority to tobacco shipments and exerted itself to induce private merchants to send additional vessels; by 1749, therefore, the glut had been removed.¹⁰⁵

The industry increased but slowly during the French régime. In 1728, 400,000 pounds were exported, and the next year 300,000. In the early years of the fifth decade estimates for different years varied from 170,000 to 450,000 pounds. In the early years of the next decade exports were estimated at only 200 hogsheads averaging 800 pounds each.¹⁰⁶ Exports appear to have increased during the Seven Years' War, as shown by the following list of annual aggregate values:¹⁰⁷

years	livres	years	livres
1756.....	90,000	1760.....	480,000
1757.....	135,000	1761.....	480,000
1758.....	210,000	1762.....	3,600,000
1759.....	288,000		

Evidently the unusual volume of 1762 reflected the influence of the carry-over made necessary previously by disordered commercial conditions.

The greater part of the crop was produced about Natchez and Pointe Coupée, although some of it was grown near Natchitoches.¹⁰⁸ Consequently the cession

¹⁰³ France, AC, B 64, f. 514 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

¹⁰⁴ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 177, 191.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 197-198, 208-210.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 165, 210, 217. In some cases the estimate did not include what was shipped by the colonists on consignment.

¹⁰⁷ Villiers du Terrage, *Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française*, 147-148.

¹⁰⁸ *Present State of the Inhabitants and Country of Louisiana*, 23; Dumont, *Mémoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, I, 34; Baudry des Lozières, *Voyage à la Louisiane*, 163; Pittman, *European Settlements on the Mississippi*, 4.

of the eastern side of the Mississippi to England at the close of the Seven Years' War deprived Louisiana of its principal tobacco territory, and it is notable that tobacco is not included in the list of exports for 1768.¹⁰⁹ The industry of the English territory was dealt a severe blow in 1778 by the predatory expeditions of the American captain, Willing, against the British plantations and the subsequent capture of the British posts by Galvez, resulting in again uniting the tobacco producing territory with Louisiana.¹¹⁰ In 1785 it was estimated that the product of this territory, recently acquired from the English, was 900,000 pounds.¹¹¹

With the taking over of the Province by Spain, it became necessary to rely on Spanish markets, in which tobacco from Cuba and other Spanish Colonies was firmly established.¹¹² In 1776, however, the Spanish Government agreed to purchase the tobacco crops of Louisiana on liberal terms, hoping to stimulate sufficient expansion to supplant the English and Dutch in the French market and to obtain a supply of the weed for the tobacco monopoly in Mexico.¹¹³ Little success was achieved in the first of these aims, nor was the product of the Colony largely increased. For a number of years, however, a considerable portion was sent to the tobacco monopoly in Mexico. The deterioration of the leaf and other losses in transport led in 1792 to the discontinuance of the latter arrangement.¹¹⁴ In revising its trade policy in that year, the Spanish Government determined to replace its arrangement for purchasing the entire tobacco crop by a policy of freer trade. For a time the inhabitants were thrown into consternation, not knowing what the new commercial arrangements would be.¹¹⁵ Some years later a traveller asserted that as a result of the discontinuance of the purchase of tobacco and other products by the Spanish Government tobacco culture in the neighborhood of Natchitoches had nearly ceased to exist.¹¹⁶ According to Wailes, the competition of Kentucky tobacco introduced under Wilkinson's contract was also a factor in discouraging the Louisiana planters.¹¹⁷ The industry appears to have made its greatest development during the period when the British occupied the eastern bank of the Mississippi, spreading also into the parishes of Opelousas and Attakapas.¹¹⁸ In 1787 it was officially reported that the exports of the Province consisted of 810,694 Castillian pounds sent to Vera Cruz, and 673,406 French pounds sent to Cadiz.¹¹⁹ In 1802, however, Vergennes estimated the product at only 300,000 pounds.¹²⁰

At the close of the Latin régime, therefore, tobacco was being rapidly displaced

¹⁰⁹ Martin, F. X., *History of Louisiana* (1827 ed.), I, 363.

¹¹⁰ Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, III, 105-135.

¹¹¹ Navarro, *Political Reflections* (Robertson, Louisiana, I), 256.

¹¹² See below, p. 83.

¹¹³ Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, III, 107.

¹¹⁴ Martin, F. X., *History of Louisiana* (1827 ed.), II, 40; Priestley, *José de Gálvez*, V, 153.

¹¹⁵ Gayoso de Lemos, *Political Condition of Louisiana* (Robertson, Louisiana, I), 286.

¹¹⁶ Perrin du Lac, *Travels* (Phillips, Collection of Voyages, VI), 85; cf. Berquin-Duvallon, *Vue de la Colonie Espagnole du Mississippi*, 147.

¹¹⁷ Mississippi, Agricultural and Geological Survey, *Report* (Wailes, 1854), p. 81.

¹¹⁸ Bouligny, *Memoir* (Fortier, *History of Louisiana*, II), 30.

¹¹⁹ Cunningham, C. H., "Financial Reports relating to Louisiana," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, VI, 384.

¹²⁰ *Mémoire sur la Louisiane*, 178.

by cotton and sugar along the lower Mississippi, though small quantities continued to be produced, especially in the Natchitoches district, noted for its superior quality.¹²¹

Louisiana tobacco, when properly cured, was of high quality,¹²² suitable for cigar fillers, and in the latter part of the eighteenth century was employed in the manufacture of Havana cigars.¹²³ According to Le Page du Pratz, Louisiana tobacco ranged from 5½ to 6 feet high at maturity. Its stem was thicker and its leaves larger and narrower than was the case with Virginia tobacco. The leaf was unusually thick and oily. It was especially "heady" (*de montant*), but without producing injurious effects. Its cultivation up to harvest time did not differ materially from the methods employed in Virginia, but in Louisiana it was customary to pull the leaves from the standing stalks and string them on lines for air curing, instead of cutting the stalks.¹²⁴

INDIGO PRODUCTION

Another important staple was indigo. The industry had its beginnings during the period of active colonization by the companies. In 1722 the superior council sent a ship to Cape François with a cargo of plank to be exchanged for seed.¹²⁵ The settlers had already found by experimentation that Louisiana could grow good indigo, in spite of the fact that only one or two cuttings a year could be obtained. As early as 1725 indigo was being exported, and by 1728 in considerable quantities.¹²⁶ In this early period the manufacture of the dye was probably still in an experimental stage. In 1734 Maurepas wrote of his satisfaction because the Jesuits had undertaken the manufacture of indigo, which he believed would contribute greatly to the trade and prosperity of the Colony.¹²⁷ In order to provide a means whereby small farmers might engage in the industry, a plan was formulated in 1737 for the establishment of a public factory. The plan failed to materialize, and the industry continued to be carried on mainly by the larger planters with sufficient capital to acquire facilities for manufacturing the dye. By 1738 it was produced by fourteen or fifteen plantations in the neighborhood of New Orleans, with a total crop of 70,000 pounds.¹²⁸ About the middle of the following decade the industry began to make notable progress. The quality of the product had been considerably improved, and the price had advanced, but the Louisiana authorities had to increase their vigilance in order to prevent smuggling in of Carolina indigo and illicit purchase of the Louisiana product by

¹²¹ Alliot, *Reflections on Louisiana* (Robertson, Louisiana, I), 127; Pittman, *European Settlements on the Mississippi*, 4, 36.

¹²² Beer, W., "Early Census Tables of Louisiana," in La. Hist. Soc., *Publications*, V, 98; Baudry des Lozières, *Voyage à la Louisiane*, 163; Pittman, *European Settlements on the Mississippi*, 4; Alliot, *Reflections on Louisiana* (Robertson, Louisiana, I), 127; Dumont, *Mémoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, I, 34; Bouligny, *Memoir* (Fortier, History of Louisiana, II), 30.

¹²³ Baudry des Lozières, *Voyage à la Louisiane*, 215.

¹²⁴ *Histoire de la Louisiane*, III, 360-364.

¹²⁵ La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 342.

¹²⁶ France, AC, C 13, A 10, f. 143 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); Beer, W., "Early Census Tables of Louisiana," in La. Hist. Soc., *Publications*, V, 93, 98; Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 163; Monette, *Discovery and Settlement of the Mississippi Valley*, I, 255.

¹²⁷ France, AC, B 61, f. 650 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

¹²⁸ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 192.

English merchants in order to reship it under the bounty.¹²⁹ Nevertheless, though the colonists had been successful in producing a product of high quality, the industry was restricted in growth through the difficulties encountered in obtaining slaves.¹³⁰ By 1754 there were forty-seven indigo planters, and the total output was estimated at 82,000 pounds, which appears to have been the amount exported in 1762.¹³¹ A great deal of progress in Louisiana agriculture began to be manifested about 1764, and indigo planters succeeded in making their product equal in quality and value to that of San Domingo.¹³² By the last decade of the century the industry had been taken up by the small planters of the German "coast," but, because of lack of skill in its manufacture, their product was quite imperfect.¹³³

Indigo production was seriously affected by radical changes made by the Spaniards in the commercial relations and policies of the Colony, for the industry came into competition with the product of Guatemala, which was of greatly superior quality.¹³⁴ As late as 1785 Martin de Navarro raised the question as to who would purchase the 220,000 pounds of indigo annually produced in the Province.¹³⁵ It is evident, however, that the industry had increased threefold since the close of the French régime, probably due to the large accession to the slave force of the Colony and the commercial facilities made possible prior to 1779 by the presence of the British on the eastern bank of the Mississippi. In the early years of the last decade of the century the value of the product was about 500,000 piasters.¹³⁶ The next few years, however, saw the rapid decline of the industry in Louisiana, as well as in the West Indies, due to the competition of the new staples, cotton and sugar; a serious depression in the price of indigo; the ravages of insects, which nearly destroyed the crops of 1793 and 1794; and the fact that the soil appeared to respond less favorably than formerly.¹³⁷ At the time of the Louisiana Purchase a few planters were still clinging to indigo, but it was being rapidly abandoned.¹³⁸

OTHER STAPLE PRODUCTS

Lumbering was a third industry which belonged to the class of staples; as in the Carolinas, it was essentially an agricultural industry in organization and character. As already noted, timber, pitch, and tar were the earliest important agricultural exports of the Province, and later lumbering, particularly as a winter

¹²⁹ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 208, 458.

¹³⁰ Instructions from the King to Governor Kerlérec, 1752, in France, AC, B 95, f. 338 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

¹³¹ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 215; Villiers du Terrage, *Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française*, 147.

¹³² Champigny, *Memoir of Louisiana* (French, Hist. Collections, V), 145; Pittman, *European Settlements on the Mississippi*, 23.

¹³³ Baudry des Lozières, *Voyage à la Louisiane*, 163.

¹³⁴ *Memorial of the Merchants and Planters of Louisiana, etc.*, 1768 (French, Hist. Collections, V), 221 n.

¹³⁵ *Political Reflections* (Robertson, Louisiana, I), 256.

¹³⁶ Baudry des Lozières, *Voyage à la Louisiane*, 218.

¹³⁷ Berquin-Duvallon, *Vue de la Colonie Espagnole du Mississippi*, 147; Monette, *Discovery and Settlement of the Mississippi Valley*, I, 487.

¹³⁸ United States, President Jefferson, *Account of Louisiana*, 40; Pontalba, *Memoir* (Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, III), 436, 443; Martin, F. X., *History of Louisiana* (1827 ed.), II, 234.

plantation industry, came to have considerable significance.¹³⁹ In the timbered portions of plantations along the Mississippi and elsewhere the candleberry, or myrtle, tree was found in abundance, and slaves were employed in spare time to harvest the product. About the middle of the eighteenth century the annual commercial output was valued at about 25,000 livres. About 1726 sassafras was another forest product shipped to France in considerable quantities.¹⁴⁰ As in the English Colonies, the prevalence of various kinds of wild mulberries early excited hopes that silk could be made an important staple. Silk experts sent to the Colony reported that the leaves were excellent for feeding silkworms and that the latter were less subject to disease than in other parts of the world.¹⁴¹ In 1720 the Company sent instructions to the manager of each concession to transplant wild mulberry trees to convenient locations on their holdings. By 1722 it was reported that Sieur Dubuisson had made a sample of silk of good quality, which had been sent to Paris. In 1728 he reported that he found himself handicapped by lack of maids to care for the worms and to prepare the silk.¹⁴² Madame Hubert, who was familiar with methods of silk production in France, also carried on numerous experiments.¹⁴³ It was stated in 1726 that as early as 1718 two pounds of silk made by her hands had been sent to the Directors of the Company.¹⁴⁴ A decade later it had come to be recognized that a successful silk industry was dependent on the Province becoming more populous, with more women and children to care for the worms. The Ursuline nuns were engaged in the work and also the orphans maintained at royal expense.¹⁴⁵ While the early high hopes were not realized, a little silk continued to be made during the colonial period, particularly near Bayou Goulas, and occasional small quantities were exported.¹⁴⁶

Several commodities given especial emphasis in English ideals of colonial economy were at times discouraged by the French Government, because they came into conflict with industries of the mother country. Although from an early period the great abundance and numerous varieties of native grapes were reported from time to time,¹⁴⁷ the French Government as early as 1721 formally prohibited the development of the wine, hemp, and flax industries.¹⁴⁸ Large quantities of wine continued to be imported from France throughout the Latin

¹³⁹ See Chap. VI.

¹⁴⁰ France, AC, C 13, A 10, f. 143 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, III, 368-370; Gayarré, "Historical Notes on the Commerce and Agriculture of Louisiana," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, II, 289; *idem*, *History of Louisiana*, II, 65; Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 217, 261, 385; Villiers du Terrage, *Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française*, 147; Bossu, *Travels through Louisiana*, I, 351.

¹⁴¹ Bernard, *Recueil de Voyages au Nord*, V, 29.

¹⁴² France, AC, C 13, A 11, f. 119 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français*, V, 627; Beer, W., "Early Census Tables of Louisiana," in *La. Hist. Soc., Publications*, V, 93, 98; La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 140.

¹⁴³ Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, III, 349-353.

¹⁴⁴ France, AC, C 13, A 10, f. 143 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, AC, B 64, f. 514 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

¹⁴⁶ Jefferys, *French Dominions in North and South America*, Pt. I, 147; Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 164, 175.

¹⁴⁷ Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, II, 15-18; Beer, W., "Early Census Tables of Louisiana," in *La. Hist. Soc., Publications*, V, 93.

¹⁴⁸ Lowry & McCardle, *History of Mississippi*, 58; Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 166.

period. However, grapes were grown for home use, and flax and hemp in small quantities.¹⁴⁹ In fact, at times the French Government sought to encourage the production of flax and hemp. In 1736 Maurepas wrote Bienville and Salmon approving the distribution among the inhabitants of flax and hemp seed sent from Bordeaux, urging the officials to encourage the production of those commodities, especially for home use.¹⁵⁰ In 1752 instructions to Kerlérec mention the fact that flax had succeeded well and that there had been successful experiments with hemp. The governor was urged to encourage their production.¹⁵¹ About the beginning of the last decade of the eighteenth century a traveller asserted that hemp grew so well that a large ropewalk had been established at New Orleans, and vessels to that port found it possible to provide themselves abundantly with the product.¹⁵²

EXPERIMENTS WITH SUGAR AND COTTON

There were early experiments with two crops, sugar and cotton, destined to become the principal staples of the post colonial period. It is said that experiments were made with the cultivation of sugar-cane as early as 1725-26.¹⁵³ When Bienville returned to Louisiana in 1733 he found that the colonists had taken up its cultivation.¹⁵⁴ There is also record of sugar being cultivated in 1744 by the Jesuits.¹⁵⁵ In 1751 Jesuits of San Domingo sent to their brethren in Louisiana some sugar-canes and Negroes skilled in the cultivation of the plant. The Jesuits of Louisiana planted the canes in their gardens. The variety (the Malabar) did not mature well, and in 1754 attempts to make sugar proved a failure. Between 1752 and 1758 several planters experimented on a small scale with little success. In 1758, however, a planter by the name of Dubreuil began experiments on a large scale, which were continued until 1763. During this period he erected the first sugar mill in the Colony. In 1762 several other planters erected mills fashioned after those of Dubreuil.¹⁵⁶ The first shipment of sugar was sent to the mother country in 1764 or 1765, and it was said that the product was 3,000 pounds to the acre, and equal in quality to the San Domingo Muscovado.¹⁵⁷ The industry, however, was not yet firmly rooted. Manufacture was probably entirely abandoned in 1769, although small quantities of molasses continued to be made for home use. Gayarré says that in 1769 sugar was not mentioned among the commodities exported,¹⁵⁸ although in the preceding year it was included in the

¹⁴⁹ Bossu, *Travels through Louisiana*, I, 349; Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, II, 15-18, 64; Berquin-Duvallon, *Travels in Louisiana and the Floridas* (Davis), 126; Alliot, *Reflections on Louisiana* (Robertson, Louisiana, I), 45.

¹⁵⁰ France, AC, B 64, f. 514 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, AC, B 95, f. 338.

¹⁵² Baudry des Lozières, *Voyage à la Louisiane*, 221.

¹⁵³ See article by J. D. B. De Bow, in *De Bow's Review*, VIII, 35.

¹⁵⁴ Cruzat, "New Orleans under Bienville," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, I, No. 3, p. 82.

¹⁵⁵ Forstall, "Analytical Index of Louisiana Documents," in French, *Hist. Collections*, II, letter of Dec. 17, 1760, p. 80.

¹⁵⁶ France, AC, B 95, f. 338 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); Bossu, *Travels through Louisiana*, I, 24, 351; Pittman, *European Settlements on the Mississippi*, 23; Hutchins, *Description of Louisiana and West Florida*, 38.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. accounts in *De Bow's Review*, VIII, 35; XXII, 616-619; Monette, *Discovery and Settlement of the Mississippi Valley*, I, 297.

¹⁵⁸ *History of Louisiana*, II, 355.

list of exports.¹⁵⁹ The permanent establishment of the industry on a commercial basis occurred a few years before the transfer of Louisiana to the United States.¹⁶⁰

La Harpe observed in 1720 that the bottom lands of the upper Red river were adapted to the cultivation of cotton.¹⁶¹ Two years later Charlevoix noted in the garden of Sieur le Noir, "very fine Cotton on the Tree."¹⁶² There were small exports of cotton about 1732, but the colonists were finding the great expense of removing the lint from the seed a serious obstacle, and high freight rates tended to make export in the seed unprofitable. During the course of the next three decades considerable interest was manifested in the problem of ginning. In 1733 a gin was introduced but did not prove successful, in spite of attempts to improve it.¹⁶³ This probably refers to the experiments of Father Beaubois, concerning whom Maurepas expressed the hope in 1734 that he would bring his gin to perfection. Nevertheless, the Minister of Marine had taken the precaution to import a gin from the Levant, which he was sending out to the Colony.¹⁶⁴

On returning to the Province in 1733 Bienville found that the colonists had tried sea-island cotton unsuccessfully but had succeeded with Siam cotton.¹⁶⁵ About 1759 Bossu declared that the cotton of Louisiana was the white Siam type, "neither so fine nor so long as the silky cotton [sea-island?], but it is, however, very white and very fine." It was perennial, and the planters made a practice of cutting the shrub to the ground every two or three years because they believed this increased the output.¹⁶⁶

For many years, however, production continued small. In 1736 Maurepas expressed regret that the cotton crop was smaller than in preceding years. He attributed this to the fact that indigo was more profitable, but urged on the colonists the importance of a diversified agriculture.¹⁶⁷ About the middle of the century cotton was widely grown for domestic use, and small quantities were exported.¹⁶⁸ Continuous efforts were being made to develop a device for ginning, and about this time M. Dubreuil invented a successful gin of the roller type.¹⁶⁹ This appears to have stimulated interest in commercial production. In 1768, in a protest against the transfer of the Province to Spain, it was declared that it occurred "just at the time when a new mine has been discovered; when the culture of cotton, improved by experience, promises the planter the recompense of his toils, furnishes persons engaged in fitting out vessels, with cargoes to load them."¹⁷⁰

¹⁵⁹ *Memorial of the Merchants and Planters of Louisiana, etc.*, 1768 (French, Hist. Collections, V), 221 n.

¹⁶⁰ See below, Chap. XXXI.

¹⁶¹ *Journal Historique*, 186.

¹⁶² *Voyage to North America*, II, 191.

¹⁶³ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 171, 175, 177, 184.

¹⁶⁴ France, AC, B 61, f. 650 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

¹⁶⁵ Cruzat, "New Orleans under Bienville," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, I, No. 3, p. 82.

¹⁶⁶ *Travels through Louisiana*, I, 377-379.

¹⁶⁷ France, AC, B 64, f. 514 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

¹⁶⁸ Monette, *Discovery and Settlement of the Mississippi Valley*, I, 297; Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 217.

¹⁶⁹ Forstall, "Analytical Index of Louisiana Documents," in French, *Hist. Collections*, II, 64; Monette, *Discovery and Settlement of the Mississippi Valley*, I, 297.

¹⁷⁰ Louisiana, *Decree of the Superior Council*, 1768 (French, Hist. Collections, V), 165 n.; Champigny, *Memoir of Louisiana* (French, Hist. Collections, V), 145.

LIVESTOCK

Wild animals became a considerable source of food to the European settlers. In 1722 La Harpe met two pirogues of Canadian hunters descending the Mississippi to New Orleans with 5,000 pounds of dried buffalo meat.¹⁷¹ About this period a band of hunters went regularly to the rich hunting grounds of the St. Francis River valley to obtain a supply of salted buffalo meat.¹⁷² As late as 1770 this valley was the rendezvous for hunters who supplied New Orleans with buffalo tongues, salted meats, and bear's oil.¹⁷³ By the beginning of the third decade of the century salted buffalo meat, buffalo tongues, bear's oil, and tallow had become regular articles of shipment from the upper Mississippi to lower Louisiana, and continued to be throughout the colonial period.¹⁷⁴ Bear's oil and tallow were also exported, valued in 1754 and again in 1762 at 25,000 livres.¹⁷⁵

The first expedition under Iberville brought a small number of bulls, cows, hogs, poultry, and turkeys.¹⁷⁶ The following year he bought at San Domingo some goats and hogs for Louisiana.¹⁷⁷ In 1701 he stopped at San Domingo and took on horses, cattle, and swine for the new Colony.¹⁷⁸ In the same year he urged the sending of Spanish sheep, and a stallion to improve the American breed—that is, the horses of Spanish breed obtained from the Indians.¹⁷⁹ In November, 1703, a ship was sent to Havana to obtain four oxen for the carts.¹⁸⁰ From these various sources, however, there had been but little increase in the supply of cattle, which in 1704 consisted of 9 oxen, 14 cows, and 4 bulls.¹⁸¹ For many years the supply increased but slowly. By 1708 the stock of the Colony consisted of 50 cows, 40 calves, 4 bulls, 8 oxen, 1,400 hogs, and 2,000 hens. There were "not enough of horses in the colony to work the plantations."¹⁸² In 1713 the *ordonnateur* urged the home government to permit the bringing of hogs and cattle from Cuba and Tampico, where they could be obtained very cheap. Shortly afterward Crozat's agents were selling the settlers cattle brought from Cuba. In 1716 and 1717 a small number were imported, but in the former year beef was so high that it sold at 9 sols a pound.¹⁸³ In 1717 a vessel was sent to Havana, where the people succeeded in surreptitiously purchasing 60 cows, but on the Spanish authorities learning that the animals were destined for Louisiana

¹⁷¹ *Journal Historique*, 309.

¹⁷² Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 253.

¹⁷³ Pittman, *European Settlements on the Mississippi*, 3.

¹⁷⁴ Letter from Father Poisson, Oct. 3, 1727, in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LXVII, 285; Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 289, 291, 293; Bossu, *Travels through Louisiana*, I, 127; Monette, *Discovery and Settlement of the Mississippi Valley*, I, 253; Alliot, *Reflections on Louisiana* (Robertson, Louisiana. I), 81, 133, 139; Louisiana, *Records of the Superior Council* (Louisiana Historical Quarterly, V), 378.

¹⁷⁵ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 261, 382, 385; Price, W., "Indexing Louisiana 'Black Boxes'," in La. Hist. Soc., *Publications*, VIII, 10; Villiers du Terrage, *Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française*, 147.

¹⁷⁶ Le Moyne d'Iberville, *Historical Journal* (French, Hist. Collections, new series), 110.

¹⁷⁷ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 367.

¹⁷⁸ Hamilton, P. J., *Colonial Mobile*, 38.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 37. See above, p. 7.

¹⁸⁰ La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 81.

¹⁸¹ Forstall, "Analytical Index of Louisiana Documents," in French, *Hist. Collections*, II, 47.

¹⁸² Gayarré, *Romance of the History of Louisiana*, 148; Pénicaud, *Annals of Louisiana* (French, Hist. Collections, new series), 99.

¹⁸³ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 251, 432-434.

they compelled the French to disembark all but 15 head. When the Compagnie d'Occident took over the Colony there were but 400 head of cattle in Louisiana.¹⁸⁴

The assumption of control by the Company marked a period of greater activity in the livestock industry. In 1719 the colonial authorities made an effort to obtain 2,000 cows from the Carolinas, but failed to get them. In 1720 settlers were given permission to construct a boat for the purpose of bringing cattle from San Domingo. In 1719 La Harpe attempted to obtain a few head from the Spanish in Texas, but without success,¹⁸⁵ although later a trade in horses through the Indian tribes in contact with Spaniards afforded a considerable source of supply.¹⁸⁶ By 1724 the livestock of the Colony consisted of 1,100 cows, 300 bulls, 200 horses, 100 sheep, 100 goats, many swine, and fowls of all kinds.¹⁸⁷ The following year beef was so scarce at New Orleans that it was necessary to advance the official price, but the situation was later relieved by importation of cattle from San Domingo.¹⁸⁸ In 1723 the killing of cattle of any kind was forbidden, and as late as 1737 slaughter of livestock was permitted only when an official declaration of intention was made in advance.¹⁸⁹ In 1727 Governor Périer was endeavoring to obtain 800 head of cattle from Florida, and in 1728 Spanish merchants from Mexico were requested to bring cattle to Louisiana, while the advisability was expressed of continuing importation from San Domingo and of obtaining a superior breed of sheep from the Canaries.¹⁹⁰

The various facts mentioned indicate that the Colony did not have an ample supply of cattle for about four decades after its establishment. By 1746 it was estimated that there were 10,000 head of cattle, many good sized flocks of sheep, and large droves of hogs. It was believed that henceforth the supply would be ample, but in the three years beginning 1748 an epidemic destroyed so many cattle that a shortage of beef resulted. Consequently another order was issued forbidding the slaughter of heifers and cows and requiring each farmer to keep as many head of cattle as his land would maintain. By 1751 the authorities had to take steps to obtain a supply from the Spanish Colonies.¹⁹¹ The scarcity, however, was temporary. A few years later it was asserted that the settlers had formerly carried on a considerable trade for cattle and horses with the Indians between Opelousas and Avoyelles, but "At present they [the people of Louisiana] have them in vast plenty, without any purchase."¹⁹² Subsequently the supply became even more abundant through the development of an extensive herding industry in central and southern Louisiana.¹⁹³ In the last half of the eighteenth century the villages of the Illinois country maintained large herds of stock. Some of the planters along the lower Mississippi also kept considerable herds on

¹⁸⁴ La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 133, 140.

¹⁸⁵ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 371, 410, 446.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. *Ibid.*, 416.

¹⁸⁷ La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 375.

¹⁸⁸ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 254.

¹⁸⁹ Beer, W., *French Manuscripts: Mississippi Valley* (La. Hist. Soc., Publications, IV), 93; Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 256.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 396, 428; France, AC, C 13, A 11, f. 119 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

¹⁹¹ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 257-259.

¹⁹² Jefferys, *French Dominions in North and South America*, Pt. I, 165.

¹⁹³ See p. 340.

the open range or on their plantations, and there were large herds in the neighborhood of Mobile. As in the English Colonies of the South, they were allowed to range in the woods with but little care summer or winter.¹⁹⁴ A resident of Louisiana in 1744 observed that pork was very common; "every body rears it, even the Slaves."¹⁹⁵ Practically every family kept poultry, and some of the small farmers sent them in quantities to the New Orleans market.¹⁹⁶ Horses and oxen were used as draft animals,¹⁹⁷ and it is probable that mules, obtained by illicit trade with the Spaniards of New Mexico, were also employed.¹⁹⁸

CONDITIONS RETARDING THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMERCIAL AGRICULTURE

Various restrictions on commerce and inadequate facilities for marketing tended seriously to retard the development of commercial agriculture. In the first fifty years commerce was uncertain, irregular, and subject to a multitude of restrictions. Throughout the colonial period there was a notable lack of the comparative freedom of trade which characterized the English Colonies. The Louisiana planters, like those of Virginia and the Carolinas, were largely dependent upon and dominated by the merchants through the credit system.¹⁹⁹

At the very beginning of the French colonial establishment at Biloxi, Iberville recommended that trade be thrown open to the merchants of the kingdom, arguing that the Colony would never otherwise be established.²⁰⁰ Such a policy, however, did not coincide with the prevailing paternalistic and monopolistic conceptions of colonial commerce. The Government attempted to induce the merchants of St. Malo to accept a monopolistic trade concession, and failing in this attempt, the trade of the Colony with France was limited during the first twelve years to occasional vessels sent out by the Government with troops and supplies. During this period several ships came to the Colony from San Domingo, but no regular trade with the French West Indies was established.²⁰¹ Under his monopoly of trade (except in beaver skins) acquired by charter in 1712, Anthony Crozat made rigorous efforts to prevent interloping by private traders, while paying but small prices for colonial produce and selling supplies at enormous prices.²⁰²

The eager attempts of the French to open up trade with New Mexico and other Spanish Colonies encountered the serious obstacles of Spanish commercial conservatism. Finally, in the face of much official resistance the French succeeded in developing a more or less surreptitious trade of small proportions from Natchi-

¹⁹⁴ Bartram, *Travels*, 432; Fortier, "Old Papers of Colonial Times," in *La. Hist. Soc., Publications*, I, Pt. II, 11; Louisiana, *Records of the Superior Council* (Louisiana Historical Quarterly, II), 330; Alliot, *Reflections on Louisiana* (Robertson, Louisiana, I), 81; Gordon, H., *Journal* (Mereness, *Travels*), 485. For further details concerning the herding industry in this region, see Chap. VI.

¹⁹⁵ *Present State of the Country and Inhabitants of Louisiana*, 19.

¹⁹⁶ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 255. See below, p. 200.

¹⁹⁷ *Present State of the Country and Inhabitants of Louisiana*, 20. Use of a plow in 1727 is mentioned in a letter of Beaubois to La Loë. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LXVII, 271.

¹⁹⁸ Coxe, D., *Description of Carolana*, 78; Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 383.

¹⁹⁹ Lonn, "The French Council of Commerce in Relation to American Trade," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, VI, 192-197. See also below, pp. 413-415.

²⁰⁰ Charlevoix, *History of New France*, V, 128.

²⁰¹ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 156, 367.

²⁰² Louisiana Historical Society, *Publications*, IV, 43-61; Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 157-159.

toches as a center.²⁰³ At first the Spaniards were inclined to allow French ships to obtain necessary food supplies at Vera Cruz, but the French found it more and more difficult to break down the increasing official resistance, especially after the Treaty of Utrecht, which forbade the Spanish Colonies having commercial relations with the French. Consequently, for many years Louisiana trade with Spanish Colonies was only occasional and furnished no regular market outlet. About 1741 the war between Spain and England and the determined efforts of Governor Vaudreuil, of Louisiana, to promote trade relations with the Spanish Colonies resulted in a great increase in trade, which soon reached the value of 1,000,000 piastres a year.²⁰⁴ About 1746 the Spaniards were buying considerable quantities of flour, corn, rice, tobacco, indigo, hemp, lumber products, and peltry, in return for cash and such colonial products as logwood, sugar, high grade tobacco, cocoa, and salt. This profitable commerce was interrupted by the Seven Years' War, which reduced this, as well as other phases of Louisiana foreign trade, to relatively small volume.²⁰⁵

The Compagnie d'Occident was given not only a monopoly of the foreign trade of Louisiana but even more extensive commercial privileges than Crozat had enjoyed, including exemption from various taxes and duties.²⁰⁶ However, the trade policy of the Company appears to have been as lacking in freedom and in encouragement of individual initiative as had been the case under the Crozat régime.²⁰⁷ An ordinance of April 25, 1719, fixed a regular scale of prices at which products would be received at the Company's warehouses at Mobile and New Orleans, with reduced prices at interior posts. A scale of fixed prices also was maintained on goods shipped to the Colony by the Company.²⁰⁸

When the crown resumed control in 1731 an attempt was made to liberalize trade policy. Trade was thrown open to all French subjects, and the Government provided a subsidy and other special encouragements to induce French merchants to send ships. Considerable control, however, was retained by the Government in regulating the nature of the cargo, time of sailing, and rates on freight. The Government also sent one or more ships on its own account each year with supplies for its troops, and these ships carried back colonial produce. Prices on supplies brought from France were no longer arbitrarily fixed, but on the principal staples prices were officially determined at French ports. Persons in the Colony were permitted to export goods on their own account, sometimes aided by governmental credit. In some instances the Government transported colonial tar and pitch on its own vessels free of charge in order to encourage the

²⁰³ La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 113, 129-131, 134-139, 145, 178-219, 257-285; Beer, W., "Early Census Tables of Louisiana," in *La. Hist. Soc., Publications*, V, 99; Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 407, 415.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 389-404; Champigny, *Memoir of Louisiana* (French, Hist. Collections, V), 135; letter from De Vaudreuil, Mar. 1, 1744, in *Present State of the Country and Inhabitants of Louisiana*, 34.

²⁰⁵ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 402-406.

²⁰⁶ Gravier, H., *Colonisation de la Louisiane*, 27.

²⁰⁷ Franquet de Chaville, *Voyage en Louisiane* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, IV), 137.

²⁰⁸ La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 175-178, 289-295; Forstall, "Analytical Index of Louisiana Documents," in French, *Hist. Collections*, II, 67.

industry. About the close of the fourth decade six ships were normally engaged in the trade in addition to the royal ships.²⁰⁹

No regular trade with the French West Indies developed before the close of the Crozat régime. The Compagnie d'Occident permitted small vessels from Louisiana to carry lumber, tar, and provisions to the Islands and also ships from the Islands to trade with the Colony. A certain amount of trade was also carried on by means of ships from France which touched at the Islands on the return voyage. In 1728 the Company employed three ships regularly in the trade. On its resumption of control, the Government provided further encouragement by removing all duties and by other inducements. For a number of years, however, the principal trade consisted in the export to the Islands of Louisiana lumber products and provisions on ships returning to France. After the beginning of the fourth decade there was a rapid increase in the number of colonial ships engaged in the West Indian trade, and the importance of the trade was greatly increased during the wars with England.²¹⁰

The war with England from 1744 to 1748 played havoc with the trade to France, and during this period there was a serious congestion of the staple products of the Colony. The five years beginning in 1750 saw a very large increase in the number of ships visiting the Province, but the Seven Years' War again almost destroyed the trade with the mother country.²¹¹ In October, 1760, the scarcity of European supplies in the Province was so great that the French Government appealed to Spain to furnish supplies from Cuba and Mexico in the common interest of preventing the English from acquiring Louisiana.²¹²

The régime of Spain in Louisiana was inaugurated with an evident desire to develop a temperate and, for that country, reasonably liberal commercial policy. In May, 1766, Spain issued a decree permitting under certain restrictions direct commerce between Louisiana and other French Colonies in America and the exportation of lumber, rice, corn, and other agricultural products on payment of a 5 per cent export duty.²¹³ The ordinance of September, 1766, established a trade policy resembling the British Navigation Acts. Exports to Europe must be carried first to Spain and entered at certain designated ports. Vessels carrying goods from Europe to the Colony must proceed from the same ports. Vessels sent to Louisiana must be Spanish bottoms, and the captains and crews Spanish subjects. Vessels landing in Spain and unable to dispose of their cargoes there were allowed full drawbacks on all duties paid and were then permitted to proceed to other countries, but must touch at Spain again for return cargoes.²¹⁴ The Spanish Government took steps, however, to prevent too serious an interference with the established currents of trade. It was provided that passports might be issued annually to two French vessels to bring from France the merchandise and supplies needed, and French ships might continue to bring wine, flour, and

²⁰⁹ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, Chap. XIII, *passim*.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Chap. XX, *passim*.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 202-223.

²¹² Villiers du Terrage, *Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française*, 119.

²¹³ Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, II, 167; *idem*, "Historical Notes on the Commerce and Agriculture of Louisiana," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, II, 289.

²¹⁴ *Memorial of the Merchants and Planters of Louisiana, etc.*, 1768 (French, Hist. Collections, V), 221-222 n.; Martin, F. X., *History of Louisiana* (1882 ed.), 216.

other supplies from San Domingo and Martinique provided they carried back the lumber and other supplies of the Colony.²¹⁵

The merchants and planters of the Colony protested vigorously against the new commercial régime, declaring that the necessary changes in currents of trade were ruinous and as a result property values had fallen from one third to two thirds. They alleged that Louisiana tobacco was prohibited in Spain, only that from Cuba being allowed, while the timber of the Colony was useless in Spain, which was furnished with these products more effectively by its other Colonies; furthermore, Guatemala supplied Spain with more indigo than was requisite, and of better quality than the Louisiana product.²¹⁶ It is probable that these complaints reflected in part the political heat engendered by D'Ulloa's attempted occupation. Nevertheless, the transition for the time being caused heavy economic loss.²¹⁷

One of the conditions that soon began to restore prosperity was the opening of a large illicit commerce with the English, who thus used to advantage their strategic position on the eastern bank of the Mississippi. But in 1769 O'Reilly ejected the illicit traders, at the same time recommending to his Government a free trade between the Colony and Cuba, which he believed would be to the mutual advantage of both Colonies.²¹⁸ However, with the connivance of Governor Unzaga, O'Reilly's successor, the energetic English traders enjoyed a thriving traffic for a number of years.²¹⁹ It was estimated in 1776 that the total value of the commerce of the Colony was \$600,000, of which the English monopolized all but \$15,000.²²⁰

The outbreak of the American Revolution changed again the trade currents. Although Spain did not declare war until 1778, the Spanish administration on the lower Mississippi had largely excluded the British from the trade by the Spring of 1777, and with still greater finality when in 1779 Galvez seized the British ports on the eastern bank. French vessels, however, were encouraged to trade in Louisiana, and there was also further relaxation of the commercial provisions designed to maintain the Spanish monopoly of commerce. This period also saw the beginnings of an active trade with the revolting English Colonies, both by sea and by way of the Mississippi river.²²¹ Nevertheless, interruption of trade, after the formal declaration of war with England, began to bear heavily on the economic life of the Colony. In recognition of these difficulties a decree was issued in 1782 by the Spanish Government providing still more liberal commercial concessions to French and Colonial merchants.²²² These various mitigations, however, were but palliatives for the general disease of stagnation which

²¹⁵ Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, II, 169; cf. Champigny, *Memoir of Louisiana* (French, Hist. Collections, V), 152 n.

²¹⁶ Louisiana, *Decree of the Superior Council*, 1768 (French, Hist. Collections, V), 173 n.; *Memorial of the Merchants and Planters of Louisiana, etc.*, 1768 (French, Hist. Collections, V), 221 n.

²¹⁷ Navarro, *Political Reflections* (Robertson, Louisiana, I), 243.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 244; Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, III, 27; French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, I, 14; Baudry des Lozières, *Voyage à la Louisiane*, 215; Bouligny, *Memoir* (Fortier, History of Louisiana, II), 37.

²¹⁹ Martin, F. X., *History of Louisiana* (1882 ed.), 217.

²²⁰ Bouligny, *Memoir* (Fortier, History of Louisiana, II), 38.

²²¹ Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, III, Chap. III, *passim*.

²²² *Ibid.*, 153-156; Martin, F. X., *History of Louisiana* (1882 ed.), 236.

afflicted the commerce, and consequently the entire economic life. In 1785 Martin de Navarro wrote as follows:²²³

"His Majesty has had edicts and regulations published at various times. He has expended very great sums of money. His ministers have given expression to their zeal and their watchfulness. What has been the result? Let the province itself tell, which in the midst of so much protection is uttering the most pitiful cries, and asserting that it is deprived of the things of prime necessity; . . . These things will cause the colony to maintain itself for some time tottering toward its decadence and ruin."

The development of commercial agriculture and the plantation system in Louisiana was also retarded by an unstable currency. In its infancy the Colony suffered from the irregularities in the paper currency emitted during the régime of Law.²²⁴ Beginning in 1735, the French Government instituted a system of card money similar to that of Canada. It was supplemented by bills of exchange drawn by the *ordonnateur* on the royal treasury for official expenses and also by treasury notes. In 1739-1740 the expenses and indebtedness arising from the Indian war forced excessive issues, resulting in inflation and depreciation. In 1744 the Government redeemed it at only a fraction of its face value.²²⁵ The necessities of the Province during the Seven Years' War and the maladministration of the finances by Rochemore led to further excessive issues, with the result that by 1761 paper currency had depreciated to one fifth of its face value.²²⁶ In 1759 the Government had suspended payment on the upwards of 7,000,000 livres of its outstanding bills of exchange, an action that ruined large numbers of colonists. By 1764 the Colony was in a wretched economic condition due to currency depreciation, which had fallen to one eighth of face value.²²⁷ D'Abadie recalled the paper in circulation, replacing it at a discount by a new issue; but by 1765 this also had seriously depreciated.²²⁸ On his arrival Governor D'Ulloa hastened to assure the inhabitants that the Spanish Government would recognize the official ratio of 75 per cent, and sought to maintain that ratio, although in actual circulation paper currency was valued at only 25 per cent of face value.²²⁹ The last official action of the French Government was an edict of 1769 providing for funding the outstanding bills drawn by the colonial authorities in exchange for securities bearing 5 per cent interest.²³⁰

²²³ *Political Reflections* (Robertson, Louisiana, I), 250.

²²⁴ For details, see Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 119-123.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 124-138; cf. Zay, *Histoire Monétaire des Colonies Françaises*, 181-187; Champigny, *Memoir of Louisiana* (French, Hist. Collections, V), 134; Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, II, 21.

²²⁶ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 143-154.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, 148; Navarro, *Political Reflections* (Robertson, Louisiana, I), 241; Champigny, *Memoir of Louisiana*, and Louisiana, *Decree of the Superior Council*, 1768 (both in French, Hist. Collections, V), 142 n., and 164 n.

²²⁸ Pittman, *European Settlements on the Mississippi*, 15.

²²⁹ Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, II, 158-160; Forstall, "Analytical Index of Louisiana Documents," in French, *Hist. Collections*, II, 61.

²³⁰ Martin, F. X., *History of Louisiana* (1882 ed.), 203.

CHAPTER V

FURTHER AGRICULTURAL EXPANSION IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD

Characteristics of Colonial Agricultural Expansion in the South, 85. Immigration Policies, 87. Sources of Farm Population, 90. Geographic Distribution of Farm Population, 93. Further Coastal Expansion in the Carolinas, 94. Experiments in Agricultural Colonization in Georgia, 95. Failure of the Initial Policy of Colonization in Georgia and Triumph of the Plantation System, 98. A Bird's-Eye View of Agriculture in the Colony of Georgia, 101. Slight Development of Crop Production in Spanish Florida, 104. Livestock in Spanish Florida, 107. Conditions that Retarded the Progress of Florida Agriculture, 107. Anglo-Saxon Colonization in Florida, 1763-1783, 110. Development of Agriculture in Florida during British Occupation, 114. Westward Movement of the Frontier into Piedmont Virginia and Maryland and Middle North Carolina, 115. Occupation of Middle South Carolina, 119. Development of the Valley of Virginia and Maryland and of the Piedmont of the Carolinas and Georgia, 120. Beginnings of the Transmontane Expansion of Southern Agriculture, 124.

CHARACTERISTICS OF COLONIAL AGRICULTURAL EXPANSION IN THE SOUTH

Between 1690 and 1740 the population of the British continental Colonies south of Canada increased from a little over 200,000 to about 1,000,000; by 1767 it was approximately 2,000,000; and at the outbreak of the Revolution, 2,600,000.¹ Necessarily the rapidity of territorial expansion was correspondingly cumulative. The increase of population in the eight years preceding 1776 was three times the entire population in 1700, and presumably required an expansion of territory about three times as large as that occupied at the beginning of the century. It is this cumulative demand for territory which accounts in large part for the dramatic suddenness with which an agricultural frontier that was located at the head of tidewater in 1700 was forced across the Appalachians less than three generations later.

The rapidity of the movement is also attributable to a number of other conditions. For one thing, commercial agriculture expanded primarily along stream valleys, which afforded fertile alluvial lands and highways to market. In the process of economic and social sorting, families not primarily commercial in aim and outlook or lacking in enterprise and initiative were gradually distributed into less accessible districts.² A large fraction of the population, however, was actively seeking well located lands of good quality. The rapid increase of this class of the population, the practice of wearing out land, the fact that the easily accessible lands of good quality were relatively limited as compared with the total area, and the tendency toward their engrossment by large holders—these conditions greatly increased the rate of geographic expansion. Consequently before the Revolutionary War population crossed the Appalachians and began to settle the Mississippi valley although large areas of good land in the Appalachian piedmont and valleys, less accessible to market than districts on the Ohio and Mississippi and their tributaries, were not fully occupied.³

¹ Greene, *Provincial America*, 228; Howard, *Preliminaries of the Revolution*, 20.

² Gatford, *Public Good without Private Interest*, 9.

³ Cf. illuminating discussion of these conditions in *American Husbandry*, I, 278-295.

While the motivating forces in the rapid movement of the frontier were largely connected with the requirements of commercial agriculture, the term *frontier* may be employed to cover a number of phases of economic expansion. Explorers, Indian traders, and hunters frequently preceded by hundreds of miles and anticipated sometimes by several decades the appearance of the herdsmen, who in turn preceded and anticipated by somewhat shorter distances and intervals of time the invading army of settlers.⁴ Indeed, the term *army* applied to the latter movement is by no means exact, for the process was rather one of infiltration, slow at first as a few bold and adventurous spirits built homes in the wilderness, but gradually gathering momentum. Moreover, these earlier phases of the advance of the frontier were also manifestations of the expansion of capitalism, for the Indian trade and herding were largely promoted and financed by merchants and commercial planters.⁵

Real estate speculation was an especially impelling motive in expansion. The highly colored stories of the richness of the new lands brought back by Indian traders not only stirred the easily aroused imaginations of the migratory backwoodsmen, but also excited the cupidity of well-to-do planters and capitalists. Long before the tide of settlement entered the piedmont region of the various Colonies from Maryland to Georgia, individuals or companies obtained large grants of land through political influence or by purchase. Parties of explorers and surveyors were sent out to select and survey the choicest lands for their wealthy clients, to be later resold to the incoming tide of settlers or to be occupied and developed by the original owner.⁶ Speculative planters established "quarters" in frontier districts of the Piedmont, manned with an overseer and force of slaves, while still retaining plantation headquarters in the Tidewater.⁷ The tendency toward land-grabbing and engrossment in advance of settlement was continued in later expansion across the Appalachian mountains into the Mississippi valley.⁸

In general the movement of population in the Southern Colonies falls into four principal stages, partly in sequence but partly overlapping in time. The first stage of expansion, partially traced in earlier chapters, was essentially coastal, confined to the lands between the fall line of the various rivers and the sea. In this stage a succession of frontiers were established which spread out from the original nuclei of settlement in directions roughly paralleling the Atlantic.⁹ The second stage was a movement from east to west into the piedmont lands lying between tidewater and the easternmost ranges of the Appalachians. A third stage was the movement from northeast to southwest already mentioned; for as the waves of immigration beat against the Appalachian ranges in Pennsylvania,

⁴ For detailed account of these earlier phases of expansion, see Chaps. VI and XXXVI.

⁵ See below, pp. 135, 410.

⁶ For illustrations, see Williams & McKinsey, *Frederick County*, I, 1; Philemon Lloyd to Co-partners, July 28, 1722, in *Calvert Papers*, II, 39; Cook, H. T., *Pee Dee Basin*, 13-15, 59-62, 66-69; *idem*, *Hard Labor Section*, 10-12; Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, III, 168; VI, 189; cf. also Turner F. J., "Old West," in Wis. State Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, 1908, p. 205.

⁷ Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1718-1722, p. 298.

⁸ Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, I, 156-159; III, 1-9; Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee*, 66, 113-116; Putnam, *History of Middle Tennessee*, 636.

⁹ For the later expansion in this stage, see pp. 94-98, 107-114.

Maryland, and Virginia, the valleys served to distribute the population northward and southward.¹⁰ In the latter part of the colonial period there began a fourth stage—transmontane expansion across the Appalachian divide into the southern Mississippi valley. The full development of this movement belongs to the post colonial period. The process of coastal expansion was still under way in the Carolinas when the Maryland and Virginia frontiers began to advance beyond the fall line into the piedmont lands. Georgia was a new frontier when the Virginia and Maryland frontiers began to be extended beyond the Blue Ridge, and Florida was still a frontier for Anglo-American colonists when the tide of population from Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina began to pour into the Mississippi valley.

IMMIGRATION POLICIES¹¹

In the latter part of the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth century religious and political persecution combined with unfavorable economic conditions became important influences in stimulating the emigration of Quakers, Anabaptists, and other dissenters from Great Britain, Scotch-Irish from the northern part of Ireland, and Scotch refugees after the unfortunate risings of 1715 and 1745. The emigration of the Scotch was further stimulated by the breaking up of the clan system. German and Swiss Protestants, frequently called Palatines, were induced to emigrate not only by persecution but also by the numerous military campaigns which devastated the Rhine valley.¹² The development of these phases of immigration coincided with a slackening of economic interest in England in promoting emigration, for, whereas in the earlier part of the seventeenth century there had been much concern about over-population, the opposite attitude developed after the Restoration and continued throughout the remainder of the colonial period.¹³ While the greater proportion of this new immigration poured directly into the Middle Colonies and Maryland,¹⁴ the various Southern Colonies were alert to its advantages, particularly for the protection of exposed frontiers, and took measures to promote it. Even religious intolerance was not proof against the eagerness for additional settlers.

As early as 1648 the Maryland Assembly passed an act extending the same privileges and immunities to French, Dutch, and Italian immigrants as were accorded those from Great Britain, hitherto the only permissible source of immigration.¹⁵ The new policy was frankly attributed by Lord Baltimore to the desire for settlers.¹⁶ However, in the latter part of the seventeenth century and early years of the eighteenth there was a disposition to exclude Irish Catholics, and a number of acts were passed for that purpose,¹⁷ but an act of 1716/7 imposing

¹⁰ Paxson, *American Frontier*, 7.

¹¹ Concerning the plantation system and servitude as agencies for immigration, see below, Chaps. XIV and XVI.

¹² See Fairchild, *Immigration*, Chap. II; Stephenson, G.M., *American Immigration*, 44.

¹³ Pitman, *Development of the British West Indies*, 42-44.

¹⁴ Ballagh, "Southern Economic History—the Land System," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1897, pp. 126-128.

¹⁵ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), III, 222.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, V, 267.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* (Assem. Acts), XXII, 497; XXIV, 416; XXVI, 289; XXVII, 371.

heavy duties on such immigrants met the dissent of the British authorities on the ground that it "tends to the Excluding his Majesty's Protestant subjects."¹⁸ Toward the latter part of the seventeenth century Maryland authorities were much disturbed by emigration to the Carolinas and Pennsylvania. In 1674 the assembly passed an act requiring persons intending to emigrate to register their intention for a period of three months and get some one to stand responsible for any unpaid obligations, including unexpired terms of service.¹⁹ Two decades later there was much concern over emigration due to dissatisfaction with taxes and rentals. It was proposed that action be taken to offset the effects of false and exaggerated rumors concerning the great advantages in other Colonies, and to allay the apprehension caused by the measures adopted by the Proprietors to collect arrearages.²⁰ In 1710 appeared the vanguard of the Palatines, and the Maryland House of Delegates passed an act to exempt them from taxes. Again, in 1726 exemption from taxation was adopted as a means of encouraging Welsh to immigrate to the back parts of the Province.²¹

Although about 1649 Governor Berkeley had debarred nonconformists from the free exercise of their religious beliefs,²² the desire for settlers in the Old Dominion ultimately overcame to some degree religious aversion. In promoting the settlement of about five hundred French and Swiss Protestants at Mannikin Town, above the falls of the James,²³ the Virginia legislature authorized them to organize a separate parish. They were exempted from the payment of taxes for a period of seven years.²⁴ In 1705 the exemption was extended, and it was declared that although the settlers were not to receive the usual public allowance for the maintenance of the clergy, they were authorized to make their own arrangements to employ a minister.²⁵ The extension of French colonial expansion to the Ohio river system, menacing the rear of the English colonial establishment in Virginia and Maryland, stimulated activity in promoting westward expansion. Under the encouragement of the British Board of Trade, various capitalists or groups of capitalists were given large land grants in the western Piedmont and the Valley, and settlers were encouraged by a liberal attitude toward dissenters and by temporary exemptions from quitrents.²⁶

The increasing preponderance of slaves, the terror of slave revolts, and the continual menace of the French and Spanish influence among frontier tribes moved South Carolina to great lengths in the effort to stimulate white immigration.²⁷

¹⁸ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XXXIII, 18, 39, 109; XXXVIII, 198.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 402.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, XIX, 183, 225.

²¹ *Ibid.*, XXVII, pp. x, 496; XXXVI, 598.

²² Strong, *Babylon's Fall* (Hall, Narratives), 235.

²³ See *Documents relating to the Huguenot Emigration to Virginia* (Va. Hist. Soc., Collections, new series, V), 71-73.

²⁴ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), III, 201.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 478. For further details concerning the relaxation of religious restrictions to encourage immigration, see McIlwaine, *Struggle of Protestant Dissenters for Religious Toleration in Virginia*, 65-67.

²⁶ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), V, 57; cf. Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia*, 43; Flippin, "William Gooch: Successful Royal Governor of Virginia," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2 series, VI, 20; letters of Colonel Wm. Byrd to John Bartram, Nov. 30, 1738, and Mar. 23, 1738/9, in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2 series, VI, 307, 313; Dickerson, *American Colonial Government*, 326-333. See also below, p. 392.

²⁷ For a detailed account of the background of this movement, see Crane, *Southern Frontier*, Chap. XII.

In 1712 the Colony provided for the payment of £14 currency to the importers of healthy male British servants who assigned title to the same to the governing authorities of the Province, the latter undertaking to dispose of the servants thus purchased.²⁸ This was apparently an effort to enlarge the very limited market for white servants.²⁹ In 1716 the price payable was largely increased, and in order to create a resale market, each slaveholder was required to purchase one such servant for each ten slaves owned by him as his turn came by lot. Irish Catholics and convicts were specifically excluded.³⁰ In 1722 a program was developed for the settlement of insolvent debtors at frontier posts of the Province. In the same year in a conference between representatives of the two houses of the South Carolina Assembly it was agreed that immigrants coming from Pennsylvania and other Provinces should receive the same encouragements as those coming from Great Britain.³¹ An act of 1725, recognizing land engrossment as a source of discouragement to white immigration, required the owner of 2,000 acres to furnish one indented servant to serve in the militia and another servant for an additional 2,000 acres.³² In the last half of the third decade South Carolinians interested themselves in diverting the stream of Palatines to South Carolina.³³ In 1735, 1740, and 1751 acts were passed appropriating the proceeds of a tax on Negroes for the purchase of tools, provisions, and other necessities for poor Protestants lately come from Europe.³⁴ In 1739 the council assigned each settler on the "Welch tract," on the upper Pedee, tools, livestock, and food for one season, and exemption from surveyor's fees on fifty acres.³⁵

The policy of the Georgia Trustees in promoting immigration was even more liberal. In addition to the provisions for transporting and outfitting European immigrants,³⁶ the Trustees advertised in other Colonies their arrangements for supplying immigrants with arms, tools, household furnishings, iron work, nails, a cow, calf, brood mare, and sow.³⁷

The land policies of the various Colonies were also formulated to encourage immigration and settlement. In addition to the headright system, low purchase prices, and specific reservations and grants for the purpose of promoting compact townships or other colonization projects, the respective Southern Colonies sought to encourage settlement on dangerous frontiers by special exemptions for certain periods from quitrents and taxes and by reductions in purchase prices and surveyor's fees.³⁸ Encouragement of immigration also took the form of numerous bounties on products believed to be suitable as staples for the back country of the several Colonies, especially hemp, flax, and wheat.³⁹

²⁸ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), II, 385-387.

²⁹ See below, p. 349.

³⁰ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), II, 646-649; Jervcy, "White Indented Servants of South Carolina," in *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, XII, 163-171.

³¹ *South Carolina, Council Journals*, June 15, 1722, p. 22 (Manuscript in South Carolina State Library, Columbia).

³² *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), III, 255.

³³ *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, I, 297, 307.

³⁴ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), III, 409, 556-561, 741, 782.

³⁵ Gregg, *Old Cheraws*, 55.

³⁶ For details, see below, p. 97.

³⁷ *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), Sept. 3, 1736. See also below, pp.

³⁸ For details, see below, Chap. XVII.

³⁹ See pp. 166, 180.

SOURCES OF FARM POPULATION

With the exception of upwards of 500 Huguenot families in South Carolina and a somewhat smaller number in Virginia,⁴⁰ European immigration to the Southern Colonies during the seventeenth century was largely of British origin, mainly English. During the following century there was a considerable direct immigration of non-English people. Maryland, particularly, received a considerable part of the stream of German redemptioners.⁴¹ Shipping lists about the middle of the eighteenth century also indicate a considerable immigration to Maryland from England and Ireland.⁴² Virginia did not share largely in the direct immigration of Germans, although, in addition to the Germanna settlement, there were not a few German families in Tidewater Virginia.⁴³ About the middle of the eighteenth century there was a considerable direct immigration to Virginia from England, Scotland, and northern Ireland, most of the newcomers settling in the Piedmont or the Valley.⁴⁴ North Carolina shared largely in the direct immigration from Scotland. Apparently there were two distinct waves of active Scotch immigration, one for about a decade following 1745, and the second beginning in the decade 1760-1770 and continuing until the Revolution.⁴⁵

Charleston, South Carolina, was the port of entry for a considerable foreign immigration in the last three or four decades of the colonial period, particularly from Ireland. David Ramsay asserted: "None [no country] has furnished the province with so many inhabitants as Ireland. Scarce a ship sailed from any of its ports for Charlestown that was not crowded with men, women, and children." He declared that the bounty offered by the Province had a large influence, for it encouraged the merchants to put forth special efforts to persuade immigrants to make the voyage.⁴⁶ In 1736 a ship from Belfast brought 350 passengers, another ship came with 360 Palatines, while still another landed 176 passengers. All of these people settled in the vicinity of Winyah Bay.⁴⁷ The following year came a vessel from Belfast with nearly 300 passengers, and another with over 200 Swiss settlers.⁴⁸ In 1744 a vessel bound for Pennsylvania with a large number of Palatines aboard was forced to put into Charleston, and 130 passengers were induced to settle in South Carolina.⁴⁹ In 1767 the *Georgia Gazette* reported that 230 Protestants from Ireland had just arrived at Charleston, and in January, 1768, that 400 Irish Protestants had come since its last issue.⁵⁰ Eastern and middle South Carolina, therefore, were settled with a varied assortment of people. In addition to the English and Huguenot settlers, there were many other races, mostly of dissenting

⁴⁰ Ravenel, D., "Historical Sketch of the Huguenot Congregations of South Carolina," in Huguenot Soc. of S. C., *Transactions*, No. 7, p. 8.

⁴¹ See Chap. XVI.

⁴² *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), Apr. 19, June 14, 21, 1753.

⁴³ Faust, *German Element in the United States*, I, 202 *et seq.*

⁴⁴ Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, 49-51 & nn.

⁴⁵ Boyd, *Some Eighteenth Century Tracts concerning North Carolina*, 419, 424; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, IV, p. viii; IX, 364.

⁴⁶ *History of South Carolina*, I, 20.

⁴⁷ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, IV, 258.

⁴⁸ *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), Mar. 18-25, 1737.

⁴⁹ *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, II, 290.

⁵⁰ (Savannah), Mar. 4, 1767; Jan. 20, 1768.

creeds, who sought homes in the Province. The expansion of settlement along the coast and into middle South Carolina was effected by people from Ireland, Scotland, Switzerland, Germany, Holland, New England, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.⁵¹ Swiss were settled at Purysburg, on the upper Savannah; Scotch-Irish at Kingston, on the Waccamaw, at Williamsburg, on the Black, and on the High Hills of Santee; Welsh on the upper Pedee river; Germans in Orange, New Windsor, Amelia, Saxe-Gotha, and Fredericksburg townships.⁵² In 1755 about 1,500 Acadian refugees were brought to South Carolina. Some were settled near the coast, others in the interior.⁵³ In 1764 a group of French immigrants formed a settlement on Long Cane River, and named the community New Bordeaux.⁵⁴ It is not strange that when Ramsay wrote his history of South Carolina, published in 1809, he was impressed with the fact that the population was very heterogeneous and, although there had been no considerable net immigration for more than a decade, by no means fully amalgamated.⁵⁵

The various Southern inducements to promote immigration reflect the fact that the Southern Colonies did not share as extensively in the movement of European peoples as did the Colonies north of Maryland. According to Professor Ballagh, by the opening of the eighteenth century the population of the North was double that of the South, and its rate of increase throughout the colonial period was far in excess of the Southern rate.⁵⁶ In 1755 the white population of the Southern Colonies was estimated at only 251,000 as compared with 795,000 for the Colonies north of Maryland. The Carolinas and Georgia contained but 81,000.⁵⁷ In 1763 the population of the South, including slaves, was estimated at about 900,000, while the population of the North was 1,100,000. By 1775 the disparity had increased from 200,000 to about 288,000.⁵⁸ Furthermore, the smaller territory available for effective occupancy in the North than in the South resulted in greater scarcity of land in proportion to population. It is true, westward expansion in the North was not confronted with a continuous mountain barrier, as in the South, but there were a number of separate mountain masses consisting of rough lands undesirable for settlement. "Charter limits were themselves practically, when not expressly, limited to comparatively narrow bounds by the convergence of their respective territories," whereas the charter bounds of the Southern Colonies, except Maryland, extended beyond the mountains.⁵⁹

⁵¹ Boddie, *History of Williamsburg* [S.C.], 22, 35; Salley, *Orangeburg County*, 29-32; Cook, H.T., *Pee Dee Basin*, Chaps. I, IV, XI-XIII, *passim*.

⁵² Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, I, 11, 107; Gregg, *Old Cheraws*, 45-55, 74-76; Bernheim, *German Settlements and the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina*, *passim*; Whitney, *Government of the Colony of South Carolina*, 59-63; Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, II, 63, 268; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, III, 393.

⁵³ Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, I, 15; Salley, *Orangeburg County*, 33.

⁵⁴ Ramsay says 212 (*History of South Carolina*, I, 19), but another account gives 138. Ravenel, D., "Historical Sketch of the Huguenot Congregations of South Carolina," in *Huguenot Soc. of S. C., Transactions*, No. 7, p. 9.

⁵⁵ Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, I, 22.

⁵⁶ "Southern Economic History—the Land System," in *Amer. Hist. Assn., Annual Report*, 1897, p. 127.

⁵⁷ Governor Dobbs to Board of Trade, in *North Carolina Colonial Records*, V, 470.

⁵⁸ Ballagh, "Southern Economic History—the Land System," in *Amer. Hist. Assn., Annual Report*, 1897, p. 127.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 125.

While the interior of New York was topographically more accessible than the territory west of the mountains in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, land monopoly under the patroon system, the greater proximity of the French and their Indian allies, and the necessity of maintaining friendship with the powerful Iroquois confederacy, which occupied much of the interior of the Colony, were important factors in limiting colonial expansion in the North.⁶⁰ In the South the southwesterly trend of the mountains provided an ever increasing width of territory between the mountains and the sea, reaching a maximum in North Carolina. South of this Colony the shore line bends southwestward, tending to offset the westerly trend of the mountain ranges.⁶¹ Consequently in Pennsylvania and Maryland population had to expand a much shorter distance between tidewater and the mountains than in Virginia and the Carolinas. From northern Georgia southward there was no mountain barrier to obstruct the westward flow of population.

These conditions were responsible for an important movement of population from the Northern to the Southern Colonies. It has already been noted that settlers from New England came in considerable numbers to the coastal plain of North Carolina in the earlier decades of that Colony, and to some extent also to South Carolina, while both Provinces enjoyed considerable accessions of population from Virginia. The most influential movement in economic and social significance was from the Middle Colonies in the last four decades of the colonial period and for several decades thereafter. It consisted largely of Germans and Scotch-Irish who had entered the ports of Philadelphia, Newcastle, and Baltimore and, finding the good lands of the Middle Colonies occupied, spread southwestward along both sides of the Blue Ridge, occupying the Great Valley and spreading out into the thinly settled parts of the western piedmont section. Before reaching North Carolina the majority crossed the Blue Ridge into the piedmont lands of North and South Carolina and eastern Georgia, likewise extending their settlements eastward into the thinly occupied portions of the middle country of the Carolinas.⁶²

While it is certain the Southern Colonies were settled by a very diverse population, many of them non-English, the relative proportions of the various groups are not easily determined. Mr. Charles A. Hanna's estimates that the percentages of Scotch-Irish to the total white population in 1775 were 20 to 25 per cent in Maryland and Virginia, 33 1/3 per cent in North Carolina and Georgia, and 50 per cent in South Carolina⁶³ are probably too high. The number of Germans in the several Colonies in 1775 is "conservatively" estimated by Albert Bernhardt Faust at 20,500 in Delaware and Maryland, 25,000 in Virginia, 8,000 in North Carolina, 15,000 in South Carolina, and 5,000 in Georgia. On the basis of Bancroft's estimate of the probable white population in 1775, the German element was about 13 per cent in Delaware and Maryland, 8 per cent in Virginia, 4

⁶⁰ Ballagh, "Southern Economic History—the Land System," in *Amer. Hist. Assn., Annual Report*, 1897, p. 126; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, V, 25.

⁶¹ Semple, *American History and Its Geographic Conditions*, Chap. III.

⁶² Bernheim, *German Settlements and the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina*, 148–152. See also below, p. 614.

⁶³ *The Scotch-Irish*, I, 83.

per cent in North Carolina, 17 per cent in South Carolina, and 15 per cent in Georgia.⁶⁴ It is possible that these estimates are also unduly high, especially in the two southernmost Colonies. A study of the names of heads of families in 1790 indicates that in Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas from 82 to 85 per cent of the population was of English stock. (Table 1.)

TABLE 1.—*Per cent distribution of the white population of each State according to nationality, as indicated by names of heads of families, 1790¹*

Nationality as indicated by name	Maryland	Virginia	North Carolina	South Carolina
	<i>per cent</i>	<i>per cent</i>	<i>per cent</i>	<i>per cent</i>
English.....	84.0	85.0	83.1	82.4
Scotch.....	6.5	7.1	11.2	11.7
Irish.....	2.4	2.0	2.3	2.6
German.....	5.9	4.9	2.8	1.7
French.....	0.7	0.6	0.3	1.3
Dutch.....	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2
Hebrew.....	0.3	...	...	0.1
All others.....	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1

¹ United States, *Century of Population Growth*, 116. In the case of Virginia the figures are based on the lists of the enumerations of 1782 to 1785.

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF FARM POPULATION

In some respects geographic conditions favored a greater density of population in the piedmont districts than in the tidewater districts. In the latter, especially south of Norfolk, the large proportion of pine barren and wet land tended to confine the population to a comparatively small percentage of the area. A tract descriptive of eastern North Carolina, written in 1773, emphasizes the fact that in that region the country between the streams was still mainly employed as range for stock.⁶⁵ In the piedmont section a larger proportion of the upland was cultivable than in the coastal section from Norfolk southward. The early engrossment of land in the tidewater districts probably also tended toward relatively greater sparseness of population.⁶⁶ Many of the immigrants to the back country tended to settle in compact communities as church congregations. The tendency was given greater emphasis by the peril of Indian attack.⁶⁷ The piedmont section and the Great Valley were occupied by small farmers, while the tidewater section was mainly a plantation region. A farming population tends to be more evenly distributed in a given territory than a plantation population, for the latter is concentrated at plantation headquarters, while the farmers' dwellings are dispersed throughout the countryside. It was easy, therefore, for one travelling through the country of small farms to get an exaggerated impression of greater population density than in the plantation regions. Thus in 1772 James Haber-

⁶⁴ *German Element in the United States*, I, 282-285.

⁶⁵ *Scotus Americanus, Informations concerning North Carolina* (North Carolina Historical Review, III), 609-611, 614.

⁶⁶ See below, p. 404.

⁶⁷ Concerning the tendency to form compact settlements, see letter of James Habersham to Earl of Hillsborough, June 13, 1772, in *Georgia Historical Society, Collections*, VI, 185; Fries, *Moravians in Georgia*, 135-138; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, V, 7; Landrum, *Upper South Carolina*, 25-27; Watson, *Men and Times of the Revolution*, 253.

sham wrote the Earl of Hillsborough of the large numbers of settlers pouring into the back country of Georgia and South Carolina, declaring the white inhabitants were "perhaps Ten fold the number on the same compass of land, than they are near the Sea Coast."⁶⁸ Before the Revolution, however, parts of the piedmont section and Great Valley were but sparsely settled, for these sections had been so recently occupied that population had not yet reached a normal density.

FURTHER COASTAL EXPANSION IN THE CAROLINAS

In 1710 the process of occupying the Carolina coast was far from complete. The territory between the Santee and Cape Fear rivers was still largely a wilderness,⁶⁹ and after the unfortunate experience of Lord Cardross' Scotch colony at Port Royal the southern portion of South Carolina remained largely unoccupied.⁷⁰ Between 1708 and 1720 the white population of the Province increased from 4,080 to about 9,000, and the slaves from 5,200 to 11,828.⁷¹ For some years prior to 1720 there had probably been an actual decrease in whites owing to alarm on account of the French expansion into the Mississippi valley, Spanish intrigues, and the Indian menace.⁷² During the next decade the disproportion between white and slave population was further increased. In 1724 the white population was estimated at 14,000, and the slaves at 32,000.⁷³ In 1734 the whites were only one third the number of blacks.⁷⁴

About this time, however, the filling up of the tidewater lands in the Colonies to the northward began to turn the wave of settlement southward, and the movement of dissenting sects from the various parts of Europe was increasing rapidly in volume. Between 1705 and 1712 enterprising planters and merchants from Charleston were acquiring lands between the Santee and Winyah Bay and along the lower Pedee, and a few people settled along the streams flowing into Winyah Bay. In this period the region was mainly devoted to exporting the pioneer products—cattle and hides, beef and pork, lumber products, and skins acquired by Indian trade—and to raising for home use and occasionally exporting, corn, peas, potatoes, rye, oats, wheat, and flax, supplemented by fish, game, and wild honey.⁷⁵ During the next two decades the region was occupied largely by rice planters, and within a few years there developed a plantation society similar to that near Charleston.⁷⁶ It is possible that there had been a few straggling settlers of the poorer sort along the lower Cape Fear since the abandonment of the region by the first New England colonists.⁷⁷ In 1723 a number of South Carolina planters

⁶⁸ Habersham, *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, VI), 173.

⁶⁹ Cook, H.T., *Pee Dee Basin*, 1-4.

⁷⁰ Oldmixon, *British Empire*, I, 368-375.

⁷¹ London, P.R.O., C.O. 5/1292, p. 166 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); Rivers, *Chapter in the Early History of South Carolina*, 19.

⁷² Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1718-1722, p. 189; London, P.R.O., C.O. 5/1293, p. 19 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

⁷³ Glen, *Description of South Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 261.

⁷⁴ Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, II, 39.

⁷⁵ Sellers, *Marion County*, 105.

⁷⁶ Cook, H.T., *Pee Dee Basin*, 1-4, 7, 25-28, 41, 80; *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, II, 292.

⁷⁷ Martin, F.X., *History of North Carolina*, I, 179, 294; Oldmixon, *British Empire*, I, 369. See also above, p. 49.

of substance settled along the lower Cape Fear. They immediately developed the rice and naval stores industries and began to extend their plantations up the various branches of the river. The Cape Fear afforded the best harbor on the North Carolina coast, and in course of time direct trade with Europe and the West Indies was developed.⁷⁸

The picture of the expansion of settlement and the development of industry in northeastern South Carolina was largely duplicated to the southward. In the last years of the seventeenth century Carolina herdsmen began to range their cattle in the general neighborhood of Port Royal, and in the next decade hardy pioneer planters occupied the region. This expansion was severely checked by the Yemassee War, but was soon resumed after the close of that struggle.⁷⁹ The building of Fort Moore, in 1716, on the South Carolina side of the Savannah, about seven miles below the present site of Augusta, and the construction about two years later of Fort Congarees, a little below the present location of Columbia, afforded early protective outposts and centers of Indian trade. Shortly thereafter a few hardy pioneers and herdsmen began to penetrate this section of middle South Carolina. In 1722 the South Carolinians placed an outpost far down in the debatable territory between the Carolinas and Florida by establishing Fort King George on the Altamaha. The following year the South Carolina Council formulated a measure for the settlement of insolvent debtors at Fort Moore and at a fort which it was planned to erect at Apalachicola. South Carolina herdsmen were already pasturing their cattle on the southern side of the Savannah. The settlement of Georgia and the establishment of compact settlements of German and Swiss Lutherans in the township of Saxe-Gotha and other parts of Orangeburg Precinct afforded additional protective barriers, and southeastern South Carolina began to be rapidly occupied by rice planters.⁸⁰

EXPERIMENTS IN AGRICULTURAL COLONIZATION IN GEORGIA

The seventeenth century and the early decades of the eighteenth were marked by an almost continuous struggle between the Spaniards and the English for the debatable territory along the South Atlantic coast. Even when there was nominal peace, each party engaged in intrigues with the native tribes to detach them from the interest of the other party and encouraged them to make unofficial forays for the carrying off of prisoners from native tribes friendly to the opposite allegiance.

The sparsely settled and economically static Spanish Colony, however, was no match for the vigorous and steadily growing Carolina, with its aggressive Indian traders and rapidly expanding agriculture and commerce. Gradually the Span-

⁷⁸ *New Voyage to Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, II), 55-60; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, III, 338; IV, 156; V, 315 (Contains detailed discussion of harbors and inlets of the Colony); Battle, *Letters and Documents relating to the Lower Cape Fear* (James Sprunt Historical Monographs, IV), 5, 54-56; *American Husbandry*, I, 331; cf. Sprunt, "Old Brunswick," in *Historical Addresses*.

⁷⁹ Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 162-164.

⁸⁰ South Carolina, *Council Journals*, June 19, 20, 23, Aug. 3, 1722, pp. 32, 34, 50, 75; Feb. 13, 1723, p. 200 (Manuscript in South Carolina State Library, Columbia); Salley, *Orangeburg County*, 18-23; Bernheim, *German Settlements and the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina*, 99-103, 106; Stephens, W., *State of the Province of Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, II), 71-73.

iards were forced to withdraw their missions from the Georgia coast, first from Santa Elena (Port Royal) in 1686 to the Altamaha, six years later to the St. Marys, and a decade and a half later to the St. Johns. In 1686 the Spaniards retaliated by destroying Lord Cardross' colony at Port Royal, but English genius for developing the Indian trade gradually widened the circle of their influence among the tribes of southern Georgia. About the beginning of the last decade of the seventeenth century an alliance with the Lower Creeks enabled the Carolinians to press back the Spanish frontier in southwestern Georgia and ultimately to destroy their dominion in West Florida. The Spaniards, however, found the English particularly vulnerable through making Florida a refuge for runaway slaves and by encouraging slave uprisings.⁸¹ In the first decades of the eighteenth century the struggle became still more terrible. In 1702 Governor Moore, of South Carolina, marched to the gates of St. Augustine, and in 1704 struck a mortal blow at Spanish influence in West Florida by invading that territory, destroying a number of the presidios and missions and carrying off the natives into slavery. In 1708 the Spanish governor wrote his superiors that in northern Florida more than 10,000 or 12,000 persons had been carried off into slavery by Indians under British influence, and the economic life of the region paralyzed.⁸² In 1706 an abortive expedition of French and Spaniards was directed against South Carolina. During the terrible Yamasee War in 1715, believed by Carolinians to have been fomented by Spanish intrigue, settlements in South Carolina were devastated to within twenty miles of Charleston. In 1727 plundering expeditions of Yamasees aided by Spaniards again terrorized the South Carolina settlements, and in retaliation a South Carolina expedition under Colonel Palmer invaded Florida and burned a town near St. Augustine. In 1738-1739 the Spaniards were active in encouraging South Carolina slaves to desert, and they were also considered responsible for the terrifying uprising of 1739.⁸³ How seriously these conditions had checked the economic development of the southern part of South Carolina is shown by the fact that shortly after the buffer Colony of Georgia was established, lands in the general neighborhood of Port Royal advanced fourfold in value.⁸⁴

The deadly nature of the struggle for the border land pointed to certain essential principles of colonization for effective occupancy of the Georgia coast, including close and compact settlement and the exclusion of slaves. As early as 1718 the scheme of colonization formulated by Sir Robert Montgomery for establishing a colony near the Altamaha to be called Azilia reflected these conceptions of the colonization problem. In his prospectus, which is a curious combination of feudal ideals and the point of view of the modern corporation promoter, Mont-

⁸¹ For fuller accounts of the details of the long struggle, see Bolton & Ross, *The Debatable Land*, Chaps. I-IV. Essentially the same account is given in Bolton's *Arredondo's Historical Proof of Spain's Title to Georgia*, and in the same author's "Spanish Resistance to the Carolina Traders in Western Georgia," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, IX, 115-130. See also Ross, "French on the Savannah," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, VIII, 167-194; Brooks, A.M., *Old St. Augustine*, Chap. XIII; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, Chap. I, 22-33.

⁸² Letter of Francisco Corcoles y Martinez, Jan. 14, 1708, in Brooks, A.M., *Old St. Augustine*, 164-166. For details of the successive Carolinian and Indian invasions of Florida, see Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 75-81.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 249-251; South Carolina, *Report of the Committee of Both Houses of Assembly on the Late Expedition against St. Augustine*, 4-9; Bolton & Ross, *The Debatable Land*, 57-76.

⁸⁴ Martyn, *Impartial Inquiry* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 174.

gomery expressed the growing uneasiness both in England and in South Carolina over the increasing predominance of the plantation system in that Colony. Accordingly, he projected a scheme for establishing a colony of small holders in south Georgia from which slavery would be excluded.⁸⁵ In the project for the settlement of Georgia promoted by Oglethorpe and his associates, similar conceptions of the problem of colonization were combined with the new idealism of the humanitarian revival in England, including the desire to mitigate the hardships of imprisonment for debt and improve the lot of the reputable poor.⁸⁶

The initial settlement of Georgia, essentially a philanthropic enterprise, was the most elaborate project of organized colonization undertaken since the operations of the Virginia Company of London. The colonization plan called for small landholdings, careful safeguards against land engrossment,⁸⁷ close settlement in agricultural villages, exclusion of Negro slavery, free transport and equipment for indigent persons of respectable character, provision of a refuge for persecuted Protestants of southern Germany and Austria, prohibition of rum and spirits of high alcoholic content, and development of the economic life of the Colony on the basis of highly intensive tropical and semitropical crops, thus avoiding competition with the staples of other Southern Colonies.⁸⁸ The early history of the Colony, however, is a record of the failure to accomplish these ideals and of the ultimate triumph of the plantation system, in spite of the utmost exertions by the promoters.

The policy of the founders contemplated two types of economic organization. First, it was proposed to develop an agricultural peasantry, dwelling for military protection in villages and engaged in diversified industry and intensive agriculture.⁸⁹ With this end in view indigent persons unable to pay their own expenses were sent at the expense of the corporation, provisions were supplied for the voyage and until the new settlers could make a crop, and tools and weapons were furnished them. The settlers were not placed under indenture, although they were expected to contribute their labor toward the initial work of constructing houses, clearing land for the town, and constructing fortifications. Each male settler of military age was expected to have a definite military obligation to the Colony and to accept the consequent restrictions with respect to use and alienation of lands.⁹⁰ When the Frederica Colony was sent out each colonist bound himself during the first year to work for the common good.⁹¹ The first Salzburger settlers were sent at public expense, but they were left to make their own regulations

⁸⁵ *Discourse concerning the Establishment of a New Colony to the South of Carolina.*

⁸⁶ McCain, *Georgia as a Proprietary Province*, 17-21. Concerning earlier formulation of these ideals for colonizing the region, see Crane, "Projects for Colonization in the South, 1684-1732," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XII, 24-30.

⁸⁷ The details of the system of tenure are discussed in Chap. XVII.

⁸⁸ Oglethorpe, *New and Accurate Account of South Carolina and Georgia*, and Martyn, *Reasons for Establishing Georgia* (both in Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 58-72, and 204-232; *idem*, *Account showing the Progress of Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, II), 276-281; Stevens, W.B., *History of Georgia*, I, 66-73.

⁸⁹ *New Voyage to Georgia*, and Martyn, *Account showing the Progress of Georgia* (both in Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, II), 40-42, and 285, 296-298; *Colonial Records of Georgia* (Minutes of Com. Coun. of Trustees), II, 49. For further details on the Georgia experiment, see pp. 186-188, 190.

⁹⁰ Martyn, *Account showing the Progress of Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, II), 275-277; Jones, C. C., *History of Georgia*, I, 106.

⁹¹ Moore, F., *Voyage to Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 81.

as to community obligations.⁹² The contract with the second group of Moravians was made with the congregation as a whole, and the credit for transport and settlement extended as a lump sum to be repaid within five years, with interest at 8 per cent after the first three years.⁹³

A second, and probably secondary, part of the plan of colonization was the granting of tracts of land not exceeding 500 acres to persons who would agree to transport and employ ten servants on each tract.⁹⁴ Some of the earlier grants were even more liberal, 500 acres being given to individuals who carried over four male servants at their own expense.⁹⁵ A considerable number of 500-acre tracts were stocked with servants by private adventurers, but if we may believe the account of Doctor Tailfer and his fellow malcontents, most of these undertakings resulted disastrously. On fifteen plantations, each of which had contained from ten to forty servants, all but two or three had been abandoned. Grants in 500-acre units continued to be made, however, even after the passing of the Trustee control.⁹⁶

From time to time the Trustees sent out servants, some of whom were employed on public lands under liberal conditions. Servants owned by the corporation were employed by task labor and encouraged to complete their tasks early in order to work for themselves, being allowed one or two days a week for the purpose. On the expiration of his term the servant was promised 50 acres, necessary tools, a cow, a calf, and a sow, and a cash allowance for his support during the first year, in return for which he must work for the Trustees two days each week for a year.⁹⁷ Other servants were sold to the freeholders, who, however, found it practically impossible to pay for them; for many freeholders had difficulty in feeding themselves, being partially dependent on the Trustees for support.⁹⁸

FAILURE OF THE INITIAL POLICY OF COLONIZATION IN GEORGIA AND TRIUMPH OF THE PLANTATION SYSTEM

The very humanity and liberality of the Trustees' policy proved its undoing. The colonists were encouraged to rely unduly on subsidies, and they put forth little exertion to help themselves. Until 1738 it was necessary to feed them out of the public store. Although the Trustees attempted to abandon this policy, it was necessary on several occasions during the next decade to furnish provisions to the freeholders.⁹⁹ The necessity of providing charity for individual cases

⁹² *Colonial Records of Georgia* (Journal of the Trustees), I, 78.

⁹³ Fries, *Moravians in Georgia*, 89, 96.

⁹⁴ Moore, F., *Voyage to Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 98.

⁹⁵ *Colonial Records of Georgia* (Minutes of Com. Coun. of Trustees), I, 14.

⁹⁶ Tailfer, Anderson, & Douglas, *Narrative of Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, II), 254-260; cf. also Moore, F., *Voyage to Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 98, 106; Stephens, W., *Journal* (Colonial Records of Georgia, Sup. IV), 132; Jones, C. C., *History of Georgia*, I, 366. See below, Chap. XVII.

⁹⁷ *Colonial Records of Georgia* (Proc. of Pres. & Assts.), IV, 54, 60, 163; *ibid.* (Minutes of Com. Coun. of Trustees), II, 277, 280, 408, 421, 495, 508.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 232, 328, 368; Tailfer, Anderson, & Douglas, *Narrative of Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, II), 199 n.; Oglethorpe, *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, III), 57, 101-103.

⁹⁹ *Colonial Records of Georgia* (Minutes of Com. Coun. of Trustees), II, 270; *ibid.* (Proc. of Pres. & Assts.), IV, 39, 166; Stephens, W., *Journal* (Colonial Records of Georgia, Sup. IV), 122.

was continually arising.¹⁰⁰ The restrictions of the Trustees, though humane in intention, proved as unworkable as the provisions of Locke's Grand Model. The lack of profitable commercial agriculture, the impracticable system of land tenure,¹⁰¹ and the restrictions on slaves were insuperable obstacles to progress. The motley rabble was demoralized by years of public support and bounties on silk and provision crops. A large number of the landholdings remained unimproved. The Colony seemed incapable of self-support. The colonists fell deeper in debt to the Trustees, and public sentiment in favor of repudiation developed. Finally, when the Trustees closed the public store in 1739, a large percentage of the colonists abandoned the enterprise.¹⁰²

The discontent of the Georgia colonists was carefully fostered by South Carolina planters eager to build up plantations in Georgia and to reassert land claims acquired under the Grand Model.¹⁰³ According to Oglethorpe, the Carolinians even joined with the Spaniards in fomenting discord. Several attempts were made in the decade beginning in 1735 to introduce Negroes surreptitiously or by force.¹⁰⁴ Petitions urging the removal of the restrictions on Negroes were sent to England in 1735 and again in 1738.¹⁰⁵ In 1740 the discontent, which had been allayed by the departure of the chief malcontents, broke out again. Leaders of the agitation from South Carolina prepared a memorial to the British Government, setting forth the failure of the Colony of Georgia and asking the King to make it a crown Colony.¹⁰⁶ The malcontents urged the impossibility of competing by means of servants with the slave labor of South Carolina. They alleged that timber, the only commodity exportable on a large scale, cost twice as much to produce by servant labor as by slave labor. The restrictions on land tenure made it impossible to employ enough servants to economize supervision, and there was no basis upon which the colonists could secure credit. The task of felling timber was too great for the strength of white servants, and the heat and malaria caused a great deal of sickness. Clothing was more costly than that of Negro slaves, and servants were continually escaping into South Carolina.¹⁰⁷ While it is not safe to trust entirely the emphatic and exaggerated statements of the proslavery party, there are many indications that their allegations were largely true. Secretary Stephens, himself a vigorous exponent of the policy of the Trustees, testifies to the ill success of the small freeholds. The servants were constantly shirking their work and were so obstinate and dishonest that their labor was not worth the trouble and annoyance of supervising

¹⁰⁰ *Colonial Records of Georgia* (Proc. of Pres. & Assts.), IV, *passim*.

¹⁰¹ See Chap. XVII.

¹⁰² Stephens, W., *Journal* (Colonial Records of Georgia, IV), 59, 266, 514; *idem*, *State of the Province of Georgia*, and Martyn, *Account showing the Progress of Georgia* (both in Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, II), 76, and 299; Oglethorpe, *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, III), 50, 54, 88; *Colonial Records of Georgia* (Minutes of Com. Coun. of Trustees), II, 318.

¹⁰³ Stephens, W., *Journal* (Colonial Records of Georgia, IV & Sup. IV), *passim*.

¹⁰⁴ *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, III), 117, 120; Moore, F., *Voyage to Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 102; *Colonial Records of Georgia* (Proc. of Pres. & Assts.), VI, 207-212, 215.

¹⁰⁵ Tailfer, Anderson, & Douglas, *Narrative of Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, II), 200, 222, 232; Stephens, W., *Journal* (Colonial Records of Georgia, IV), 238-241.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 253-264, 575; Sup. IV, 26-35, 170-175, 200, 258.

¹⁰⁷ Stephens & Everhard, *Brief Account of Georgia*, and Tailfer, Anderson, & Douglas, *Narrative of Georgia* (both in Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, II), 93, and 200, 218-220, 227.

them, especially as the humanitarian ideals of the Trustees prevented stern discipline.¹⁰⁸

The pressure of the slaveholders on the border became ever stronger. In 1748 the Trustees refused another petition for the introduction of slave labor,¹⁰⁹ but by 1749 it was no longer possible to withstand the tide. In May of that year the colonial authorities informed the Trustees that "Abundance of People" had applied to them for grants of land, and "Numbers of Negro's" had been brought into the Province. They had taken "Methods to drive the said Negro's out of the Province but ineffectually . . . Any further Attempts to put the Act against Negro's in Execution would . . . dispeople the Colony." The Trustees resolved to petition the King to remove the restriction against Negroes.¹¹⁰ This was authorized by act of Parliament the following year. Because of military danger and the fear of slave insurrections fomented by the Spaniards, certain restrictions on slave ownership were provided. For every four Negroes there must be a white manservant of militia age. No Negro might be employed in any trade except agriculture or apprenticed to artisans (carpenters excepted). A duty of 15 shillings must be paid on every Negro above twenty years on importation and an annual tax of 1 shilling.¹¹¹ In 1768 a colonial act laid a duty on Negroes and other slaves that had been above six months in any of the islands or Colonies in America.¹¹²

Within the next few years a great tide of planters with their slaves poured into Georgia, and the lowland districts were soon transformed into a plantation region similar to eastern South Carolina.¹¹³ In 1752 and 1753 "the Spirit of Emigration out of South Carolina into Georgia became so universal . . . near one thousand Negroes was brought in Georgia, where in 1751 were scarce above three dozen."¹¹⁴ By October, 1760, there were 3,570 in Georgia.¹¹⁵ Six years later they numbered about 7,800, and about 1771 the slaves were estimated at 13,000.¹¹⁶ South Carolinians and others of large business connections invested in Georgia rice plantations. By the outbreak of the Revolution there were a number of large plantation properties in the Colony. Governor Wright owned eleven plantations, comprising 523 slaves, and Secretary Habersham had 198 Negroes on his several estates.¹¹⁷

The growth of white population after the termination of control by the Trustees was also much more rapid than in the previous period, especially after the tide of yeomen from the back country of South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia

¹⁰⁸ *Colonial Records of Georgia* (Proc. of Pres. & Assts.), VI, 317; Stephens, W., *Journal* (*ibid.*, IV), 117, 146, 175, 185, 201, 208, 270, 282, 301, 333.

¹⁰⁹ *Colonial Records of Georgia* (Journal of the Trustees), I, 506.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 530.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* (By-laws and Laws), I, 56-62.

¹¹² *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), Dec. 28, 1768.

¹¹³ Wright, J., *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, III, Pt. 2), p. 106; Bartram, *Travels*, 16.

¹¹⁴ De Brahm, *History of Georgia*, 21; Jones, C. C., *History of Georgia*, I, 493 n.

¹¹⁵ Northen, "Early Parishes of Georgia," in D.A.R., Habersham Chapter, *Historical Collections*, I, 317; Redding, *Jonathan Bryan*, 36.

¹¹⁶ Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 453; De Brahm, *History of Georgia*, 50. For similar estimate two years later, see McCall, *History of Georgia*, I, 302.

¹¹⁷ Habersham, *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, VI), 6, 102 n., 121.

began to pour into upper Georgia. It is probable that in 1750 the white population was about 1,500. Three years later the whites numbered 2,381, not including His Majesty's troops, boatmen, and other employees.¹¹⁸ In 1761 the whites were estimated at 6,100, and by 1773 at 18,000.¹¹⁹

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF AGRICULTURE IN THE COLONY OF GEORGIA

The ideal of establishing a closely settled colony, as already noted, led the Georgia promoters to aim at an economic system based largely on tropical or semitropical products requiring intensive cultivation. There was little emphasis on tobacco because the markets had been chronically glutted with that product. The possibilities of rice and sugar and their great profitableness were recognized, but it was concluded that these staples were "works of hardship and fatigue" in which the white immigrant would not work.¹²⁰ Indigo was mentioned as a possibility, but greatest emphasis was placed on silk, wine, cotton, hemp, flax, potash, medicinal plants, dyestuffs, and tropical fruits and nuts, such as oranges, lemons, pomegranates, peaches, figs, almonds, and olives.¹²¹

To promote these aims the Trustees established an experimental garden of ten acres at Savannah, and paid the expenses of a skillful botanist to travel in tropical and semitropical countries and collect the seeds of rare plants.¹²² The garden was laid off with walks lined with orange trees. In the coldest part apples, pears, and other English fruits were planted. In another section were olives, vines, pomegranates, and other plants grown in the south of Europe. In the warmest part were coffee, coco palms, cotton, palma Christi, "and several West Indian physical plants, some sent up by Mr. Eveleigh, a public-spirited merchant at Charlestown, and some by Dr. Houstoun, from the Spanish West Indies, where he was sent at the expense of a collection raised by that curious physician, Sir Hans Sloan, for to collect and send them to Georgia."¹²³ Unfortunately the garden consisted largely of light sandy uplands, very unsuited to tropical and semitropical plants, and before 1755 it had been largely abandoned.¹²⁴

Other similar experiments with more or less exotic plants were made by private individuals. De Brahm wrote that seeds of the Tartarian rhubarb had been sent to the Province by a member of the Royal Society. "The Papaw and Plantin Tree has also, as well as the Sugar-Cane been experimented in this City [Savannah], and the Success has proved that this part of the 5th Climate is not averse to the Culture of Sugar Cane to make Rum, but cannot fill enough, and ripen to admit of making Sugar." He himself had experimented with pineapples and coco palms.¹²⁵

¹¹⁸ Northen, "Early Parishes of Georgia," in D.A.R., Habersham Chapter, *Historical Collections*, I, 313.

¹¹⁹ Wright, J., *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, III, Pt. 2), p. 167.

¹²⁰ Martyn, *Impartial Inquiry* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 170.

¹²¹ Oglethorpe, *New and Accurate Account of South Carolina and Georgia*, and Martyn, *Reasons for Establishing Georgia* (both in Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 50, 68-72, and 205-212, 231; *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, III, 309.

¹²² Oglethorpe, *New and Accurate Account of South Carolina and Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 68.

¹²³ Moore, F., *Voyage to Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 98-100.

¹²⁴ *Colonial Records of Georgia* (Proc. & Min. of Gov. & Coun.), VII, 101.

¹²⁵ *History of Georgia*, 40, 43.

There were also experiments in wine production, with results of little more consequence. Heavy subsidies and other encouragements stimulated some activity in silk production, which the Trustees had selected as the most promising type of enterprise, but the industry disappeared when the artificial stimuli were removed after the close of the Trustee period.¹²⁶

Such were the Utopian and rather exotic beginnings of agriculture in Georgia. During the twenty years just preceding the Revolution the low country was rapidly metamorphosed into a region of rice and indigo plantations with large slaveholdings, the cultivation of which was supplemented by the production of large quantities of timber products. The up-country passed through an evolution similar to that of the South Carolina up-country, being occupied by Indian traders and cattle herdsmen, followed by the wave of small farmers who had moved down the Appalachian valleys and had developed largely a self-sufficing economy supplemented by the sale of tobacco, hemp, livestock, and miscellaneous products.¹²⁷

TABLE 2.—*Principal exports from Georgia, 1755-56 to 1772-73*¹

Year	Corn	Timber, all kinds	Staves, all kinds	Shingles	Pitch and tar	Deerskins	Leather, tanned	Hogs and shoats	Pork	Beef	Horses	Bees and myrtle wax	Tallow	Total value (sterl.)
	<i>bus.</i>	<i>ft.</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>bbls.</i>	<i>lbs.</i>	<i>lbs.</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>bbls.</i>	<i>bbls.</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>lbs.</i>	<i>lbs.</i>	<i>£</i>
1755	600	387,849	203,225	240,690	45	49,995	3,250	76	20	40	48	960	...	15,744
1756	200	289,843	196,259	263,000	...	39,220	6,035	610	300	126	23	150	500	16,776
1757	...	270,396	182,268	178,400	129	26,357	9,837	...	...	...	1	793	...	15,694
1758	...	50,215	63,330	68,985	...	5,791	10,350	...	35	22	...	...	...	8,613
1759	700	278,066	102,959	808,580	118	7,380	12,030	...	...	...	...	100	...	12,694
1760	...	283,961	80,500	581,200	425	65,765	34,725	...	8	14	...	3,910	...	20,852
1761	37	307,690	50,969	606,650	235	13,140	11,775	...	274	37	241	1,050	4,584	15,870
1762	1,280	417,449	325,477	685,265	246	42,855	17,100	70	392	38	461	800	5,120	27,021
1763	405	917,384	594,356	1,470,120	198	184,737	16,605	310	161	11	651	1,780	...	47,551
1764	6,756	1,043,535	423,251	1,061,151	359	172,425	58,005	740	154	78	179	840	512	55,025
1765	7,805	1,879,454	661,416	3,722,050	486	200,695	34,575	1,360	394	141	209	2,170	100	73,426
1766	4,527	2,101,466	737,898	2,036,947	1,229	273,460	33,120	965	754	76	139	2,051	1,280	81,228
1767	403	1,767,199	748,166	2,570,725	715	205,340	46,670	777	948	139	132	3,300	512	67,092
1768	10,897	1,787,258	806,609	3,669,477	698	306,510	39,234	1,238	512	394	270	3,137	512	92,284
1769	21,896	1,634,331	747,903	3,474,588	560	288,870	33,963	608	673	190	266	4,808	4,985	86,480
1770	13,598	1,805,992	466,276	2,896,991	183	284,840	44,539	605	521	639	345	4,058	1,079	99,383
1771	11,952	2,159,072	403,253	2,247,598	238	270,860	48,209	216	409	418	652	666	498	106,387
1772	11,444	2,163,582	988,791	3,525,930	404	213,475	52,126	574	628	555	257	1,954	...	121,677

¹ Derived, with some omissions and rearrangement, from a table compiled by William Brown, Comptroller and Searcher of His Majesty's Customs in the Port of Savannah, and reprinted in Romans' *East and West Florida*, p. 104, insert. Statistics of rice and indigo, given in the Appendix, and of various minor items are omitted from the table. The statistics are for the years beginning January 5th. Since only five days of the second year are included in each case the years listed in the table are expressed as the first year of the fiscal period. The total value given here includes the value of the staples and miscellaneous minor items not shown in the table.

The development of commercial agricultural production during the two decades just preceding the Revolutionary War, excepting of rice and indigo, is indicated

¹²⁶ For detailed accounts of these experiments, see below, pp. 186-188.

¹²⁷ Romans, *East and West Florida*, 104.

in the table of exports (Table 2). Statistics of exports of rice and indigo (See Appendix, Tables 37, 38) indicate the rapid growth of the rice industry, of which the volume of exports increased threefold in the last decade of the period. The indigo industry made but little progress during the last decade and continued to be of minor importance as compared with the rice industry.

The earlier years of the Trustee period were characterized by occasional shortages of food and a general dependence on the public store. In 1735 the Moravian settlers were compelled to live largely on rice, cornmeal, and salt meat. During the summer months just preceding harvest they could not get corn, rice, or beans at the public store.¹²⁸ By 1740 food appeared abundant. In a letter dated September 18 the writer states, "We abound in the necessary conveniences of life." The finest wheat flour was selling at 1 penny per pound, maize from 10 to 18 pence a bushel, the finest rice at 3 shillings 6 pence to 5 shillings a hundred-weight, while there was also "good store of pulse, roots, and potherbs, such as peas, and beans of divers kinds, (many of them yet unknown in England) pumpkins, musk and water mellons, potatoes and generally all the roots and herbs used in England." Meat, game, fish, and fruit were abundant.¹²⁹

There was a small foreign trade in certain food products. During the last few years of the colonial period small quantities of maize and peas were exported to the West Indies. The Colony's margin of both crops was so small that in years of scarcity, such as 1766 and 1770, it was found necessary to prohibit exportation.¹³⁰ In 1771 and 1772 the Colony began exporting flour, amounting to 8,200 barrels for the two years, probably the product of the new settlements in the up-country and in response to an act passed in 1768 for the encouragement of wheat production.¹³¹ Throughout most of the period flour was imported, and in the city of Savannah there was an official assize of bread which regularly inquired into the price of flour and published the fair weight for the fourpenny loaf.¹³² Maize and rice were so abundant and so commonly employed that there was no widespread demand for wheat flour. Barley and rye were grown for home use, probably in small quantities.¹³³ About 1766 an attempt was made to encourage the production of sago powder, and samples of sago and salep were taken to London.¹³⁴ It is interesting to find considerable quantities of orange juice exported. The Colony was probably self-sufficient as to potatoes and hay, as indicated by occasional small imports and exports reflecting harvest fluctuations. In spite of an act passed in 1764 laying heavy duties on butter, hams, bacon, potatoes, and onions imported from the North¹³⁵ there was a rather regular importation of small quantities of apples and onions and considerable quantities of butter and cheese. The colo-

¹²⁸ Fries, *Moravians in Georgia*, 83.

¹²⁹ Thomas Jones to John Lyde, in Georgia Historical Society, *Collections*, I, 199.

¹³⁰ *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), Dec. 24, 1766; Feb. 28, 1770.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, Dec. 28, 1768.

¹³² *Ibid.*, Feb. 24, Mar. 23, June 22, Aug. 17, Nov. 23, 1768; Jan. 17, 1770; Oct. 12, 1774.

¹³³ *Colonial Records of Georgia* (Proc. & Min. of Gov. & Coun.), IX, 574; Martyn, *Impartial Inquiry* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 158; Stephens, W., *State of the Province of Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, II), 70.

¹³⁴ *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), Aug. 6, 1766.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, Apr. 11, 1765.

nists produced abundance of cotton for home use, and with the development of the back country began to raise their own flax and hemp.¹³⁶ As a result of the influx of settlers into the up-country, exports of tobacco increased rapidly, and by 1772 amounted to 176,732 pounds.¹³⁷

From the first settlement of the Province the herding industry was one of the important forms of economic activity.¹³⁸ The early livestock were probably obtained from South Carolina. In February, 1733, Governor Johnson of the latter Province wrote that the general assembly had voted to contribute 104 head of breeding cattle and 25 hogs to the Georgia enterprise.¹³⁹ In 1735 Oglethorpe purchased several hundred head for his settlement at Frederica.¹⁴⁰ In the following year an advertisement stated that livestock of any sort would sell well in Georgia; but by 1740 cattle were said to be multiplying rapidly, and beef, veal, and pork were very cheap. By 1755 a surplus of livestock and of certain livestock products was available for export. According to contemporary accounts, various kinds of domestic fowl were numerous and cheap,¹⁴¹ and lists of exports from 1763 to 1770 indicate the exportation of small quantities of poultry, geese, ducks, and turkeys.¹⁴² Occasionally a few sheep are listed among the exports, but this was not a regular trade, for wolves and other predatory animals discouraged sheep production. In 1740 they were said to be scarce and high.¹⁴³

The settlement of Georgia marked an epoch in the extension of English influence and trade among the Indians, and this is reflected in the great volume and rapid increase of deerskins and other peltry exported.¹⁴⁴

SLIGHT DEVELOPMENT OF CROP PRODUCTION IN SPANISH FLORIDA

Inauspicious as were the beginnings of agriculture in Florida,¹⁴⁵ later development under Spanish control was but little more notable. In fact, the Colony continued to import the major articles of food, in spite of occasional spasms of interest in making it more nearly self-supporting. Thus, in 1627 the governor wrote that he was sending to Havana for supplies for the garrison, and in 1655 he reported the arrival of flour and other supplies from Havana. Other portions of the Province were probably also partially dependent on imported food supplies, for in 1657 the governor asserted that food must be carried from St. Augustine to the posts and missions in the provinces of Apalachee and Chacata, eighty leagues distant, on the shoulders of native carriers. Sometimes the supplies from Havana were long delayed, with serious consequences to the Florida settlers. In 1675

¹³⁶ For details, see below, Chap. VIII.

¹³⁷ Table of exports in Romans, *East and West Florida*, 104.

¹³⁸ See Chap. VI.

¹³⁹ Letter to Benjamin Martyn, Feb. 12, 1732/3, in Georgia Historical Society, *Collections*, I, 237.

¹⁴⁰ Moore, F., *Voyage to Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, I), 110.

¹⁴¹ *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), Sept. 3-10, 1736; Martyn, *Impartial Inquiry* (Ga. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, I), 183; Thos. Jones to John Lyde, Sept. 18, 1740, in Georgia Historical Society, *Collections*, I, 199.

¹⁴² *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), Jan. 19, 1764; Jan. 10, Apr. 11, Oct. 17, 1765; May 28, 1766; Feb. 15, Nov. 15, 1769; Jan. 17, 1770.

¹⁴³ Jones to Lyde, in Georgia Historical Society, *Collections*, I, 199.

¹⁴⁴ Romans, *East and West Florida*, 104. For detailed account of the Indian trade in relation to agriculture, see Chap. VI.

¹⁴⁵ See Chap. I.

the inhabitants of St. Augustine were in actual want and forced to hunt for wild roots to prevent starvation.¹⁴⁶ In 1697, when the English castaway, Jonathan Dickinson, and his companions reached St. Augustine, they found that nearly three years had elapsed since supplies of bread, clothing, and money had come from Havana. Practically all of the stores had been used up except ammunition and salt, but there was still a small supply of home grown food.¹⁴⁷ In 1712 the supplies again failed to arrive, and it is said that the inhabitants were reduced to the necessity of living on horses, cats, and dogs.¹⁴⁸ In a speech to certain emissaries from the Creeks, the Governor of South Carolina declared in May, 1722, that the Governor of St. Augustine had recently applied to him for food supplies and that "We have often supplied them with provisions, but we are resolved not to do it again."¹⁴⁹ In 1741 the governor wrote the King that the garrison of St. Augustine and the neighboring inhabitants were entirely dependent on the royal warehouses.¹⁵⁰ The following year General Oglethorpe wrote that not only the garrison, but also the other inhabitants of St. Augustine were in the King's pay, on which they relied almost entirely for subsistence; and "their Thoughts never turn'd to Trade or even Agriculture."¹⁵¹

There is evidence, however, that the Spaniards even at St. Augustine were accustomed to supplement their imported supplies by domestic products. In this and other Spanish settlements there was a sort of urban and suburban husbandry carried on in close proximity to the walls of the missions and presidios. The Spaniards appear to have made an abundant provision of fruits for domestic use. Dickinson found that the inhabitants of St. Augustine had large orchards, in which were "Plenty of Oranges, Lemmons, Pome Citrons, Limes, Figs and Peaches."¹⁵² When the British occupied St. Augustine in 1763, the town was "well stocked with fruit-trees," including figs, peaches, apricots, guavas, plantains, pomegranates, lemons, limes, citrons, shaddocks, bergamots, and China and Seville oranges.¹⁵³ Oranges were extensively planted by the Spaniards in various other parts of the peninsula. Stork, whose pamphlet, written to attract immigrants, is subject to some discount, declared that orange and lemon trees grew "without cultivation, to a larger size, and produce better fruit than in Spain or Portugal." He asserted that on the western banks of the Halifax and Hillsborough rivers, south of St. Augustine, were "many orange groves (which denote former Spanish settlements)." They had spread everywhere in such abundance that the inhabitants frequently cut down the trees in order to get the fruit.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁶ Luis de Rojas to the King, Feb. 13, 1627; unsigned letter to the King, Nov. 20, 1655; Diego Robledo to the King, Oct. 18, 1657; and Pablo Hita y Salazar to the King, June 15, 1675; all in Brooks, A. M., *Old St. Augustine*, respectively pp. 85, 99, 105, 126.

¹⁴⁷ *God's Protecting Providence*, 72-77.

¹⁴⁸ Fairbanks, *History of St. Augustine*, 73.

¹⁴⁹ South Carolina, *Council Journals*, May 25, 1722, p. 8 (Manuscript in South Carolina State Library, Columbia).

¹⁵⁰ Francisco Corcoles y Martinez to the King, Dec. 11, 1741, in Brooks, A. M., *Old St. Augustine*, 187; see also letters of Governor Montiano, in Georgia Historical Society, *Collections*, VII, Pt. I, 52.

¹⁵¹ South Carolina, *Introduction to the Report on Oglethorpe's Expedition to St. Augustine* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 349.

¹⁵² *God's Protecting Providence*, 74.

¹⁵³ Fairbanks, *History of Florida*, 241; Stork, *Account of East Florida*, 47, 61.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 34, 38, 47.

The British cleared extensive orange groves to make room for indigo and other crops. Bartram found large groves on abandoned plantations or around Indian villages, and even apparently growing wild. He asserts that near the spot where New Smyrna was established the British found a ridge nearly a half mile wide and about forty miles long which was then occupied by orange trees interspersed with other trees.¹⁵⁵

Although the Spaniards also raised some maize, peas, and garden vegetables, in a garrison town the privilege of working at crop production was necessarily subordinate to the public duties that practically all the male inhabitants were paid to perform. Thus in 1600 complaint was made by a citizen of St. Augustine that he had come to the country in 1568 and had married the daughter of one of the settlers, who had come "enthused by the promises made by the previous Governors, but who spent his life eking out a meager existence for his wife and children by taking advantage of the license which at that time was granted the citizens of going abroad to seek work which was so much needed." The present governor, however, had revoked this license and "forces us to remain in the town proper."¹⁵⁶ This prohibition may have been due to Indian hostilities. In 1670 the King issued an order to discontinue the practice of compelling members of the garrison to cut wood, unload vessels, and perform other services not in line with their regular duty, thus "taking them from their labor when planting corn, which is the principal sustenance for themselves and families."¹⁵⁷

No commercial crops of significant importance were developed during the period of Spanish occupation, although some experiments were made in the production of commodities that became staples in Florida under English occupation. Stork asserts that the Spaniards at St. Augustine had planted indigo in their gardens (probably for domestic use) and had made four cuttings a year.¹⁵⁸ In a letter written in 1763, it is stated that a decade earlier the Spaniards near St. Marks had made an experiment with silk, but are not doing anything now in that line.¹⁵⁹ At St. Marks the same writer observed "many barrels of rice" and a large quantity of skins and furs to be shipped to Europe.¹⁶⁰

Some wheat was probably grown in West Florida for home use. In 1763 the Spanish Government, alarmed by the encroachments of the English, instituted a correspondence between the Governor of Florida and the Governor of Yucatan for the importation of twenty-four families from the latter Province into Florida. The Governor of Florida urged the desirability of establishing the new settlers in the province of Apalachee, which, he asserted, was exceedingly fertile. He declared, "They gather wheat as abundantly as corn which is the general sustenance. It would be easy to grow the fruits, the land being level and easy to reach on account of the many navigable rivers—to cultivate the lands in cotton, grain and indigo, which grows wild in those Provinces."¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁵ *Travels*, 109, 122, 142 n., 251.

¹⁵⁶ Juan Nuñez Rios to the King, Feb. 19, 1600, in Brooks, A. M., *Old St. Augustine*, 54.

¹⁵⁷ Royal order of Feb. 26, 1670, in Brooks, A. M., *Old St. Augustine*, 111.

¹⁵⁸ *Account of East Florida*, 64.

¹⁵⁹ Thomas Robinson to George Lookup, in Roberts, *History of Florida*, 97.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 98.

¹⁶¹ Brooks, A. M., *Old St. Augustine*, 131.

LIVESTOCK IN SPANISH FLORIDA

There was some development of herding, which was favored by the great abundance of range, the easy-going disposition of the settlers, and probably the experience or traditions of those who had come from the mother country or the Spanish West Indies. Thus, Oglethorpe, in his expedition against St. Augustine, came upon a fortified ranch at Fort Diego, twenty miles north of St. Augustine. The ranch, or "cow-pen," situated in the midst of fine savannahs, contained a number of slaves and large herds of cattle and horses. The owner had an arrangement with the Spanish authorities for supplying St. Augustine with meat, and a detail of Spanish soldiers was assigned in order to protect his establishment against the inroads of Indians under British influence.¹⁶² Writing in 1738, Governor Montiano mentions some "back woods herdsman" from the interior, who had come to St. Augustine with their livestock.¹⁶³ Dickinson, who travelled in 1696 from St. Augustine to Charleston, found wild hogs in the woods.¹⁶⁴ During the period of English occupation Romans observed numerous vestiges of ancient Spanish cowpens in the region east of Apalachee.¹⁶⁵ In a letter written in 1763 by a traveller who became acquainted with Florida in 1754, it is stated that on the banks of the Apalachicola and Apalachee rivers were many pleasant meadows covered with herds of cattle, and that the country around Pensacola was also "well stocked with cattle."¹⁶⁶ William Roberts, whose book was published in 1763, asserts that all kinds of livestock were abundant and horses so cheap they might be bought for a trifle.¹⁶⁷

Herds of domestic livestock were maintained by the various Indian tribes of northern Florida. In his expedition against the East Florida Indians in 1702 Governor Moore noted that the country had "great store of neat cattle."¹⁶⁸ In 1744 Bartram observed on the large Alachua savannah a party of Indians on horseback collecting several herds of cattle. In the same general region he passed "numerous herds of cattle and deer, and squadrons of horse peacefully browsing." He met a party of Seminoles who had been to St. Augustine with a large troop of horses for sale. Another day some of his fellow travellers engaged in hunting horses.¹⁶⁹ The horses of the country were said to be of Andalusian origin, but the Indians had mixed them with Carolina horses.¹⁷⁰ Bartram asserts that the Seminole horses were "the most beautiful and sprightly species of that noble creature," small but "delicately formed."¹⁷¹

CONDITIONS THAT RETARDED THE PROGRESS OF FLORIDA AGRICULTURE

The comparatively small development of agriculture in the southeastern United States under Spanish control is attributable in part to various conditions that

¹⁶² South Carolina, *Report of the Committee of Both Houses of Assembly on the Late Expedition against St. Augustine*, 23-25; *Impartial Account of the Late Expedition against St. Augustine*, 22.

¹⁶³ *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, VII, Pt. I), 23.

¹⁶⁴ *God's Protecting Providence*, 82.

¹⁶⁵ *East and West Florida*, 277.

¹⁶⁶ Robinson to Lookup, June 22, 1763, in Roberts, *History of Florida*, 95, 100.

¹⁶⁷ *History of Florida*, 4; cf. also similar statement by Stork, *Account of East Florida*, 62.

¹⁶⁸ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1702, p. 745.

¹⁶⁹ *Travels*, 188, 192, 195, 253.

¹⁷⁰ Stork, *Account of East Florida*, 50.

¹⁷¹ *Travels*, 213.

prevented Spain from becoming an important mother of agricultural colonies. There was little spontaneous migration of the lower and middle classes for the promotion of agriculture or of industry. The lure of the precious metals stimulated the nobility and small gentry to organize military forays, and religious zeal was joined with this impulse to force conversion by the sword or to carry the gentler methods of the missionaries to remote regions. Geographic expansion in Florida therefore took the form of the establishment of missions among the Indian villages, sometimes supported by small detachments of troops, where a few missionaries combined the work of conversion with teaching the rudiments of agriculture and industry. Their progress was probably slow; in 1600 one of the missionaries declared the Indians were so improvident and lazy that "if we did not take care of the crops after planting they would have nothing."¹⁷² In 1697, however, when Dickinson stopped at a number of the missions along the coast north of St. Augustine on his way to Charleston, he observed that under the instruction of the friars the Indians had developed a settled agriculture and had plenty of maize, peas, pumpkins, garlic, and long peppers, hogs, and fowls. They had learned to be sufficiently provident to store their corn in corn houses.¹⁷³ By 1600 there were eighty churches in the different missions throughout the Colony and others were under construction.¹⁷⁴ They extended along the coast around the peninsula, and along the Georgia-South Carolina coast as far as Port Royal. There was also a line of missions along the road from St. Augustine to St. Marks, others at various points along the St. Johns river, and one remote mission and fort among the Upper Creeks in western Georgia.¹⁷⁵

South Florida remained largely a wilderness. When Dickinson travelled along the east coast, he found the native tribes had not come sufficiently under Spanish influence to develop even a crude form of agriculture. Up to within twenty or thirty miles of St. Augustine the tribes subsisted largely on game, fish, "palm-berries," "coco-plumbs," seaside grapes, and other wild products.¹⁷⁶ Timber cutters from Providence Island came to southern Florida from time to time to cut the valuable stands of mahogany, *lignum vitae*, mastic, and other tropical woods, and by the close of the third quarter of the eighteenth century the supply was largely exhausted. Turtle hunters came occasionally from the same island,¹⁷⁷ and fishermen from Havana frequented the south and west coasts.

When Florida was ceded to England in 1763 the Colony comprised only 6,000 or 7,000 inhabitants.¹⁷⁸ Most of them were concentrated at St. Augustine, the population of which was 5,700 including a garrison of 2,500.¹⁷⁹ The white population consisted mainly of soldiers, officials, and priests, besides refugees from the English Colonies who for one reason or another had fled to Florida. After the

¹⁷² Fray Francisco Parga to the King, in Brooks, A. M., *Old St. Augustine*, 51.

¹⁷³ *God's Protecting Providence*, 76-80.

¹⁷⁴ Fray Francisco Parga to the King, in Brooks, A. M., *Old St. Augustine*, 51.

¹⁷⁵ See especially Bolton, *Arredondo's Historical Proof of Spain's Title to Georgia*, Chaps. I-II, & introductory map. Roberts, *History of Florida*, 11-15; Fairbanks, *Spaniards in Florida*, 71.

¹⁷⁶ *God's Protecting Providence*, 35, 41, 56.

¹⁷⁷ Romans, *East and West Florida*, 185-188, & App., p. xxxii.

¹⁷⁸ Doggett, *Dr. Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony*, 13; Fairbanks, *History of Florida*, 213.

¹⁷⁹ Stork, *Account of East Florida*, 33.

settlement of South Carolina and Georgia, Florida became the destination of numerous runaway slaves, who intermarried with the Indian population. These "exiles" were given lands on the same terms as Spanish subjects, and the agricultural experience acquired under their former masters enabled them to establish a type of economy somewhat higher than that of the original tribes. Some even became slaveholders with established plantations.¹⁸⁰

The restrictive commercial policy of Spain was unfavorable to the development of an extensive commerce and therefore of a commercial agriculture. Avilés was given a virtual monopoly of commerce for a period of six years.¹⁸¹ From time to time various governors used their special position and power to traffic in supplies at the expense of the inhabitants.¹⁸² In 1600 a citizen petitioned the King that St. Augustine be made an open port so that its citizens might "go back and forth and trade." He alleged that the governor controlled the granting of trading privileges to Mexico in his own interest.¹⁸³ Gradually a little coasting trade developed, mainly with Cuba. About 1639 packet boats plied between St. Augustine, Havana, and St. Marks. Apalachee became a center for trade in deerskins and wild turkeys, and 3,000 or 4,000 bushels of maize and beans were annually shipped from there to St. Augustine.¹⁸⁴ As late as 1675 commercial activity was so insignificant that the governor asserted in a letter to the King that Florida was "a land of no commerce."¹⁸⁵ Shortly before the transfer of the Colony to the English there appears to have been some trade, mainly with the Indians of West Florida, centering at St. Marks and Pensacola. The former town was said to have more commerce than all the other Florida towns together, carried on by means of small vessels from Havana. This trade continued for a number of years after the Colony had been transferred to the English.¹⁸⁶

One of the important aspects of the lack of commercial development was the failure of the Colony to obtain a large supply of Negro slaves, so important in promoting the expansion of Southern agriculture. While Avilés' contract with the King involved an agreement by the former to introduce 500 Negro slaves, he appears actually to have brought but few.¹⁸⁷ In 1583 there were a few Negroes in the Province belonging to the crown, employed in sawing timber and enlarging the fortifications of St. Augustine. Some of them were sent to Santa Elena to help the settlers clear the woods for planting.¹⁸⁸ In 1580 the officials were requesting permission to import 30 slaves for similar public uses.¹⁸⁹ In 1687 Captain Juan de Aila was given special authority to introduce 12 Negroes, but ap-

¹⁸⁰ Giddings, *Exiles of Florida*, 2-5.

¹⁸¹ Connor, *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, 266-269.

¹⁸² Fray Francisco Parga to the King (1600); Juan Nuñez Rios to the King, Feb. 19, 1600; unsigned letter to the King, Nov. 20, 1655; all in Brooks, A. M., *Old St. Augustine*, 51, 53-56, 97-101.

¹⁸³ Juan Nuñez Rios to the King, in Brooks, A. M., *Old St. Augustine*, 55.

¹⁸⁴ Bolton, *Arredondo's Historical Proof of Spain's Title to Georgia*, 26.

¹⁸⁵ Pablo de Hita y Salazar to the King, June 15, 1675, in Brooks, A. M., *Old St. Augustine*, 126.

¹⁸⁶ Letter from Robinson to Lookup, in Roberts, *History of Florida*, 97; also p. 12; Bartram, *Travels*, 226.

¹⁸⁷ Connor, *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, 263; Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, 143 & n.; Fairbanks, *History of Florida*, 166.

¹⁸⁸ Fernando Miranda to the King, Aug. 20, 1583, in Brooks, A. M., *Old St. Augustine*, 28.

¹⁸⁹ Connor, *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida*, II, 281, 315-317.

parently brought only one.¹⁹⁰ So rigid were the restrictions on the trade that in 1697, when the English refugee, Jonathan Dickinson, sought permission to sell one of his Negroes in order to obtain necessary funds, he was told by the governor that without a special license from the royal authorities at home it was illegal to sell them to any one but to himself for the King's account.¹⁹¹

In providing for the granting of repartimientos of land, the King had specified that the grants should not carry rights over the persons of the natives such as had been permitted in the earlier Spanish policy in the West Indies.¹⁹² From time to time Indians were compelled to labor for the Spaniards, largely in public work, but apparently on the initiative of governors who were not always inclined to treat the natives in a manner consistent with the established policy of the crown. Sometimes the natives were paid a small wage for this labor. There appears to have been no extensive enslavement of the natives for private enterprise such as the English were guilty of in the Carolinas.¹⁹³

ANGLO-SAXON COLONIZATION IN FLORIDA, 1763-1783

The cession of Florida to Great Britain at the close of the Seven Years' War afforded a new, though temporary, opportunity for expansion to the aggressive Indian traders, roving herdsmen, and land-hungry slaveholders of Georgia and South Carolina. The opportunity was all the greater because practically all of the small Spanish population withdrew from Florida.¹⁹⁴ Even before the evacuation a syndicate of forehanded planters of South Carolina had arranged through a British factor in St. Augustine to acquire such lands as the Spaniards had improved, as well as some of the larger holdings of unimproved land. The British Government disallowed the grants on the ground that they had been accomplished before the establishment of British regulations for the transfer of land. The grantees were allowed to retain only a small portion of their immense holdings.¹⁹⁵ Apparently a considerable number of wealthy planters and merchants of South Carolina had become interested in Florida, including such prominent names as Moultrie, Pinckney, Laurens, Elliot, Huger, Izard, Fish, and Drayton. It is probable that most of them made investments there as suggested by the fact that they contributed toward the building of a road extending from south Georgia to St. Augustine. Several of them moved to Florida,¹⁹⁶ and during the Revolutionary War many wealthy Tories fled to Florida. It is estimated that in 1778 nearly 7,000 took refuge in the Province. Official reports for 1782, up to December 23, showed that 2,428 whites and 3,609 slaves came from the Carolinas and Georgia.

¹⁹⁰ Fairbanks, *Spaniards in Florida*, 74.

¹⁹¹ *God's Protecting Providence*, 75.

¹⁹² Connor, *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, 264.

¹⁹³ Bartolomé de Arguillas to the King, July 6, 1596; Diego Robledo to the King, Oct. 18, 1657; Fray Juan Gomez to the King, Apr. 4, 1657; all in Brooks, A. M., *Old St. Augustine*, 30, 105-106; Ross, "French on the Savannah," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, VIII, 174.

¹⁹⁴ Fairbanks, *History of Florida*, 214; cf. Campbell, R. L., *Colonial Florida*, 54-56. Concerning the development of Florida under early Spanish control, see above, pp. 9-13.

¹⁹⁵ Walker, F., *Case of John Gordon*; Romans, *East and West Florida*, 264.

¹⁹⁶ Fairbanks, *History of Florida*, 215, 219.

The following year, up to July 15, new arrivals numbered 3,060 whites and 4,459 slaves.¹⁹⁷

Some effort was made to stimulate a general interest in immigration of men of small means. Laudatory tracts presented in glowing terms the opportunities for settlement, and the land policy included liberal provisions for the acquisition of small freeholds.¹⁹⁸ Special inducements were offered small farmers in the way of bounties and advances of provisions.¹⁹⁹ Nevertheless, there was but little migration of this class to Florida during the two decades of British occupation. The stream of yeomen moving southwestward through the back country did not reach East Florida. They were busy occupying the yet abundant lands of Georgia and the Carolinas, and they probably preferred hardwood lands to pine barrens. The active policy of South Carolina in subsidizing immigration of foreign Protestants diverted the stream of small farmers to that Colony.²⁰⁰ The difficulties of reaching Florida overland from the north and the expense of the sea voyage also discouraged the smaller type of immigrants.²⁰¹ In March, 1765, Governor Grant wrote the Board of Trade that prospective settlers from the north driving in wagons had been compelled to turn back because of bad roads and bridges. This had stimulated the movement for building a road referred to above.²⁰²

Although a few of this class came to East Florida, such as the Scotch and Bermuda families who settled on St. Marys River and Amelia Island,²⁰³ the British colonization of Florida proceeded mainly from the activity of large planters from South Carolina or of associations of British capitalists who undertook the establishment of colonies of white settlers under indenture.²⁰⁴ The importance of the plantation system in the scheme of colonization and the necessity for large grants of land were emphasized by Governor Tonyn in a report to Lord Townshend, in 1783, asserting that a tract of 500 acres was "not sufficient for employing in agriculture, the Slaves of this province." Many planters had from 30 to 100 working hands, while 35 could tend all the plantable land in a 500-acre tract. In the manufacture of tar and turpentine 10 hands would exhaust 1,000 acres of pine land in three years.²⁰⁵

The most ambitious private colonization project in East Florida was that promoted by Doctor Turnbull, a British physician of prominent social and political connections who had married a woman of Smyrna, Syria. He developed the enthusiastic interest in and Utopian plans for the growth of tropical and semi-tropical products that stimulated many of the colonization schemes in North America. His plan was notable for the conception of bringing over Mediter-

¹⁹⁷ Campbell, R. L., *Colonial Florida*, 98; Fairbanks, *History of Florida*, 225; London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/560, pp. 507, 805-820 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

¹⁹⁸ See below, p. 391.

¹⁹⁹ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/540, pp. 2, 111, 505; vol. 552, p. 217 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 548, p. 286.

²⁰¹ Stork, *Account of East Florida*, 68.

²⁰² London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/540, p. 353 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 111, 505; vol. 552, p. 217.

²⁰⁴ Concerning the resulting land engrossment, see below, p. 403.

²⁰⁵ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/560, pp. 527-528 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

anean immigrants accustomed to the cultivation of such products. In 1767 he succeeded in interesting financially certain prominent associates and in obtaining the powerful political support of Lord Grenville. The project was not a humanitarian enterprise, but a private partnership. Through Grenville's influence the British Government granted 101,400 acres and assistance in the transportation of colonists, in building roads, and in military protection. The colonization plan involved the transport and settlement of the colonists free of expense, but under indenture to work for seven or eight years for the promoters, at the end of which period they were to receive grants of 50 acres for each head of a family and an additional 5 acres for each child.²⁰⁶

The seeds of the failure of the enterprise were sown in the circumstances under which the colonists were assembled. In attempting to obtain settlers from Greece, Turnbull encountered the opposition of the Turkish Government and was compelled to content himself with 200 mountaineers, ill-suited in experience or temperament for the systematic labors of cultivation in a tropical country. Proceeding to southern Italy, Turnbull succeeded in obtaining upwards of 100 immigrants in spite of official opposition. In the midst of his difficulties news came that because of successive crop failures on the island of Minorca the inhabitants were starving. On arriving there, he found the problem of obtaining colonists embarrassingly easy, for the despairing people clamored to be taken aboard the English vessels. Turnbull was induced to enlarge greatly the original scope of the project, and finally set out for Florida with 1,403 persons, a heterogeneous company in religion, language, and experience.²⁰⁷ Arrived in Florida, the colonists were settled at New Smyrna, about sixty miles south of St. Augustine. They were divided into a number of plantations, each under an overseer. Extensive projects for the clearing and draining of land and the construction of buildings were carried on. The colonists planted sugar, cotton, rice, and maize for home use. In accordance with the ideals of the promoters mulberry trees for silkworms were planted, grape vines in large quantities were set out, and cochineal insects imported.²⁰⁸ During a period of about six years 43,283 pounds of indigo were shipped from New Smyrna.²⁰⁹ Unfortunately the magnitude of the enterprise had outgrown the available capital, and Turnbull soon found himself in serious financial difficulties. A shipload of 500 African slaves, imported for the arduous work of clearing and draining land, was wrecked and the cargo lost. Spanish influence sowing seeds of discord among the Minorcans combined with the brutality of the overseers and various hardships and disappointments led to an uprising. Turnbull had incurred the enmity of Governor Tonyn, who seriously handicapped the efforts of the well-meaning doctor. It was finally found necessary to abandon the Smyrna enterprise, and most of the remaining colonists removed to the vicinity of St. Augustine.²¹⁰

²⁰⁶ Doggett, *Dr. Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony*, 18-27, 31.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 29-38; London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/549, p. 257 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

²⁰⁸ Doggett, *Dr. Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony*, 46, 76.

²⁰⁹ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/558, p. 111 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

²¹⁰ Doggett, *Dr. Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony*, 44, 49-74, 142, 157-165; Fairbanks, *Spaniards in Florida*, 97; Romans, *East and West Florida*, 268. For Spanish correspondence with reference to the settlement, see Brooks, A. M., *Old St. Augustine*, Chaps. XVIII-XXI.

Although a number of other large colonization enterprises promoted in Florida on the basis of white indentured servitude were no more successful than the Turnbull enterprise, the British pushed the development of Florida with a vigor that was in marked contrast to the listlessness of the Spanish régime.²¹¹ The British brought in large numbers of slaves. In 1779 Governor Tonyn wrote, "The increase of Negroes within these few Years is more than quadrupled."²¹² There was a considerable development of large plantations. In 1768 the governor wrote, "The Settlements upon St. Johns and the Mosquitto Rivers rival one another there are more great names upon St. Johns, but Dr. Turnbull when he arrives with his Greeks, will be a great addition to the Mosquitto Colony, and Mr. Oswald has already upon his Estate there, above a hundred Negroes."²¹³ A number of large British plantations on St. Johns River appear to have prospered. Just before the Revolution Bartram found a large indigo plantation near the Cow-ford ferry, approximately the present location of Jacksonville, and another one about ten miles above. Proceeding up the river from a point about forty miles above the mouth, he was "greatly delighted with the pleasing prospect of cultivation, and the increase of human industry, which frequently struck my view from the elevated, distant shores."²¹⁴ He also found a considerable number of deserted plantations, probably abandoned by visionary speculators in Europe who had obtained large grants of land and had undertaken to establish plantations *in absentia*.²¹⁵ Romans asserted, "The banks of this river [St. Johns] are very poor land, and exhibit in a number of places sad monuments of the folly and extravagant ideas of the first European adventurers and schemers, and the villany of their managers."²¹⁶ He declared that the principal improvements in East Florida were in the peninsula between the St. Johns river and the coast, between 28° and 30°-10' north latitude. As land in this region consisted mostly of pine barrens and savannahs, the principal industry was the keeping of cattle and horses. There were also a number of large plantations between New Smyrna and Cape Canoveral.²¹⁷

In north Florida and south Georgia Bartram was impressed with the general lack of development. The fortifications at Frederica were falling into decay, and the fine plantations in the neighborhood were going to ruin, probably due in part to the withdrawal of the garrison and the consequent loss of the local market. He also remarked on the lack of development of the islands along the coast of south Georgia and Florida. This he attributed to the menace of pirates and to the fact that they were owned by a few absentee planters. While a few large indigo plantations had been established, most of the large owners were content

²¹¹ Fairbanks, *History of Florida*, 220; Bartram, *Travels*, 92; Robin, *Voyages*, II, 2.

²¹² London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/ 551, p. 29; vol. 559, p. 447 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); Fairbanks, *History of Florida*, 235.

²¹³ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/549, p. 77 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

²¹⁴ *Travels*, 70-74, 76; cf. also Doggett, *Dr. Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony*, 86, 95; Stork, *Account of East Florida*, 29; Fairbanks, *History of Florida*, 220.

²¹⁵ Bartram, *Travels*, 251; Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, II, 38.

²¹⁶ *East and West Florida*, 34.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 259, 265, 268, 273; Doggett, *Dr. Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony*, 86; Stork, *Account of East Florida*, 29; Bartram, *Travels*, 141; Fairbanks, *History of Florida*, 220.

to maintain a few poor families to raise stocks of cattle, horses, swine, and poultry, and to protect the game.²¹⁸

British energy was also instrumental in some development in the Pensacola region. The Indian trade was expanded, reaching far northward into the hinterland, and a number of plantations were established for the production of indigo, rice, lumber, corn, potatoes, and other products. Whereas under the preceding and succeeding Spanish régimes it was necessary to import food supplies, this region under British aptitude for agriculture became more than self-sufficient.²¹⁹

DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE IN FLORIDA DURING BRITISH OCCUPATION

The production of various tropical products was the essential agricultural aim for Florida of British officialdom.²²⁰ In 1764 the British Government appropriated a special grant of £500 to be distributed in bounties for the encouragement of silk, wine, cotton, and other products. For the first three years the bounties had little effect,²²¹ and in the estimates for 1768 they were omitted. Governor Grant protested this action, pointing out that in preceding years the planters had been absorbed in the initial work of settlement and in raising provisions. Now that they were ready to embark on the production of staple products, the bounties were greatly needed for encouragement. In June of the following year he again urged the regranting of the bounties, and the ministry accepted the suggestion.²²² The distribution of the bounty as between different commodities was left largely to the discretion of the governor, who suggested a plan providing for encouragement to indigo, cotton, raw silk, wine, rum, dried figs, raisins, barilla, cochineal, and safflower. In the case of all except indigo, cotton, and barilla, the money was to be offered in prizes for first production rather than as a continuous bounty.²²³ Indigo and naval stores were encouraged by the general bounties available in other Colonies.²²⁴ That these stimuli resulted in numerous and varied experiments is shown by the diversity of exports of the Colony. Lists of exports for 1774 to 1778/9 include small quantities of hides, tallow, pork, flour, Indian corn, coffee, cocoa, sugar, molasses, rum, honey, raw silk, wine, cotton, rice, tobacco, vinegar, pimento, madder roots, ginger, pinkroot, sarsaparilla, and salt, besides the principal exports, indigo, naval stores, and lumber.²²⁵ It is interesting to find citrus fruits also entering into the exports of this early period, comprising 65,400 oranges and two casks of orange juice in the fiscal year 1776-77.²²⁶ Various experiments were made with other

²¹⁸ *Travels*, 60, 65.

²¹⁹ Hutchins, *Description of Louisiana and West Florida*, 77; Hamilton, P. J., *Colonial Mobile*, 191, 199; Robin, *Voyages*, II, 2; Campbell, R. L., *Colonial Florida*, 60, 108; Bartram, *Travels*, 414; Fairbanks, *History of Florida*, 235.

²²⁰ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/540, p. 1 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

²²¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 541, p. 211.

²²² *Ibid.*, vol. 549, pp. 45, 101.

²²³ Earl of Hillsborough to Governor Grant, Apr. 3, 1769, in *ibid.*, vol. 550, p. 74. See also *ibid.*, p. 121.

²²⁴ See p. 292.

²²⁵ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/555, p. 103; vol. 559, pp. 457, 461, 465, 469 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 559, p. 461. See also below, p. 191.

staple crops, and considerable sums of money were lost in ventures based on cotton, sugar, hemp, and cochineal.²²⁷

The early rush of settlers necessitated a dependence on South Carolina and Georgia for food supplies. The first attention of the planters was given to raising food, and by August, 1766, the governor was able to write that although the season had been unfavorable the inhabitants would raise Indian corn and peas nearly sufficient for their consumption.²²⁸ For more than a decade the Province appears to have been approximately self-sufficient in food supply,²²⁹ but the advent of large numbers of Tory refugees after the outbreak of the Revolutionary War again complicated the food problem.²³⁰ In 1780 the governor wrote that the season had been good and sufficient grain had been produced to supply the Province.²³¹ The following season provisions were again scarce, because of a drouth and the employment of hands in making naval stores and in public works.²³²

The livestock industry, already developed to some extent by the Spaniards, acquired a new importance during British occupancy. Cattle were driven from Georgia and South Carolina into Florida. In October, 1772, Lieutenant-Governor Moultrie wrote that the planters were not obliged "to depend much as formerly on the wild Stock of the woods and rivers, but find themselves at ease, with plenty of tame Stock" around them.²³³

Naturally, the planters who came to Florida from South Carolina and Georgia looked primarily to rice and indigo as staples.²³⁴ After some promising experiments, however, rice production was largely abandoned. Under the stimulation of generous bounties indigo, for which the Province was found to have special advantage, and naval stores became the principal staples.²³⁵

The progress of agriculture in Florida was but temporary. When the Colony was receded to Spain most of the British inhabitants left the country, and it relapsed again into the extreme stagnation that had prevailed before British occupation.²³⁶

WESTWARD MOVEMENT OF THE FRONTIER INTO PIEDMONT VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND AND MIDDLE NORTH CAROLINA

Until after the close of the seventeenth century settlement in Maryland was extending up the tidewater part of the Potomac and northward along both sides of Chesapeake Bay and the tributary creeks and inlets. About 1683 Baltimore and Cecil counties, near the head of the Bay, were a frontier region, considered

²²⁷ *American Husbandry*, II, 50. For details, see below, pp. 183, 193.

²²⁸ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/541, p. 114 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 552, p. 379; Moultrie to Sec'y of State, Sept. 28, 1773, in *ibid.*, vol. 553, p. 227.

²³⁰ Governor Tonym to Lord Germain, Apr. 2, 1777, in London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/557, p. 257 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

²³¹ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/560, p. 100 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

²³² Tonym to Lord Germain, Dec. 31, 1781, in *ibid.*, p. 378.

²³³ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/548, p. 285; vol. 553, p. 7 (Transcripts, Library of Congress). See also below, p. 149.

²³⁴ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/541, p. 114 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

²³⁵ See below, p. 158.

²³⁶ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/560, p. 823 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); Robin, *Voyages*, II, 7; Campbell, R. L., *Colonial Florida*, 145-149; Fairbanks, *History of Florida*, 240; Brevard, *History of Florida*, 4.

so remote from St. Marys that settlers did not attempt to obtain title to their lands, making it necessary to provide for a resident land commissioner.²³⁷ The Patuxent river, running almost parallel with the Bay, afforded another line of movement into the interior. Before the beginning of the eighteenth century Maryland pioneer planters were pushing into the region above the forks of the Patuxent and between the Patuxent and the Patapsco. Nearly a generation before the establishment of Baltimore there was an important shipping point for tobacco and other produce on the Patapsco, at the northern end of Elk Ridge.²³⁸ About the beginning of the eighteenth century the frontier line ran approximately through the present locations of Baltimore and Washington, roughly bordering the edge of the coastal plain.²³⁹ The north and south branches of the Patapsco and the Patuxent afforded a line of ingress running to the northwestward and opening up a territory in northern and western Maryland comprising the present counties of Carroll and Howard. During the first quarter of the eighteenth century settlers moved into this territory and along the Potomac into Montgomery County. They soon encountered a southward-moving stream of settlers from Pennsylvania.

TABLE 3.—*Population of Maryland, by counties, 1701, 1712, and 1755*¹

County	1701	1712	1755	County	1701	1712	1755
Prince Georges.	2,358	3,790	11,616	Somerset.....	5,404	6,352	{ 8,682 10,125
Charles.....	2,632	4,007	13,056	Worcester.....			
Cecil.....	2,004	2,097	7,731	Dorchester.....	2,617	3,475	11,753
Kent.....	1,930	2,886	9,443	Talbot.....	4,862	4,178	8,533
Queen Annes.....		3,850	11,240	Anne Arundel.....	4,121	{ 5,003 2,923	{ 13,150 17,238
St. Marys.....	3,513	4,090	11,254	Baltimore.....			
Calvert.....	2,817	3,500	5,715	Frederick.....			13,969
				Total.....	32,258	46,151	153,505

¹ For 1701 and 1712 the figures are from "Official Reports," in *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XXV, 255, 259. For 1755 statistics are from United States, *Century of Population Growth*, 185. These statistics are in turn reprinted from *Gentleman's Magazine*, XXXIV, 261 (June, 1764). Three county subdivisions occurred in the period covered by the above table. In 1706 Queen Annes was created out of a part of the territory of Kent, and in 1742 Worcester was formed from territory formerly included in Somerset. Consequently the corresponding subdivisions are bracketed together in the table. Baltimore County was created in 1659 out of territory to the north of Anne Arundel, but no statistics for the county are included in the table for 1701. Frederick County was formed in 1748 out of western territory not formerly included in any of the other counties shown in the table. Cf. McMahon, *Government of Maryland*, I, 82-94.

It is apparent from the lists of population of Maryland by counties in 1701, 1712, and 1755, shown in Table 3, that as early as 1701 Prince Georges, the frontier county on the Potomac, had a considerable population. This was in part a plantation population, as shown by the fact that in 1704 there were 436 slaves besides white servants.²⁴⁰

About the beginning of the last quarter of the seventeenth century the Vir-

²³⁷ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XVII, 234.

²³⁸ Warfield, *Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard Counties*, 338.

²³⁹ Cf. Moll's map, in Oldmixon, *British Empire*, I, opposite p. 209; also letter of Philemon Lloyd to the Co-partners, Oct. 8, 1722, in *Calvert Papers*, II, 57.

²⁴⁰ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XXV, 256.

ginia frontier was marked by a line of forts at or near the fall line of the various important rivers.²⁴¹ Indian traders and explorers, however, had penetrated the territory between the edge of the coastal plain and the Blue Ridge. Edward Bland and his party had explored the Virginia Piedmont in a southwesterly direction from Fort Henry, on the present site of Petersburg.²⁴² It is possible, though not probable, that as early as 1654 Bland's associate, Major Abraham Wood, setting out from his trading post at Fort Henry, had crossed the mountains and reached the Ohio river or some other tributary of the Mississippi.²⁴³ In 1669 and 1670 John Lederer led three separate expeditions which penetrated as far as the Blue Ridge. In 1671 an expedition under Captain Thomas Batts was sent to the southwestward by Abraham Wood. They reached New River and followed its course until they had crossed the main ranges of the Appalachians. Initials found on trees indicated that other white men, unknown to history, had preceded them. Two years later another expedition sent to the southwestward by Wood reached a river which may have been the Tennessee or one of its branches.²⁴⁴

In spite of the far-ranging westward penetration by explorers and fur traders, the settled population of Virginia was largely in the coastal plain as late as the close of the seventeenth century.²⁴⁵ Henrico, at the falls of the James, was still a frontier county. A list of tithables shows no household reporting more than nine, except Colonel William Byrd, who reported twenty.²⁴⁶ The movement up the Potomac, as far as Stafford County, though still on tidewater, constituted an important thrust of population to the westward. As early as 1686 a traveller found that desirable lands in the Tidewater could no longer be acquired except by purchase from private individuals.²⁴⁷ Through engrossment, occupancy, and soil exhaustion, land scarcity in eastern Virginia became progressively apparent during the next three decades.²⁴⁸ One of the earliest settlements west of the coastal plain was the Huguenot settlement at Manakin. In 1714 Spotswood established his German colony at Germanna on the Rapidan; but although the population of Virginia had increased about 45 per cent since 1699,²⁴⁹ the stream of settlement had not yet set strongly beyond the western edge of tidewater.

The first important invasion by settlers of the region beyond the fall line began about 1720. In that year Spotsylvania County, south of the Rappahannock, and Brunswick, in southern Virginia, were erected into frontier counties.²⁵⁰ Representatives from the Colony conferring with the British Board of Trade as to the

²⁴¹ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), II, 326-328, 433-440; cf. Turner, F. J., "Old West," in Wis. State Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, 1908, p. 199.

²⁴² Bland, E., *Discovery of New Brittain* (Salley, Narratives), 1-19.

²⁴³ See critical discussion indicating its improbability, in Alvord & Bidgood, *First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region*, 52-55.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 62-74, 82.

²⁴⁵ List and Description of Counties, in Oldmixon, *British Empire*, I, 271-278.

²⁴⁶ *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XXIV, 131-133.

²⁴⁷ Durand, *Frenchman in Virginia*, 40-42.

²⁴⁸ Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1714-1718, p. 137; 1718-1722, p. 298.

²⁴⁹ See list of counties and their population, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, II, 3-15.

²⁵⁰ Turner, F. J., "Old West," in Wis. State Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, 1908, p. 204.

best method of promoting their settlement expressed the opinion that planters would not remove to these primitive regions, but that they would probably send out overseers with servants and Negroes to establish "quarters."²⁵¹ From this time forward the settlement of middle Virginia was rapid, particularly after immigration from the northward into the Great Valley established a protective barrier for the Piedmont. A list of counties in 1756 showing white and black tithables indicates that settlement had moved westward to the Blue Ridge in northern and central Virginia, but in the extreme southern part of the Colony it is doubtful if any considerable stream of population had moved so far, and Halifax on the North Carolina line was the frontier county.²⁵²

The movement of settlers from the east into middle North Carolina was seriously retarded by the fact that no great river systems, such as the Potomac, Rappahannock, and James, provided broad highways extending to the foot of or through the Blue Ridge. It is true, the Roanoke, with its tributary the Dan, has its source near the Blue Ridge, but a large part of its course is in southern Virginia. The tributaries of the Tar and the Neuse extend scarcely half way into the interior of North Carolina. The principal branches of the Cape Fear river extend into the interior somewhat beyond the central part of the State, but permanent settlement about the mouth of the Cape Fear did not start until after the beginning of the third decade of the eighteenth century. With the exception of the Roanoke and the Dan, the only rivers extending from the Atlantic into the western third of the State are the various tributaries of the Pedee river and of the Catawba-Wateree river system, both of which flow southeastward through South Carolina. These conditions offered particularly serious obstacles to the rapid penetration of the interior by planters dependent on commercial agriculture, hampered even near the coast by poor harbors. When proprietary control ended, in 1729, settlement was still confined to the coastal plain. The population probably did not exceed 10,000, of whom 7,000 were in the Albemarle country. South of Albemarle Sound, along the lower Pamlico and Neuse rivers, were about 2,500 people. About 500 were located along the lower Cape Fear.²⁵³

The opening of the fourth decade marks the beginning of a considerable increase in the number and distribution of population. This was greatly facilitated by the settlement of the lower Cape Fear, which became a highway of penetration into middle North Carolina.²⁵⁴ Population also moved up the Pedee river and thence up the Yadkin and other branches.²⁵⁵ In 1748 a petition was sent the North Carolina Council from settlers on the upper Pedee and Yadkin praying that they might be formed into a county to be called "Anson."²⁵⁶ By 1754 there were 24,861 tithables in the Province as a whole, of whom 18,341 were in the sixteen counties of the coastal plain.²⁵⁷ Four counties which may be regarded as

²⁵¹ Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1718-1722, p. 298.

²⁵² Dinwiddie, *Official Records*, II, 352.

²⁵³ Martin, F. X., *History of North Carolina*, I, 303. For somewhat earlier estimates, see *North Carolina Colonial Records*, II, 296, 419.

²⁵⁴ See above, p. 94.

²⁵⁵ See below, p. 121.

²⁵⁶ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, IV, pp. xi, 887-889.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, V, 320

belonging to middle North Carolina reported 4,480 tithables,²⁵⁸ while two counties in the western part of the Colony²⁵⁹ reported 2,040 tithables. Although the distinction by white and colored is not made for all the middle and western counties, the counties reporting on this basis showed a very small proportion of Negroes. Within the next thirteen years the population of North Carolina more than doubled, the number of taxables in 1767 being reported as 51,044.²⁶⁰ Of this number, 6,675 were in the western part,²⁶¹ and 11,425 in middle North Carolina.²⁶² Thus, the middle and western sections had increased at a much more rapid rate than the eastern counties, but the latter had enjoyed an actual increase greater than the other two sections combined. The increased population of North Carolina, therefore, was not merely a result of the movement from northern Colonies into the western section, but it included also a more considerable increase in the eastern section, much of which represented the bringing in of Negro slaves.²⁶³ However, even after the stream of migration from northern Provinces began to pour down the mountain valleys into western North Carolina, there was still a broad belt of uninhabited country between these settlers and the inhabited districts of eastern North Carolina. In 1769 a traveller wrote that before reaching the western settlements he had passed through thirty or forty miles of country without seeing a house.²⁶⁴

OCCUPATION OF MIDDLE SOUTH CAROLINA

Unlike North Carolina, the westward movement of settlement in South Carolina was favored by a series of rivers that afforded highways to the foot of the Blue Ridge. The branches of the Pedee river, the Santee with its important branches, the Congaree and the Wateree, afforded important lines of penetration into the northern part of middle South Carolina. The Enoree and Saluda, tributaries of the Congaree-Broad system, extended practically to the Blue Ridge, as did also the Savannah and its tributaries on the southern border. In this part of the Province, besides the Savannah, entrance into the middle country was facilitated by such rivers as the Combahee and the Edisto, with their branches. Charleston, Savannah, Port Royal, and Georgetown afforded excellent harbors for maritime commerce.

By 1722 settlement had advanced only about sixty miles west of the coast.²⁶⁵ During this and the following decades the active immigration policy of the Colony was effective in attracting a considerable number of European immigrants and in establishing several compact settlements partly peasant and partly pioneer in character.²⁶⁶ Thus, several shiploads of Scotch-Irish formed a compact community of small farmers in Williamsburg Township, and for about a decade

²⁵⁸ Cumberland, Granville, Johnston, and Orange.

²⁵⁹ Anson and Rowan.

²⁶⁰ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, VII, 539.

²⁶¹ Anson, Rowan, and Mecklenberg.

²⁶² Bute, Cumberland, Granville, Johnston, and Orange.

²⁶³ See below, p. 355.

²⁶⁴ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, IV, 258; VIII, 1; cf. Paxson, *American Frontier*, 24.

²⁶⁵ Catesby, *Natural History of Carolina, Florida, etc.*, I, p. viii.

²⁶⁶ *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, III, 313.

struggled to maintain the integrity of their holdings against the grasping land-grabbers from the coast while carrying on a pioneer economy, producing their own supplies, employing their native skill in raising, spinning, and weaving flax, maintaining livestock on the range, and exporting deerskins, hides, pork, and lard.²⁶⁷ A similar pioneer settlement was established by German and Swiss Lutherans at Saxe-Gotha and other points in Orangeburg Precinct²⁶⁸ and by Welsh Baptists on the upper Pedee, where a few straggling squatter families had preceded them. Other families came in from Virginia and eastern South Carolina. The Welsh had intended to make flax their principal crop, but they soon found stock-raising a more profitable source of returns, and "Cheraw Bacon" became widely known.²⁶⁹ Boatloads of corn, bacon, and other farm products, and great rafts of lumber were shipped down the river.²⁷⁰

About the middle of the eighteenth century the profitableness of the newly introduced indigo industry began to transform this and other parts of middle South Carolina into a plantation region. It is said that for a time prices were so good that a planter could fill his wallet (probably saddle bags) with indigo, ride to Charleston and buy a Negro with the contents, exchanging "indigo pound for pound of negro weighed naked." Planters and merchants had earlier bought up large areas of land in these pioneer settlements, but now they began to immigrate with their slaves. Some of the pioneer farmers, even in the compact community of Williamsburg, were also gradually transformed into planters. Although indigo became the market crop, the planters of middle South Carolina continued to produce general farm crops, livestock, and lumber products and to live largely on food products raised on their own farms.²⁷¹

DEVELOPMENT OF THE VALLEY OF VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND AND OF THE PIEDMONT OF THE CAROLINAS AND GEORGIA

Reference has already been made to the extensive movements of population from Pennsylvania and other Northern Colonies southward along both sides of the Blue Ridge. Germans from Pennsylvania began to enter the back parts of Maryland about 1729, and from this time forward came to western Maryland in increasing numbers, filling up the territory along the eastern edge of the Blue Ridge and crossing into the fertile limestone lands of the Valley.²⁷² Between the years 1726 and 1730 scattering settlements were made by Germans in Shenandoah Valley. Some of them came from eastern Virginia; others from Pennsylvania, the forerunners of the great stream of settlers to follow.²⁷³ Scotch-Irish

²⁶⁷ Cook, H. T., *Pee Dee Basin*, 47-51, 92; Boddie, *History of Williamsburg* [S. C.], 39-41. Concerning the South Carolina township policy, see below, p. 378.

²⁶⁸ Salley, *Orangeburg County*, 18-23; Bernheim, *German Settlements and the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina*, 99-104, 106.

²⁶⁹ Patrons of Husbandry (South Carolina), *Darlington County*, 6.

²⁷⁰ Gregg, *Old Cheraws*, 46-55, 63; Thomas, J. A. W., *Marlboro County*, 51-53.

²⁷¹ Boddie, *History of Williamsburg* [S. C.], 40-43; Cook, H. T., *Pee Dee Basin*, 59-62, 66; Gregg, *Old Cheraws*, 63; Patrons of Husbandry (South Carolina), *Darlington County*, 6; Sellers, *Marion County*, 106.

²⁷² Faust, *German Element in the United States*, I, 167; Nead, *The Pennsylvania-German in the Settlement of Maryland*, 42, 45-50.

²⁷³ Wayland, *German Element of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia*, Chap. IV.

settled near the point where the James breaks through the Blue Ridge. In 1734 the Virginia Council received a petition from the "Inhabitants on the West Side the blue Mountains on Sherrando [Shenandoah] River."²⁷⁴ By 1738 there were scattering settlements of Quakers west of the Blue Ridge.²⁷⁵ During the next twenty years the Valley was rapidly settled, mainly by Germans and Scotch-Irish,²⁷⁶ who had learned that in the proprietary Northern Neck and the territory under Virginia colonial government lands could be acquired more cheaply than in Pennsylvania and Maryland.²⁷⁷ Later the wave of German population pushed east of the Blue Ridge and spread over many Piedmont counties, and when they began to encroach upon the settlements of the Scotch-Irish on the southern slope of the Blue Ridge, the Germans ultimately crossed into counties west of the Alleghenies, such as Pulaski and Wythe.²⁷⁸

About 1745 the tide of German settlers began to cross over into the fertile lands of middle North Carolina.²⁷⁹ The Scotch-Irish began to enter North Carolina before 1740. After 1746 they came in large numbers, settling the region along the upper Cape Fear and west of the Germans, along the Catawba.²⁸⁰ In 1752 Bishop Spangenberg wrote, "Towards the western mountains, there are plenty of people who have come from Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and even from New England. Even in this year, more than four hundred families with horses, wagons, and cattle have migrated to this state, and among them are good farmers and very worthy people."²⁸¹ During the seven years preceding 1754 great numbers came from the Jerseys and Pennsylvania, but the movement was somewhat checked by the French and Indian War. After the Peace of Paris the movement was renewed, and by 1769 a traveller observed that the upper country was thickly settled.²⁸² A considerable number had remained west of the Blue Ridge to hunt and trap and to pasture stock on the mountain ridges.²⁸³

In the period from 1749/50 to 1755 a few families of bold frontiersmen from Virginia and Pennsylvania formed settlements in what are now Spartanburg and Abbeville counties, in upper South Carolina.²⁸⁴ Further settlement was checked by Indian hostilities until the treaty with the Cherokees in 1755, by which the colonists acquired rights to territory later included in the counties of Edgefield, Abbeville, Laurens, Newberry, Union, Spartanburg, York, Chester, Fairfield, and Richland.²⁸⁵ As late as 1756 there were not more than 20 white families

²⁷⁴ Virginia, *Legislative Journals of the Council* (McIlwaine), II, 821.

²⁷⁵ Chalkley, *Works*, 309.

²⁷⁶ Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, 49-58; Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia*, 39-51.

²⁷⁷ Harrison, F., *Virginia Land Grants*, 140; *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XXVIII, 423.

²⁷⁸ Wayland, *German Element of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia*, 93-95; Faust, *German Element in the United States*, I, 195.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 228-233; Bernheim, *German Settlements and the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina*, 148-154; letter of Rev. James Maury to Philip Ludwell, 1756, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XIX, 293.

²⁸⁰ Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, 78-80, 129; cf. Morse, *American Geography*, 415; Early Presbyterian Settlements in North Carolina, in *North Carolina Colonial Records*, V, 1195.

²⁸¹ *Extracts from Journal* (Southern History Assn., Publications, II), 102.

²⁸² *North Carolina Colonial Records*, VI, 614; VIII, 1.

²⁸³ Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, 248.

²⁸⁴ Landrum, *Upper South Carolina*, 21; Cook, H. T., *Hard Labor Section*, 3-10.

²⁸⁵ Landrum, *Upper South Carolina*, 23; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, I, 16.

in the newly acquired territory. In that year the frontier was somewhat protected by the building of Fort Prince George on the upper Savannah, and there came a great wave of migration, given especial impetus by Braddock's defeat and the exposed condition of the Virginia and Maryland frontier. This immigration was temporarily checked by hostilities with the Cherokees; but after the Peace of Paris there was a great influx of population from northern Provinces, the movement being accelerated by the royal edict restricting settlement west of the Appalachian divide.²⁸⁶ In a single year 1,000 families were camped along the border of South Carolina, preparing to settle in the Province. Not a few came from the east by way of Charleston. Upper South Carolina was soon filled with pioneer farmers and artisans of many nationalities and sects—English, Irish, Scotch-Irish, Welsh, Germans, Dutch, and French; Baptists, Quakers, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Lutherans.²⁸⁷

After the close of the Cherokee War immigrants from the north began to press into upper Georgia. In 1772 James Habersham, writing to Governor James Wright concerning proposed cessions of lands by the Creeks, declared that there were upwards of 600 families along the north side of the Savannah river waiting to settle as soon as the cession was effective.²⁸⁸ Between 1763 and 1773 the area of land available for settlement was greatly enlarged by Indian cessions amounting to 4,545,098 acres, and by treaty with Spain, which added 998,400 acres between the Altamaha and the St. Marys.²⁸⁹

This southward migration from the Middle Colonies along both sides of the Blue Ridge was of a significance to Southern agricultural development far greater than the mere increase of numbers and expansion of occupied territory. It created "a new continuous social and economic area, . . . and built up a new Pennsylvania in contrast with the old Quaker colonies, and a new South in contrast with the tidewater South. The New South composed the southern half of the Old West."²⁹⁰ The stream of settlers, largely composed of European immigrants recently settled in the Middle Colonies, brought with them the instincts and habits of European peasants and artisans as modified by their experience in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys. While their behavior was still further modified by the exigencies of pioneer environment, they tended to develop out of the earlier stages of pioneer adaptation an economic and social life in marked contrast with that of the Tidewater. By habit and training the Germans particularly were small farmers who tended to settle in relatively compact communities. They were not accustomed to depend on slaveholding but were inured to a laborious, frugal, and thrifty existence. Both their peasant training and their remoteness from markets inclined them toward a diversified system of farming involving a large measure of self-sufficiency. They were accustomed to the production of

²⁸⁶ Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, I, 12-14, 208, 211-215; Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, II, 268; Whitney, *Government of the Colony of South Carolina*, 61-63.

²⁸⁷ Landrum, *Upper South Carolina*, 35; Chapman, J. A., *Edgefield County*, 6, 11; O'Neill, *Annals of Newberry*, 22, 30-35, 45; Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, 188.

²⁸⁸ Habersham, *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, VI), 184.

²⁸⁹ Wright, J., *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, III, Pt. 2), p. 160; Jones, C. C., *History of Georgia*, II, 130.

²⁹⁰ Turner, F. J., "Old West," in Wis. State Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, 1908, p. 212.

Irish potatoes and small grain, from which they made their bread, fattened their hogs, brewed their beer, and distilled their whisky, the provision of abundant orchards, and the raising of flax and hemp from which to spin and weave their clothing. They brought with them varieties of seeds and methods of cultivation characteristic of Pennsylvania. While they were compelled for a time by frontier conditions to pursue pioneer methods of rearing and caring for livestock, they inclined toward the building of substantial barns, the provision of hay and grain for winter feed, and the manufacture of their own butter and cheese. The prevalence in their midst of men who had been artisans by training and the remoteness from markets were favorable to the gradual development of diversification of community industry.²⁹¹

In order to get a little money to purchase necessities or meet obligations, back-country farmers were willing to undertake laborious methods of transport and to accept small returns. Just after the French and Indian War farmers of Chatham County, North Carolina, considered they were doing a "good business" in hauling wheat forty or fifty miles to Fayetteville and receiving about 25 cents a bushel.²⁹² Planters and farmers who resided on rivers shipped their products on flat-bottomed river boats, "batteaux," or "periaguas," sometimes provided with a small cabin and partially or wholly covered with a deck.²⁹³ Farmers not situated on navigable rivers developed other methods of transportation. Large wagons of the Conestoga or other types, drawn by four to six horses or mules and capable of carrying two to three tons, moved along roads cut through the forest and over rough bridges and ferries constructed along the main routes.²⁹⁴ Tobacco was shipped in "rolling hogsheads," constructed by affixing wooden spikes to the center of each head, forming axles which were fitted into a pair of shafts or by driving a spike into the tobacco through a hole in the center of the head. Rough fellies were spiked to each end to keep the hogshead out of the mud and prevent its being broken to pieces by rough roads. Rolling hogsheads were sometimes used for hauling wheat, and they were employed in North Carolina in transporting tar from inland points by an arrangement that permitted one horse to pull two hogsheads at a time.²⁹⁵ In the latter part of the eighteenth century the freight rate from the back country of South Carolina to Charleston was \$1.33 $\frac{1}{2}$ per

²⁹¹ The material on which these generalizations are based is so voluminous and the various points involved have been so fully covered in other connections that comprehensive citations here would be superfluous. However, for instances, see Sioussat, *Economics and Politics in Maryland*, 78-83; Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 32; Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, I, 160-163; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, V, 316-318, 355; IX, 612; Watson, *Men and Times of the Revolution*, 252, 255-259; Cook, H. T., *Pee Dee Basin*, 72-79, 292; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, I, 15; II, 216-220, 576-583, 596-600; Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina*, 318-320; Habersham, *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, VI), 173.

²⁹² *North Carolina Colonial Records*, VII, p. xix.

²⁹³ Moore, F., *Voyage to Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 112; Pope, *Tour*, 74; Drayton, *View of South Carolina*, 30-36; *Tour through Part of Virginia*, 1808, p. 8; Tatham, *Essay on Tobacco*, 211; Brickell, *Natural History of North Carolina*, 14.

²⁹⁴ La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, II, 66, 504; III, 240; Michaux, *Travels*, 282; Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County*, 242; *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XL, 220; Drayton, *View of South Carolina*, 141; Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, II, 205; Morse, *American Geography*, 352; De Brahm, *Philosophico-Historico-Hydrogeography of South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida* (Weston, Documents), 178.

²⁹⁵ Tatham, *Essay on Tobacco*, 55-67, 90; Attmore, *Journal of a Tour to North Carolina* (James Sprunt Historical Publications, XVII, No. 2), p. 34; Washington, *Diaries* (Fitzpatrick), IV, 164.

hundredweight. In the spring it was higher than in autumn. From Philadelphia to Winchester, Virginia, the wagon rate varied from \$4 to \$5 a hundredweight.²⁹⁶

BEGINNINGS OF THE TRANSMONTANE EXPANSION OF SOUTHERN AGRICULTURE

Shortly after the French and Indian War the wave of population that had already occupied or acquired the choicer lands of the Valley began to trickle westward through the Appalachian barrier. The royal proclamation of 1763 forbidding settlement west of the divide proved futile in completely deterring the sturdy pioneers, although it aroused keen resentment.²⁹⁷ The valley of east Tennessee, the easternmost river valleys of West Virginia, the fertile lands of the Kentucky Blue Grass, and the similar region in middle Tennessee were the seats of the earliest permanent transmontane establishments.

A number of conditions determined the selection of these latitudes of expansion and the lines of migration. By 1770 probably half the population of the British Colonies was concentrated in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina.²⁹⁸ No powerful Indian nations were established in Kentucky, and the same was true of the greater part of Tennessee. The southern part of what is now east Tennessee was occupied by the Cherokees, but their power was largely impaired by the expeditions of Montgomery and Grant in 1760 and 1761 and finally destroyed in the early years of the Revolutionary War. Both of these territories were the hunting grounds of the great Indian nations north of the Ohio and in the Gulf plains; and the native opposition took the form of bloody forays, rather than the concerted resistance of tribes fighting to protect their villages.²⁹⁹

The first thrusts of Southern population across the mountain barriers were achieved largely by the hardy backwoodsmen who had occupied the Great Valley and the piedmont region of North Carolina. They were fitted by character and experience for the stern task that awaited them. It is one of the marvels of social history how the Scotch-Irish from the compact villages and tiny farms of Ulster and the German redemptioners from the crowded lands of the Rhine were transformed in a generation into hardy frontiersmen, skilled in woodcraft and in the wily cunning of Indian foray and ambushade. These backwoodsmen were possessed of sufficient hardihood to settle on an exposed frontier, separated by miles from other white settlers; and man and boy could be counted on to fight desperately and courageously against attacking Indians or to bear a part in counter-raid or expedition against the inveterate enemy. Not infrequently women were little behind the men in the desperation with which they defended their firesides.³⁰⁰ Under the most favorable conditions the daily lives of these sturdy pioneers were characterized by hardships that seem almost incredible to the present generation.

In 1750 an early thrust toward the Ohio valley was effected in the establishment

²⁹⁶ La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, II, 504; III, 203; Michaux, *Travels*, 282.

²⁹⁷ Harrell, *Loyalism in Virginia*, 8-22.

²⁹⁸ See various estimates, in United States, *Century of Population Growth*, 9.

²⁹⁹ Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, I, 50-54, 135.

³⁰⁰ For accounts of thrilling episodes of the border warfare, see Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*; Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee*; Haywood, *History of Tennessee*, and other histories of the border.

of Fort Cumberland on the upper Potomac, not far from the Appalachian divide. The French and Indian War led to the building of a number of other strategically located frontier forts, and within a few years the settlers of the Valley were protected by more than four score forts and stockades.³⁰¹ The forts in Tennessee territory were too weak to resist the power of the Cherokees, but about the middle of the century bold frontiersmen settled on New River and on the Holston.³⁰²

Southwest Virginia was the starting point from which ran four routes that became main arteries through which population flowed to the west. The waters of New River ran northwestward to the Great Kanawha, and thence to the Ohio. The Greenbrier extended northward along the folds of the mountain ranges in the direction of the headwaters of the Tygart, which provided a highway to the Monongahela. Farther south the Big Sandy afforded a parallel route to the Ohio. Still farther south the Holston ran southward to join the Tennessee, a highway of western travel long blocked by the hostility of the Cherokees. Just west of the upper waters of the Holston is Cumberland Gap, which formed the southeastern gateway into Kentucky. Still farther south the headwaters of the French Broad furnished a highway by which the population of western North Carolina was enabled to travel into east Tennessee.

Along these routes settlers began to penetrate before the Revolution into the heart of what is now West Virginia, and thence to the Ohio.³⁰³ In 1760 Governor Fauquier inquired of the British Board of Trade whether the Board was opposed to the patenting of lands on Greenbrier, New, and Kanawha rivers, which had been "tolerably settled for some time." The settlers had abandoned their farms on account of Indian disturbances, but were beginning to return.³⁰⁴ Between 1769 and 1772 pioneers in considerable numbers settled in the Tygart and Buchanan river valleys in eastern West Virginia and pushed up the latter stream beyond its junction with the Monongahela, and also along the Monongahela. Here the tide of settlers encountered another movement from the Middle Colonies into southwestern Pennsylvania.³⁰⁵

In 1769 families from the southwestern portion of Virginia, already settled on the Holston, moved farther south along the same stream and established themselves on the Watauga, within the present limits of Tennessee. A series of treaties with the Cherokees gave the settlers immunity during the first critical years, and in 1772 a temporary government was formed, known as the Watauga Association. In the same year settlements were established on the Nollichucky. Shortly afterward Colonel Richard Henderson, of North Carolina, bought for £10,000 the Cherokees' title to all lands between the Kentucky and the Cumberland rivers; and another treaty of the same year obtained the cession of Carter's Valley, west of the Holston. Although subsequently declared void by the legislature of Vir-

³⁰¹ Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee*, 51-53; Koontz, *Virginia Frontier*, App. I.

³⁰² *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), July 30, 1766; Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, 59 & n.

³⁰³ See Jillson, "Big Sandy Valley," in Ky. State Hist. Soc., *Register*, XX, 239.

³⁰⁴ Letter from Fauquier to the Board of Trade, Dec. 6, 1760, in Virginia, *Official Correspondence* (Force Transcripts, Library of Congress).

³⁰⁵ De Hass, *Early Settlement of Western Virginia*, 75, 79-84.

ginia, the former treaty paved the way for the settlement of Kentucky.³⁰⁶ For many years Indian traders, hunters, and explorers had been penetrating the wilderness beyond the mountains, but their visits became more frequent in the years just preceding the outbreak of the Revolution. In 1748 Doctor Thomas Walker and a number of associates passed through Cumberland Gap and named the Cumberland mountains and the Cumberland river. Some of the party are said to have built the first house constructed in Kentucky by white men. About it they planted corn and peach stones.³⁰⁷ In 1751 Christopher Gist ascended the Kentucky river. After 1761 many hunters, including Daniel Boone, visited Tennessee. In 1766 James Smith and a party of hunters explored Tennessee, and the following year Stoner, Howard, Lindsay, and others visited the present site of Nashville. In the same year John Findley and others explored Kentucky. Daniel Boone and five companions visited the Blue Grass region of Kentucky, where Boone remained until the next year. In 1769 white hunters travelled down the Cumberland to the Ohio and thence to Natchez, returning to the Yadkin in 1771.³⁰⁸

The reports brought back by these various expeditions aroused a fever of interest along the border. In 1774 a party under the leadership of Harrod established a fort in Kentucky, but it was soon abandoned on account of the war between the Shawnees and the Virginians which led to Dunmore's expedition. The victory of the Virginians at Point Pleasant provided a brief interval of comparative immunity from Indian outrage, and the eager borderers were not slow to make use of the opportunity to obtain a footing in Kentucky. In the Spring of 1775 Harrodsburg and Boonesborough were built, and from this time forward neither the threat of famine nor frequent and murderous attacks by Indians encouraged by the British at Detroit were able to loosen the desperate grip of the backwoodsmen on the fair lands of Kentucky. The Kentucky settlements tended to screen Tennessee from Indian attacks from the north, providing more favorable conditions for the colony established at Nashville in 1779.³⁰⁹ Equally significant and prophetic was the considerable immigration beginning in 1765 from Carolina and Georgia to the Natchez country on the east bank of the Mississippi. During the next decade there were further accessions from Virginia, Maryland, and New England. They were not all rude borderers but included a number of substantial farmers and planters.³¹⁰

Thus, before the Revolutionary War was over a number of nuclei of Anglo-Saxon colonization were established beyond the mountains, several hundred miles from the frontiers of the American Colonies, an achievement all the more remarkable because accomplished mainly by the enterprise of the hardy borderers.

³⁰⁶ Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee*, 106, 109-111, 117-119; Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, 191, and note by R. G. Thwaites; cf. Paxson, *American Frontier*, 25.

³⁰⁷ Walker, T., *Journal* (Filson Club Publications, No. 13), pp. 50-55.

³⁰⁸ Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee*, 63-69; Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, I, 135-191; Jillson, "First Explorations of Daniel Boone in Kentucky," in Ky. State Hist. Soc., *Register*, XX, 204; Monette, *Discovery and Settlement of the Mississippi Valley*, I, Bk. III, Chaps. II-IV. For a summary of the various alleged early explorations of Kentucky, see Jillson, "The Discovery of Kentucky," in Ky. State Hist. Soc., *Register*, XX, 117-129.

³⁰⁹ For detailed accounts, see Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee*, and Haywood, *History of Tennessee*; cf. Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, I, 240; Extracts from the Journal of Colonel Richard Henderson, in Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, II, 219-229.

³¹⁰ Monette, *Discovery and Settlement of the Mississippi Valley*, I, 405-408.

PART II
AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIES IN THE
COLONIAL PERIOD

CHAPTER VI

PIONEER STAGES OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY: THE INDIAN TRADE, HERDING, AND NAVAL STORES AND LUMBERING

The Indian Trade. Relation to Agricultural Expansion, 129. Relation to International Rivalries in the Southwest, 133. Organization, Character, and Extent of the Trade, 135.

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THE INDIAN TRADE

RELATION TO AGRICULTURAL EXPANSION

From the beginning of settlement the Indian was an important element in the economic life. In the early years of the several Colonies food obtained from the Indians supplemented the meager supplies of the colonists and in some instances prevented starvation and abandonment. The colonists also employed Indians for hunting and fishing,¹ paying them bounties for hunting wolves and other predatory animals.² The Indian trade, an important stage in the evolution of economic life, was closely coördinated with agriculture. Not infrequently both were carried on by the same persons. The Indian trader, ranging hundreds of miles in advance of settlement, explored new territory, brought back news of choice lands, and inspired enthusiasm for agricultural expansion. The trails opened up were subsequently highways of agricultural expansion and commerce. The Indian trade was a potent influence in allaying the hostility of the natives against pioneer settlers, and the traders frequently gave warning of native outbreaks. The profits of the trade supplied capital for agricultural development and sustained the infant colonial establishments until agriculture could gain a foothold. Finally, the rich prizes of the trade were the bone of contention in the international struggle for empire, and the superiority of British commercial organization was a factor in the ultimate achievement of British supremacy in the territory between the Atlantic and the Mississippi.³ The traders also gradually introduced the arts of civilized life and improved native agriculture, teaching the Indians to produce European crops and encouraging them to raise livestock. Some of the traders kept herds of their own.⁴ In the latter part of the eighteenth

¹ Brickell, *Natural History of North Carolina*, 42; Newe, *Letters from South Carolina* (American Historical Review, XII), 323; Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, I, 128; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1706-1708, p. 765. At times, for military reasons, it was necessary to forbid these practices. *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 391, 470.

² *Ibid.*, 395, 457; II, 236, 274, 282; Northampton Grievances, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, II, 289; *Prince George County Records* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, IV), 278.

³ Adair, *American Indians*, 363, 366, 371.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 230; Logan, J. H., *Upper South Carolina*, I, 159, 184-192, 284-293; Pope, *Tour*, 60; Bartram, *Travels*, 83, 91, 191, 515; Romans, *East and West Florida*, 67, 83-85; Taitt, *Journal* (Mereness, *Travels*), 508.

century some of the Indian chieftains in the Gulf Colonies were maintaining large herds of cattle, and some of them possessed a considerable number of slaves.⁵

After the struggle between Baltimore and Claiborne to control the Indian trade of the Potomac and Susquehanna had resulted in the exclusion of the Virginia traders,⁶ the trade was for some years the dominant concern of the Maryland Colony. In 1638 the principal settlers were more interested in the trade than in planting, and roanoke and beaver were employed as currency.⁷ Maryland was at a geographic disadvantage, however, for the Indian trade. The local tribes were gradually reduced in numbers and their hunting grounds restricted by white settlements. Virginia and the Carolinas were better situated to control the trade of the Southwest. In 1659 the Virginians were complaining that neighboring English plantations (Maryland) and the Dutch were allowing northern Indian tribes to come down to the heads of the Virginia rivers, thus cutting off trade to the westward. Moreover, the Virginians' commercial rivals were practicing unfair competition by supplying the natives with powder and shot, which compelled the Virginia Assembly to authorize similar practices by Virginia traders. A Virginia law of 1662 excluded Maryland and other northern traders from Virginia territory.⁸ New York and later Pennsylvania intercepted Maryland trade with the northwestern tribes.⁹ The Marylanders were hard put to it even to prevent encroachment on their own territory. In 1662 they negotiated a treaty with the Nanticokes, who agreed to exclude Dutch traders on demand of the English.¹⁰ In 1683 Maryland found it necessary to establish a fortified post at Christine bridge, in Newcastle County, to exclude Pennsylvania traders. As early as 1678 it was stated that the Indian trade of Maryland was not very considerable.¹¹ Miss Morriss estimates the value of the exports of skins in 1695 at only £648, principally the product of local trapping on the Eastern Shore.¹²

In Virginia the frequent wars of the early decades were serious interruptions to systematic trade, and it was necessary at times to prohibit it.¹³ Gradually a specialized class of traders developed. Henry Fleet, who played a part in the conflict between Claiborne and Baltimore, was one of the earliest.¹⁴ In 1652 Claiborne and Fleet, again making common cause, in spite of ancient rivalries, and their associates were granted trading privileges for fourteen years to explore and trade in territories where Englishmen had not been. A similar privilege was granted to Captain Abraham Wood, who before the middle of the seven-

⁵ Romans, *East and West Florida*, 68, 83; Pope, *Tour*, 49, 64; Bartram, *Travels*, 184-192; *Colonial Records of Georgia*, XII, 444.

⁶ See above, pp. 34, 39.

⁷ Thos. Copley to Lord Baltimore, Apr. 3, 1638, in *Calvert Papers*, I, 168; *Maryland Archives* (Prov. Ct.), IV, 214.

⁸ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), II, 153; cf. Morrison, "The Virginia Indian Trade to 1673," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2 series, I, 232.

⁹ Concerning the conflict between Pennsylvania traders and those of Maryland and Virginia in the Ohio valley and Old Northwest at a later period, see Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 330.

¹⁰ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), III, 452.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, V, 265; XVII, 233.

¹² *Colonial Trade of Maryland*, 12-14.

¹³ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 126, 167, 173, 192, 227, 255.

¹⁴ See pp. 32-35.

teenth century made Fort Henry, at the falls of the Appomattox, the center of an important Indian business, mainly toward the south and southwest. He and his associates sent out pack trains consisting at times of as many as one hundred horses to trade with the Tuscaroras, the Catawbias, and finally with the Cherokees.¹⁵ As early as 1650 Wood and Edward Bland penetrated to the region of the upper Roanoke. In 1671 William Byrd (I), backed by his merchant uncle, Thomas Stegg, was a strong competitor with Wood for the southeastern trade. In that year Wood sent two traders, Batts and Fallam, as far as New River, and in 1673 Wood's representative, Needham, went as far as probably the Little Tennessee.¹⁶ By 1675 the great trading route from Virginia southwestward to the Cherokee tribes had become fully established. As early as 1690 a Virginia trader named Daugherty had taken up his residence among the Cherokees.¹⁷ After 1716 the Virginians began to develop considerable activity in the trans-Allegheny trade to the northwest, where, however, they came into keen competition with the Pennsylvanians, as well as with the French.¹⁸ The settlement of South Carolina, however, seriously restricted the Virginia trade.

Some of the Carolina Proprietors were interested from the beginning in the fur trade, and largely monopolized it during the first two decades of the Colony. In fact, they fitted out the first expedition with an equipment of goods for the trade.¹⁹ Shaftesbury arranged for the establishment of his estate on Edisto Island to serve as headquarters of a large Indian trade.²⁰ The settlement was scarcely a year old before a bold trader, Dr. Henry Woodward, was among the Indians in western South Carolina. Four years later he crossed the middle Savannah and visited the Westoes, and in the next three years became acquainted with the tribes still farther west. By 1685 he was on the Chattahoochee and had established trading relations with the Lower Creeks. The Spaniards made the mistake of attempting to compel the tribes to resist English encroachments, but the lure of trade gained for the English a preponderant influence. Soon they were among the Alabamas and the Chickasaws.²¹ In 1677 a group of the Proprietors formed an association for the exploitation of the more distant trade, restricting the colonists to the trade within one hundred miles of Charleston.²² The South Carolina trade was rapidly extended. The statement was made in 1719 that for over thirty years the South Carolinians had traded with the Indians along the Coosa, seven hundred miles from Charleston.²³ Some years before the beginning of the eighteenth century South Carolina traders had

¹⁵ For accounts of his activity, see Alvord & Bidgood, *First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region*, especially pp. 31-34; Morrison, "The Virginia Indian Trade to 1673," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2 series, I, 227-232.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 235.

¹⁷ Logan, J. H., *Upper South Carolina*, I, 168.

¹⁸ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 330.

¹⁹ *Shaftesbury Papers* (S. C. Hist. Soc., Collections, V), 123, 149, 319. For a recently issued detailed study of the South Carolina trade, see Crane, *Southern Frontier*, Chaps. V-VI.

²⁰ *Shaftesbury Papers* (S. C. Hist. Soc., Collections, V), 445.

²¹ Bolton, "Spanish Resistance to the Carolina Traders in Western Georgia," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, IX, 118 *et seq.*

²² Rivers, *Sketch of South Carolina*, 122.

²³ Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, 1718-1722*, p. 99.

penetrated to the Mississippi and probably beyond, perhaps following in the footsteps of hardy Virginia traders who left no historical record.²⁴

As early as 1698 the question of prohibiting the Virginia traders was discussed by the South Carolina lower house.²⁵ In 1708 the Virginians complained to the British Council for Trade and Plantations that the South Carolina authorities had seized goods being carried by the Virginians to the Southwestern tribes.²⁶ South Carolina had placed an export tax on furs, and the authorities of the Colony had interpreted this as applicable to furs carried out of the Province by Virginia traders. After considering the problem, the Council for Trade and Plantations recommended that the application of the duty to Virginia traders be discontinued, and it was so ordered.²⁷ The jealousy on the part of the Carolinians was doubtless increased by the fact that at that period the Virginians enjoyed an advantage in the price of Indian goods obtained from Great Britain by reason of the greater "Conveniency of Shipping" to that Colony. The Carolinians also believed the Virginia traders guilty of encouraging the tribes to make war on the Carolinas.²⁸ Accordingly South Carolina passed another act in 1711 requiring Virginia traders to come to Charleston and take out licenses, pay the fees, provide the bonds, and conform to the police regulations required of South Carolina traders under the act of 1707.²⁹ Governor Spotswood vigorously protested to the British authorities, who proceeded to veto the act.³⁰

In spite of the geographic advantage enjoyed by the Carolina traders, they continued for many years to be subject to keen competition. Some of the more reputable Virginia traders were duly licensed in South Carolina, but the looser sort refused to subject themselves to the regulations. Gradually, however, the Carolinians ousted the Virginians from the trade. By 1751 the share of the latter was probably small, for in that year a delegation of Cherokees, who as a result of French intrigue had become disaffected against the Carolinians, visited Williamsburg, seeking a treaty. They were kindly received and given to understand that a regular trade would be opened.³¹ In 1757 and again in 1765 the Virginia Assembly appropriated £5,000 sterling to carry on a trade with the Cherokees, proposing to sell goods at cost, and providing for appointing a resident factor. The Virginia policy led to a strong protest by Governor Glen, of South Carolina, who also took vigorous measures to placate the Cherokees.³²

The settlement of Georgia tended to divert much of the trade from South Carolina.³³ By the middle of the eighteenth century Augusta was the great

²⁴ Archdale, *Description of Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 97; Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 339; Lawson, *Carolina*, 43.

²⁵ South Carolina, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly*, Sept. 13–Oct. 8 & Nov. 9–19, 1698, p. 22.

²⁶ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1706–1708, p. 765.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1708–1709, pp. xxix, 160, 444, 459, 479; *idem*, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, II, 610–614; *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, II, 217.

²⁸ Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, II, 612; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, II, 251–253.

²⁹ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), II, 357–359.

³⁰ *Official Letters*, I, 172; Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, II, 613.

³¹ Logan, J. H., *Upper South Carolina*, I, 261, 265, 417, 420.

³² *Ibid.*, 420–423; *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), July 30, 1766; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), VII, 118; VIII, 114–118; Dinwiddie, *Official Records*, I, 273.

³³ Smith, W. R., *South Carolina as a Royal Province*, 218.

entrepôt of Southwestern trade, although its business was built up mainly by South Carolina Indian merchants. In 1741 it was estimated that 49 men and 314 horses were engaged in the Augusta trade with the Lower Creeks and 46 men and 305 horses in the trade from Augusta to the Upper Creeks and the Chickasaws.³⁴ It was claimed that the South Carolinians, chagrined at the diversion of their trade, even tried to incite the tribes to war against the Georgians, and raised money to defray the legal expenses of defending South Carolinians who violated the Georgia acts of regulation.³⁵

When the British obtained control of Pensacola, that point, being more strategically located than Augusta, became the center of a trade amounting to 500,000 pesos annually.³⁶ Mobile was another point from which the English dominated the trade of the interior of the Southwest.³⁷

RELATION TO INTERNATIONAL RIVALRIES IN THE SOUTHWEST

Far more significant economically and politically than the English intercolonial rivalry was the prolonged struggle between the French and the English for the control of the Southwestern trade, a struggle involving sixty years of intrigue, bribery, and organized murder. The Cherokees were too remote for the French traders to bring their goods cheaply by river, and consequently remained tributary to the British interest until toward the middle of the seventeenth century, when they began to be alienated by French intrigue and British blunders.³⁸ Although the French succeeded for a short time in detaching the Chickasaws, the British early achieved a superior influence over them, which was later strengthened, and except for occasional lapses, permanently maintained.³⁹ After a brief struggle in the early years of the eighteenth century the British were compelled to abandon trade with the tribes of the lower Mississippi.⁴⁰ The French early developed a preponderant political influence among the Choctaws, but not so much as entirely to prevent English traders from dealing with them; for it was the policy of the Choctaws and Creeks to play one party against another.⁴¹ Both parties were compelled to establish interior trading posts. In order to neutralize the influence of British posts among the Choctaws and Creeks and to intercept their traders on the Chickasaw trading path, the French built Fort Toulouse on the Coosa river, four miles above its junction with the Talla-

³⁴ Stephens & Everhard, *Brief Account of Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, II), 123-124; cf. Stephens, W., *State of the Province of Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, II), 72.

³⁵ Oglesby, *Letters to the Trustees*, and Wright, J., *Letters* (both in Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, III), 35, 39, and 192, 199.

³⁶ Navarro, *Political Reflections* (Robertson, Louisiana, I), 253; Campbell, R. L., *Colonial Florida*, 98-100.

³⁷ Hamilton, P. J., *Colonial Mobile*, 182-184, 186, 189, 199, 299, 248.

³⁸ Adair, *American Indians*, 241; Martyn, *Impartial Inquiry* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 180.

³⁹ Bossu, *Travels through Louisiana*, I, 286, 292; Charlevoix, *Voyage to North America*, II, 181; Heinrich, *Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes*, pp. xxxviii, l-lvi; La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 81, 108, 118.

⁴⁰ Coxe, D., *Description of Carolana*, 27; La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 87, 100; Pénicaut, *Annals of Louisiana* (French, Hist. Collections, new series), 125-127; Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 341-344.

⁴¹ Adair, *American Indians*, 260; Governor Johnson to Board of Trade, in Rivers, *Chapter in the Early History of South Carolina*, 92; *Present State of the Country and Inhabitants of Louisiana*, 6; cf. Scroggs, "Early Trade and Travel in the Lower Mississippi Valley," in La. State Univ., *Bulletin*, new series, XI, 9.

poosa, and Fort Tombecbee, one hundred and forty miles above Fort Louis de Mobile.⁴² As early as 1719 Carolinians maintained a fortified and garrisoned trading post on the Coosa river, seven hundred miles from Charleston and only a short distance from the French Fort Toulouse.⁴³ In 1734 they established the fortified post of Okfuskees among the Upper Creeks, four hundred miles from the sea.⁴⁴

To offset the geographic advantage of the French for all but the Cherokee trade, the English had the great advantage of manufactured goods that suited the Indians much better than those which came from France, and a much better European market for peltry. It is true, there were short periods when the French appeared to have the advantage. About 1719 Spotswood wrote that the current prices of peltry in England and the high duties thereon had temporarily placed the English traders at a disadvantage.⁴⁵ At times also the French deliberately sold goods to the Indians at less than cost in order to meet British competition. Sometimes the greed of British traders led them to injure their trading connections by charging the Indians excessive prices for goods.⁴⁶ Taking the period as a whole, however, the greater cheapness and adaptability of British goods and the superiority of the British market for peltry, particularly for disposing of inferior grades for which there was no demand in France, were recognized as important advantages.⁴⁷ The French overcame their disadvantage in part by purchasing goods from British ship captains and selling their peltry to them.⁴⁸ The veteran Indian trader, James Adair, asserted that the British traders always found the French influence more difficult to meet in time of peace than in time of war, for in the latter periods the French suffered from shortage of goods hitherto obtained from British sources.⁴⁹

In spite of their economic disadvantage the French brought to the problem of Indian relations their traditional superiority in diplomatic negotiations with native tribes. In the earlier part of the period the British allowed themselves to be out-manuevered. While the French were skillfully applying the arts of flattery, the Carolinians were employing domineering methods, charging excessive prices, and committing excesses and atrocities, including wholesale enslavement. The result was the great Indian coalition of 1715, which nearly overwhelmed the Carolinas, and the temporary loss of more than half their trade.⁵⁰ The necessity of observing the amenities forced the British to adopt French methods of dealing with the Indians, and the former shortly regained much of

⁴² Pénicaut, *Annals of Louisiana* (French, Hist. Collections, new series), 128; Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 341, 353; Jefferys, *French Dominions in North and South America*, 153.

⁴³ Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, 1718-1722*, p. 99; Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 355.

⁴⁴ Martyn, *Impartial Inquiry* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 182.

⁴⁵ *Official Letters*, II, 331; cf. Pickett, *History of Alabama, etc.*, I, 256.

⁴⁶ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 350; Dinwiddie, *Official Records*, II, 203.

⁴⁷ Montagne, *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, 118; *Present State of the Country and Inhabitants of Louisiana*, 51-53; Spotswood, *Official Letters*, II, 331; Hamilton, P. J., *Colonial Mobile*, 171; Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 319, 449.

⁴⁸ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 319, 351, 354, 358, 449.

⁴⁹ *American Indians*, 314.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 289, 379; La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 119-121; Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 343; Governor Johnson to Board of Trade, Jan. 12, 1720, in Rivers, *Chapter in the Early History of South Carolina*, 93; Logan, J. H., *Upper South Carolina*, I, 175, 187, 192.

their earlier trade and influence. In 1746 they succeeded in detaching a large section of the Choctaws from the French interest.⁵¹ On the other hand, the French had brought a part of the Chickasaws under their influence, and gradually undermined the traditional friendship of the Cherokees with the British, finally bringing on war in 1760 between the Cherokees and the English colonists. The French also succeeded in achieving the disaffection of some of the Upper Creeks, and their concerted action with the Cherokees. Both sides cultivated the natives by giving lavish presents annually and by playing on intertribal jealousies. The more influential Indian leaders were regularly subsidized. Legislative efforts were made to prevent the abuses committed by the traders and to discourage the granting of credit (an important source of friction).⁵² While the selling of liquor to the natives was a recognized evil, competition forced both the contending parties to supply them with rum.⁵³

ORGANIZATION, CHARACTER, AND EXTENT OF THE TRADE

To a large extent the more distant trade was promoted and financed by the commercial and capitalist influences which early developed the plantation system—that is, by British colonial merchants, associated at times with influential courtiers and politicians.⁵⁴ A number of the Proprietors of South Carolina belonged to the group of merchants and courtiers who promoted the Hudson Bay Company and brought about the seizure of New Amsterdam with its rich fur trade. British tobacco merchants were deeply concerned in the trade by reason of the supplies furnished colonial merchants.⁵⁵

The British interests operated through merchant planters of the Colonies, who received supplies from their British correspondents on credit or in partnership, fitted out traders, and employed political influence to control Indian policy. In this regard their interests were not always consonant with those of pioneer settlers. About 1716, for instance, there was much opposition by the small planters and pioneer farmers of Virginia to the policy of the Indian trading monopoly set up under Spotswood's encouragement. It was alleged that the government was much too tender with the Indians, that the sale of arms to the natives facilitated the murder of frontier settlers, and that the conduct of the traders bred contempt for English authority.⁵⁶ Colonial merchants who combined the functions of planter, wholesale merchant, Indian merchant, and politician included such men as William Byrd (I), Cadwallader Jones, Colonel Abraham Wood, and the Carys, of Virginia, Colonel James Moore and Governors Blake and Boone of South Carolina, and James Spaulding of St. Simons Island, Georgia.⁵⁷ Other

⁵¹ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 346, 349, 352, 360; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, II, 422; La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 219; Glen, *Answers to Queries* (Weston, Documents), 95.

⁵² Vaudreuil to Governor of Canada, in *Present State of the Country and Inhabitants of Louisiana*, 42-44; Adair, *American Indians*, 240, 245-250, 253-255, 262-265, 270, 286, 311.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 260; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, VIII, 1; Bartram, *Travels*, 490.

⁵⁴ See below, p. 431.

⁵⁵ Alvord & Bidgood, *First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region*, 56-60; Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1714-1718, p. 230.

⁵⁶ Byrd, *History of the Dividing Line and Other Tracts* (Wynne), II, 168.

⁵⁷ Alvord & Bidgood, *First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region*, 31-34; Byrd, *Letters* (Virginia Historical Register, I), 62; Turner, F. J., "Old West," in *Wis. State Hist. Soc., Proceedings*, 1908, p. 202; McCrady, *South Carolina under the Proprietary Government*, 347; Bartram, *Travels*, 55.

important merchants, as for instance, John Musgrove, Lachlan McGillivray and his son, Alexander McGillivray, combined the advantages of a large Indian influence acquired by intermarriage or blood relationship and profitable commercial connections with British mercantile firms.⁵⁸ The Revolutionary War, breaking up the commercial connections of the Colonies, created the opportunity for the establishment by Tory refugees of the Indian trading firm of Panton, Leslie and Company at Pensacola, which, partly through its connection with Alexander McGillivray, dominated for many years the Indian trade of the Southwest.⁵⁹

The traffic itself was carried on by traders sent out by colonial merchants. If the Indian trade was important to the whites, it became of vital concern to the Indians, and their interest in obtaining European goods enabled the traders to travel hundreds of miles in comparative safety.⁶⁰ Some of the traders were men of parts;⁶¹ a number of them became councillors or governors. All too many, however, were desperadoes, reckless, cruel, profligate, and unscrupulous, "the most abandon'd Wretches in the World."⁶² Such men gave untold trouble to the colonial authorities. Very early it was found desirable for the trader to take up a permanent residence among the tribes in order to maintain his trading good will, prevent competing traders from undermining his influence, and determine more accurately the kind and quantity of goods required. Some established stores, which occasionally grew into trading posts at which a number of men were stationed or where many traders congregated.⁶³ Some firms, like that of James Spaulding, in East Florida, maintained an extensive chain of stores.⁶⁴

The delicate character of Indian relations early led the various Colonies to undertake regulation of the trade. Traders were required to have licenses and give bond to observe certain requirements. For a time efforts were made to prevent the sale to Indians of guns and ammunition,⁶⁵ but it was found impossible to stop the practice. As early as 1658/9 Virginia officially authorized free trade in arms and ammunition, since the Indians were obtaining them anyway from neighboring Colonies.⁶⁶ Efforts were made to prevent the indiscriminate giving of credit. The traders were held responsible under bond for misdemeanors and crimes committed in the Indian country, and commissioners were appointed to

⁵⁸ Logan, J. H., *Upper South Carolina*, I, 176; Bartram, *Travels*, 402, 425; Adair, *American Indians*, 366; Bouligny, *Memoir* (Fortier, *History of Louisiana*, II), 40-42.

⁵⁹ Brevard, *History of Florida*, I, 5 n.; Campbell, R. L., *Colonial Florida*, 90, 98-100, and Chaps. XVI-XVII.

⁶⁰ Wright, J., *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, III, Pt. 2), pp. 169, 190, 218; Bartram, *Travels*, 440; Logan, J. H., *Upper South Carolina*, I, 284.

⁶¹ Byrd, *History of the Dividing Line and Other Tracts* (Wynne), II, 170.

⁶² Dinwiddie, *Official Records*, II, 340; Adair, *American Indians*, 286, 368; Logan, J. H., *Upper South Carolina*, I, 174-180, 280-284; Taitt, *Journal* (Mereness, *Travels*), 525.

⁶³ Adair, *American Indians*, 262; Logan, J. H., *Upper South Carolina*, I, 168, 340.

⁶⁴ Bartram, *Travels*, 55, 95, 109; Wylly, *The Seed Sown in Georgia*, 16.

⁶⁵ Proceedings of First Assembly, in *Colonial Records of Virginia* (State Senate Doc., Extra, Richmond, 1874), p. 25; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 219, 255, 441; II, 20, 124, 140. In the early years of Maryland these licenses were designed primarily to prevent the infringement of the Proprietor's monopoly, but after the middle of the century the purpose seems to have been regulation. Bozman, *History of Maryland*, II, 113, 397; *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), I, 307; (Coun. Proc.), III, 453, 455; Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland*, 11.

⁶⁶ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 525.

regulate their conduct.⁶⁷ The problem of prices for skins in terms of British goods gave much trouble. When the traders charged excessive prices, the Indians became resentful; whereas when prices of skins were too high, the natives hunted less and became independent and dangerous. At times it was found necessary to fix legal rates on Indian goods in exchange for peltry, but it was found difficult to compel adherence thereto. Excessive competition among the traders resulted sometimes in the collapse of prices and the demoralization of the trade.⁶⁸ To prevent this, South Carolina tried the experiment of assigning each trader to one or two villages or exclusively to a definite range.⁶⁹ Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina forbade traders going among the Indians, attempting to confine all trade at certain frontier posts. Virginia, in 1714, and South Carolina, in 1718, created trading monopolies, but these acts led to much protest by independent traders, and were vetoed.⁷⁰ The policy of establishing monopolies as a mode of regulation should be distinguished from the various attempts to monopolize the trade mainly for purposes of profit.⁷¹

According to annual statistics of the South Carolina Indian trade collected by Verner W. Crane,⁷² exports of the Colony amounted to 64,488 deerskins as early as 1698-99 (Christmas to Christmas), although this was larger than in most years at that early period. In 1706-07 the trade reached the extraordinary volume of 121,355 skins. In the remaining years from 1699 to 1715, South Carolina exports varied from 10,289 to 80,324 skins. During this period the Virginia trade was considerably smaller than that of South Carolina, varying annually from 849 to 34,387 deerskins. Both Colonies shipped small quantities of beaver but deerskins constituted the principal article of traffic. The Yamassee War nearly destroyed the South Carolina trade, which fell to 4,702 skins in the year 1715-16, and did not recover its normal volume until 1721-22. In 1730, according to Purry, South Carolina exported 300 casks containing 800 or 900 skins each,⁷³ or approximately 255,000 allowing 850 per cask. From 1739-40 to 1763-64 (Nov. 1 to Nov. 1), exports varied from 259 hogsheads in the latter year to 720 in 1747-48. The period of maximum exportation was apparently 1745-1749 inclusive.⁷⁴ The Georgia exports increased from 49,995 pounds of deerskins in 1755 to 284,840 pounds in 1770.⁷⁵ It is probable, however, that

⁶⁷ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), II, 309-316; III, 141-146; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), V, 273; Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, 1714-1718*, p. 57; Sharpe, *Correspondence* (Maryland Archives, XIV), 179; *Colonial Records of Georgia*, I, 31-44; VI, 187, 252-290; McCall, *History of Georgia*, I, 47; *North Carolina Laws* (Iredell), 362.

⁶⁸ Adair, *American Indians*, 285, 366-367; Logan, J. H., *Upper South Carolina*, I, 254.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 434; Chicken, *Journal* (Mereness, Travels), 106; Adair, *American Indians*, 366.

⁷⁰ Sharpe, *Correspondence* (Maryland Archives, XIV), 179; Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, 1714-1718*, pp. 164-166, 230; Spotswood, *Official Letters*, II, 141, 147-150; Logan, J. H., *Upper South Carolina*, I, 169, 241, 388; *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, I, 166; cf. Smith, W. R., *South Carolina as a Royal Province*, 213-215.

⁷¹ For instances, see *Calvert Papers*, I, 190, 289; Rivers, *Sketch of South Carolina*, 424; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1677-1680*, p. 60; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, II, 846.

⁷² *Southern Frontier*, App. A, Table I.

⁷³ *Description of South Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 129. The statistics published by Crane for the period 1724-25 to 1736-37 are in several units, and not readily comparable with earlier and later statistics. *Southern Frontier*, App. A, Table III.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, App. A, Table IV.

⁷⁵ Morse, *American Geography*, 449.

some of the earlier trade was credited to Charleston. In 1753 the export trade in deerskins credited to North Carolina was estimated at 30,000,⁷⁶ much less extensive than that of its southern neighbors. Just before the Revolution the Virginia trade was estimated by Jefferson at 180 hogsheads.⁷⁷

HERDING

THE RANGE FOR LIVESTOCK

The development of the livestock industry was determined largely by the relationship between population and supply of land. In many newly settled districts the herding industry preceded the development of systematic agriculture. Then followed a transition stage in which the keeping of large numbers of stock by semiherder methods was combined with the production of crops. Later, when the range became scarce, the raising of stock in general farming districts developed the characteristics of systematic animal husbandry. In the plantation districts the raising of stock became subordinate to the production of staples, being carried on largely for domestic consumption.

In all the Southern Colonies early settlers enjoyed the advantages of an almost unlimited range, and the only barriers to its utilization were depredations by wild animals and Indians. The depredations of animals appear to have been a serious deterrent only to the ranging of sheep.⁷⁸ Colonial officials were frequently presented with complaints of Indian depredations, and on occasion dealt sternly with the offenders.⁷⁹ At times the Indians also complained that range stock destroyed their corn fields.⁸⁰ One Indian "king" met the remonstrances of the English for killing their stock by pointing out that the newcomers had not refrained from killing his deer. To the English rejoinder that they could not recognize his deer because they were not marked, the King shrewdly replied "Tis true indeed, none of my deer are marked, . . . and when you meet with any that are marked you may do with them what you please; for they are none of mine."⁸¹

The quality of range varied widely. Along streams and in hardwood lands there was a great abundance of mast for hogs, as well as considerable pasture for cattle and horses. In eastern Virginia and Maryland there were probably few open upland areas other than clearings made by Indians. Hugh Jones asserted, "The whole Country is a perfect Forest, except where the Woods are cleared for Plantations, and old Fields, and where have been formerly *Indian Towns and poisoned Fields and Meadows*, where the Timber has been burnt down in Fire-Hunting."⁸² In the piedmont districts of all the Colonies and in the limestone lands west of the Blue Ridge were many natural meadows covered

⁷⁶ Wynne, *British Empire*, II, 299; cf. Raynal, *British Settlements and Trade in North America*, 141.

⁷⁷ *Notes on Virginia* (Ford, 1894), p. 204.

⁷⁸ See below, p. 207. On troubles of settlers in protecting stock on the frontier, see Salley, *Orangeburg County*, 221.

⁷⁹ For instances, see *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), III, 104; V, 519; (Assem. Acts), XIII, 479, 560.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* (Coun. Proc.), V, 479, 493, 520.

⁸¹ Gatford, *Publick Good without Private Interest*, 23.

⁸² *Present State of Virginia*, 35.

with grass, cane, or wild pea vines, which afforded abundant pasturage.⁸³ In the extensive swamp lands of the Atlantic coastal plain hogs found edible roots of various water plants, and cattle and horses pastured on the abundant water grasses and other herbage. In eastern North Carolina there were species of "canes" which afforded excellent winter feed for cattle, and it is said that cattle ate the Spanish moss that hung from the trees.⁸⁴ The extensive pine lands in the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida, as well as along the Gulf coastal plain, were also utilized as range. Hogs ate the young pine shoots, but in general such regions were said to be less favorable for swine than for cattle.⁸⁵ In all the coastal portions of the Colonies south of Virginia and Maryland frequent mention is made of numerous savannahs covered with abundant herbage. The term appears not to have been confined to wet lands, but was applied to more or less extensive areas of prairie. In northern Florida, for instance, the hammock lands were spoken of as savannahs and were notable for abundant grass, which supported herds of stock.⁸⁶

Burning the range was practiced at an early period. According to Romans, the object was to improve the grass, but Governor Dobbs, of North Carolina, complained that the practice injured the soil and the quality of the range.⁸⁷ It is said to have been required by law in North Carolina in the early years of the Province.⁸⁸ Later the practice was forbidden.⁸⁹

WILD STOCK IN THE WOODS

It has been said that wild cattle left by Columbus on his second voyage found their way northward into the Colonies.⁹⁰ There appear to be no grounds for accepting this statement. In none of his voyages did he reach the Continent at a point farther north than Central America. Moreover, there is no evidence that the Indian tribes had any domestic livestock of European origin before the settlements of Avilés.⁹¹

In the late years of the Spanish occupation, as already noted,⁹² there were numerous wild cattle, horses, and swine in Florida, and during the early years of British occupation hunting wild stock was an important source of food.⁹³

⁸³ Bland, E., *Discovery of New Brittain* (Salley, Narratives), 11, 13-15; Bishop Spangenberg's Diary, in *North Carolina Colonial Records*, V, 5; Lawson, *Carolina*, 63; Logan, J. H., *Upper South Carolina*, 6-13, 165; Gregg, *Old Cheraws*, 109; Salley, *Orangeburg County*, 220.

⁸⁴ Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 100, 107; *American Husbandry*, I, 388; Attmore, *Journal of a Tour to North Carolina* (James Sprunt Historical Publications, XVII, No. 2), p. 21.

⁸⁵ South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 333; Stork, *Account of East Florida*, 27; Lawson, *Carolina*, 59.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 79; Bartram, *Travels*, 188, 195, 205; Stork, *Account of East Florida*, 27; Martyn, *Impartial Inquiry* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 159; Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, I, 140.

⁸⁷ Romans, *East and West Florida*, 16; Governor Dobbs to Board of Trade, in *North Carolina Colonial Records*, V, 354.

⁸⁸ Brickell, *Natural History of North Carolina*, 10; Carrier, *Beginnings of Agriculture*, 197.

⁸⁹ *North Carolina State Records*, XXIV, 134, 460.

⁹⁰ Hammond, H., "The Century in Agriculture," in the *Charleston News and Courier*, Centennial ed., 1803-1903, p. 32.

⁹¹ See p. 6.

⁹² See Chap. V.

⁹³ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/553, p. 7 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

Either from the Spanish herds or from those of South Carolina wild stock had migrated to Georgia before the settlement of Savannah.⁹⁴ In South Carolina the first settlers purchased pork from the Indians⁹⁵ (probably swine introduced by the Spanish missions), but in the early years of the Colony there was apparently no dependence on wild herds already existing in the woods.⁹⁶ The absence of mention of wild cattle, hogs, or horses at the first settlement of Virginia and Maryland suggests the probability that none of the stock from Spanish introductions had found their way so far north. Father White, the chronicler of Maryland, wrote, "The neighboring forests are full of wild bulls and heifers, of which five hundred or six hundred thousand are annually carried to Saville from that part which lies toward New Mexico."⁹⁷ This statement, however, evidently referred to the Spanish cattle industry of the Southwest. It is possible, but not probable, that wild stock from the Virginia settlement may by this time have strayed into the Maryland woods.⁹⁸

Within a few decades after settlement in the various Colonies the woods were swarming with cattle, swine, and horses, which had multiplied rapidly on the open range.⁹⁹ By 1671 wild horses in the Maryland woods had become a serious nuisance in destroying crops, and it was found necessary to prohibit their importation from Pennsylvania and elsewhere.¹⁰⁰ During the next fifty years similar acts were passed from time to time.¹⁰¹ About the close of the eighteenth century the Virginia woods were full of wild horses and hunting them was a favorite sport. On some of the islands off the Maryland coast the annual round-up and branding of wild ponies became a regular event. In the back country of the Carolinas the first comers laid the foundations of their fortunes by rounding up wild cattle and horses.¹⁰²

It early became necessary to pass legislation to regulate the killing or appropriating of unowned wild stock. In 1632 the killing of swine in the common woods was prohibited in Virginia except on license from the governor.¹⁰³ In 1642 a similar act was passed in Maryland. A further act confirmed the prohibition of killing wild hogs in common lands without license. If killed on one's own land, the ears must be shown to sworn viewers so that they might witness the absence of marks,¹⁰⁴ indicating that the custom of marking the ears of swine was already established. In 1643 a Virginia act provided "that such person that did adventure to recover cattle which should be conceived by the Leift's

⁹⁴ Fries, *Moravians in Georgia*, 77.

⁹⁵ Mr. Matthew's Relation, in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 169.

⁹⁶ See p. 51, 55.

⁹⁷ *Relation of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore* (Force, Tracts, IV, No. 12), p. 7.

⁹⁸ Wise, *Ye Kingdome of Accawmacke*, 307.

⁹⁹ *Relation of Maryland*, 1635 (Hall, Narratives), 76, 78, 97-98; Wise, *Ye Kingdome of Accawmacke*, 311; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 473, 477; Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, II, 79; Alsop, *Character of Maryland* (Hall, Narratives), 347.

¹⁰⁰ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), II, 281.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* (Coun. Proc.), V, 120; (Assem. Acts), XXX, 226; XXXVIII, 182. In 1738 the proposal was defeated by a close vote. *Ibid.*, XL, 152, 197, also Pref., p. ix.

¹⁰² Oldmixon, *British Empire*, I, 293; Beverley, R., *History of Virginia*, 276; Wise, *Ye Kingdome of Accawmacke*, 309; Logan, J. H., *Upper South Carolina*, 155, 159; Gregg, *Old Cheraws*, 109.

¹⁰³ *Virginia Statutes* (Henning), I, 199.

¹⁰⁴ *Maryland Archives* (Prov. Ct.), IV, 142, 144-151.

[Lieutenants] to be lost to the owners, should freely enjoy the said cattle according to the proviso."¹⁰⁵

A Maryland Assembly Act of 1661 recited the fact that "divers Inhabitants of this Province are much dampnified in their Stocks of Cattle and molested by reason of severall heards of wilde Cattle resorting amonge their tame." To prevent this, persons who had branded cattle running on the range were given until the first day of the following December to round up such branded cattle. After this date the governor was authorized to appoint a number of persons in each precinct to hunt wild cattle, allowing two shares to the chief hunter, and one share to each of the others, but reserving the tallow and hides to the Lord Proprietor. The official hunting in each year was to be terminated on the last day of February, after which it was lawful for any inhabitant "to kill any wilde unmarked Cattle resorteing in Company with their tame Cattle to any of their Cowpens," reserving the tallow and hides for the Lord Proprietor. The act caused much discontent and was repealed in 1663.¹⁰⁶

When the sovereign rights of the Proprietor were taken over by the crown in 1691, the Maryland Council questioned certain private rights still claimed by the Proprietor, among them the rights to strays, waifs, and other wild stock. It was pointed out that since the country was largely "uncleared of wood and every man's Tract of land so lardge that it is impossible to fence the same soe that the whole stock of the Country runn promiscuously one amongst the other and every mans property only distinguished by his proper make [mark] entred upon record soe that by such a grant his Ldp would entitle himselfe and engross into his hand the whole stock of the Province."¹⁰⁷ The dispute was referred to His Majesty's solicitor-general, who rendered the opinion that cattle claimed as waifs or strays were not legally such, since they bore their owners' marks. Inasmuch as the right to wild swine and horses was not granted in Baltimore's charter, the right was held to inhere in the crown as being *ferae naturae*.¹⁰⁸ The maintenance of the royal rights was entrusted to public rangers as indicated by the following commission issued in 1692 by Governor Copley to one of the official rangers:¹⁰⁹

"I have ordained constituted & appointed . . . you the said Edward James to be ranger of and in Kent County aforesaid for the taking up of all such wild Cattle horses and hogs as by Act of Assembly of this Province are adjudg^d and allowed to be Strays belonging to and the just right of their Majestys or the Lord of the Soil, or their Majestys Govern^r or other Person legally qualified to receive the same, which you are hereby authorised and empowed to hunt for and take up in any part of the Forrest within the said County . . . and Reserving to yourself one third Part of the full Perquisitts and Profitts hereby accruing."

The transfer of rights to wild stock to the crown and the appointment of public rangers, however, did not quiet popular dissatisfaction. The official rangers

¹⁰⁵ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 332.

¹⁰⁶ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), I, 418, 486.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* (Coun. Proc.), VIII, 362.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 423.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 393.

were guilty of many abuses, and the system became the source of discontent and complaint among the inhabitants. The rangers were accused of driving off and taking up privately owned stock, especially young stock not yet branded, in spite of the requirements that they should first be exhibited to a magistrate.¹¹⁰ In 1702 the assembly provided that no ranger should be authorized to appropriate any unmarked horse or cow under the age of three years. In the same year the lower house passed a resolution (which did not become a law) that the rangers "be utterly disbanded."¹¹¹ In spite of the solicitor-general's decision that wild stock were public property, no evidence has been found that this right was asserted in any of the other Colonies. It is true, there were rangers in other Colonies, but although they were at times accused, as in Maryland, of the unlawful appropriation of range stock, their principal function appears to have been regulating the use of the range and guarding against cattle thieves.¹¹²

The right to slay or appropriate wild stock was by no means left open to anyone, for it was difficult to distinguish unbranded privately owned stock from wild unowned stock. There was a disposition to confine the rights to wild stock to nearby landowners. Thus, in 1673 the Grand Assembly of Albemarle County, North Carolina, provided as follows:¹¹³

"For prevention of uninterested persons in hunting & killing wild or outlyinge Cattle on any neck of land within this County Be it therefore Enacted . . . That no person or persons whatsoever who can lay noe just claime to any wild or outlyinge cattle on any neck of land in this County shall have any priviledge to hunt range for or kill any wild or outlyinge cattle on such land, unlesse impowered by such who have . . . It is further thought convenient that all those who claime any Title to wild Cattle on any Neck appoynt a meetinge amonge themselves to declare & with all probabilitie possible make appeare to each other the quantitie they have out which beinge agreed on amongst themselves each interested person to kill giveinge an account justly what he killeth to the rest who have interest."

A similar tendency to restrict rights to wild stock to those residing in the immediate neighborhood is illustrated by a South Carolina statute of 1695. A destructive storm had prevented settlers rounding up cattle for branding. Consequently the number of unmarked cattle had greatly increased, and "evil people" were killing great numbers. The act forbade the killing of unmarked cattle except by persons having an official certificate granted to each local resident who made oath that for some years he had owned marked cattle the increase of which had not been marked. The certificate and the ears of every animal killed must be brought to a justice of the peace and officially destroyed in his presence.¹¹⁴ In the same Colony legislative provision was made in 1703 for a coöperative round-up. On the outskirts of settlement wild cattle had increased to such an extent that they were enticing tame cattle from their regular ranges and also eating up their

¹¹⁰ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), VIII, 36, 362; (Assem. Acts), XXIV, 280; Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland*, 19 n.

¹¹¹ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXIV, 150, 281; renewed in 1704, *ibid.*, XXVI, 311.

¹¹² *Full Reply to Lieutenant Cadogan's Spanish Hireling, etc.*, 16; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, IV, 745; XXIII (Col. Laws), 57-60; Smith, W. R., *South Carolina as a Royal Province*, 182-187.

¹¹³ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 219; Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 110.

¹¹⁴ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), II, 106.

winter feed. Heads of families in certain districts were required to make oath as to the number of neat cattle each possessed. For every hundred head owned one man must be sent properly equipped to participate in the round-up.¹¹⁵ In Virginia the right to a certain proportion of the wild cattle, probably in proportion to the amount of land owned, could be transferred as affixed property.¹¹⁶

REGULATION OF THE USE OF THE OPEN RANGE

By the North Carolina code of 1715 the use of the range was forbidden to absentee owners unless they kept their lands tenanted, cultivated, or improved. By the same act the ranging of stock on other persons' land was forbidden.¹¹⁷ This act was aimed at Virginians particularly, who made a practice of driving their stock across the line. The act of 1729 made the provisions against outsiders still more stringent, and inhabitants of North Carolina were also forbidden to hunt, drive, or kill any stock on another's land "except Neighbours whose Lands are very near adjacent," without the landowner's consent. No ranger or other person was permitted to "range or hunt, kill or take up" unmarked stock on lands belonging to another person, without leave of the owner. Any person was free to take up and kill unmarked stock found (presumably excepting those belonging to neighbors) on his own land unless the property thereof was proven within three months by the owners, in which case the taker-up could claim payment under the stray laws.¹¹⁸ In 1766 the stock-owning interests of North Carolina were being subjected to extensive encroachments by stock from South Carolina. Accordingly, an act was passed providing that no cattle wholly or partly owned by persons not inhabiting North Carolina should be kept in that Province except on the basis of land owned in the Province either by the foreign owner of the cattle or by an inhabitant of North Carolina who granted the foreigner his right to the range. Not more than ten head of stock were to be maintained for each hundred acres under which the right was claimed.¹¹⁹ These range laws, however, were probably not continuously enforced. About 1775 a writer remarked that people had the woods in common with little regard to ownership.¹²⁰

Almost from the beginning of settlement in all the Colonies the prevalence of the stealing of livestock became an acute problem in frontier districts. In 1630 no less a person than the late Governor of Virginia, the convivial John Pott, was found guilty of stealing cattle.¹²¹ The fact that the stock of various owners were indiscriminately mixed in the woods, the sparseness of settlement, and the prevalence of wild and desperate characters on the fringes of settlement were among the conditions that aggravated the problem. The lack of coöperation among the several Colonies in bringing criminals to justice encouraged forays

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 220.

¹¹⁶ Anburey, *Travels through North America*, II, 292; Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, I, 144.

¹¹⁷ *North Carolina State Records*, XXIII (Col. Laws), 60. Concerning regulations with respect to stallions running on open range, see Chap. IX.

¹¹⁸ *North Carolina State Records*, XXIII (Col. Laws), 114.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 676.

¹²⁰ *American Husbandry*, I, 338.

¹²¹ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 145.

across frontiers to carry off stock. In 1742 a Virginia act alleged that vagrants from other Colonies came into Virginia ostensibly to peddle horses but actually to buy or steal great numbers of neat cattle.¹²² In the Virginia act of 1647 it was declared that the stealing and killing of hogs was "a generall crime usually committed and seldom or never detected or prosecuted in this collony."¹²³ The great extent and importance of herding in the Carolinas made the problem the more acute in those Provinces, and later in Georgia. In the back country desperadoes flourished by stealing horses and cattle and changing brands.¹²⁴ In the late colonial period depredations became so serious that the entire countryside was terrorized. In November, 1767, a remonstrance was sent to the legislature, by the inhabitants of upper South Carolina, complaining of lack of police and judicial protection and asserting, "Our Large Stocks of Cattel are either stollen or destroy'd—Our cow pens are broke up and All our valuable Horses are carried off—Houses have been burn'd by these Rogues." The desperation of the inhabitants led to a resort to lynch law and the development of the "Regulator" movement.¹²⁵

The Colonies sought to cope with the problem by the imposition of severe penalties, the severity of which tended to increase with the progress of time in spite of general humanitarian advances.¹²⁶ For instance, a North Carolina act of 1786 provided that for first offense the culprit should stand in the pillory one hour, be publicly whipped with thirty-nine lashes, nailed to the pillory by the ears, which were afterwards to be cut off, and branded on the right cheek with the letter "H" and on the left cheek with the letter "T." Four years later, however, the penalty was changed to death without benefit of clergy, as the previous penalties had been found insufficient.¹²⁷ A South Carolina law of 1784 provided for death without benefit of clergy on the first offense, whereas this penalty had been applied in the earlier law only to a second offense.¹²⁸ The extreme penalty probably tended to defeat itself, for a Georgia act of 1773 asserted that the death penalty had been found ineffective "because of the tenderness of prosecutors and witnesses."¹²⁹

The specification of penalties, however, would have been largely futile without some way of distinguishing the ownership of stock. It has been noted that early Virginia laws recognized the practice of marking the ears of hogs. In 1650 a Maryland act required that all private marks be officially recorded.¹³⁰ In 1657/8 a Virginia act forbade the carrying of cattle into the Bay (meaning Maryland), or any other "remote plantation" without notice given to four inhabitants next

¹²² *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), V, 176–180, 247–249; VI, 124–131.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, I, 350.

¹²⁴ For instance, see *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), III, 604; IV, 177–179, 284–286.

¹²⁵ Great Britain, *Fulham Manuscripts*, North and South Carolina, No. 72 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); Gregg, *Old Cheraws*, 126–128, Chap. VII; *State Gazette of North Carolina* (Edenton), Apr. 9, 1789; Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina*, 335–337.

¹²⁶ For instance, see *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), II, 141; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), II, 440.

¹²⁷ *North Carolina Laws* (Iredell), 580, 700.

¹²⁸ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), IV, 622. For a particular case, see *Baltimore Daily Repository*, June 30, 1792.

¹²⁹ *Georgia Assembly Acts* (De Renne & Jones), 314.

¹³⁰ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), I, 295, 444; Bozman, *History of Maryland*, II, 360.

adjoining, who must take cognizance of the marks. In 1661/2 persons changing their residence were required to have their marks recorded.¹³¹ An act of 1674 required Indians residing in the neighborhood of settlements to mark their swine.¹³²

The mere registration of marks, however, was no proof against the claim that stock bearing the marks of other persons had been acquired by legitimate purchase. In order to meet this difficulty, the toll system was devised. A South Carolina act of 1705 provided that in selling horses the animals must be carried before a toll keeper, commonly a justice of the peace, who was required to record the date of sale, name and residence of seller and buyer, the brand or other distinguishing mark of each animal, and the price or exchange value. An official certificate showed that the animals had been legitimately acquired. Butchers and other persons killing cattle for sale were required to "toll" them before slaughter.¹³³ A later act provided that owners of plantations report to the toll keeper any stray horses or cattle found on their land. The toll keeper must advertise them,¹³⁴ and on the appearance of a claimant, determine his legitimate ownership. Slaves were forbidden to brand stock except in the presence of a white person, and heavy penalties were imposed for changing brands or for misbranding.¹³⁵ The North Carolina act of 1715 provided that persons killing stock in the woods must produce the hide or head and the ears of every animal. In selling pork packed in barrels, the head must also be packed with the ears on "being well cleaned,"¹³⁶ so that inspectors might detect the shipment of stolen swine. The toll system, with variations in detail, was also adopted in other Anglo-Saxon Colonies.¹³⁷ In Louisiana the branding of cattle was required by ordinance of Don Alexander O'Reilly in 1770.¹³⁸

The relatively small area of crop land in early periods of settlement made it essential to require the enclosure of crop lands rather than the enclosure of the range. The parent of the fence laws was the Virginia act of 1632, which provided, "Every man shall enclose his ground with sufficient fences or else to plant, uppon their owne perill."¹³⁹ A Virginia act of 1640 seemed to reverse the established principle by requiring that hogs be confined at night and have keepers by day,¹⁴⁰ probably in recognition of the fact that fences provided to shut out cattle and horses would not exclude hogs. The act of 1646 defined a "sufficient fence"

¹³¹ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 466; II, 88.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 317; cf. also III, 109; VI, 123.

¹³³ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), II, 261. The registered marks and brands of South Carolina cattle for the period 1695-1721 have been published by Mr. Salley. *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, XIII, 126-131, 224-228.

¹³⁴ For one of these advertisements, see *South Carolina Gazette and General Advertiser* (Charleston), Sept. 27-30, 1783.

¹³⁵ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), 603-606; cf. also similar act in 1762, *ibid.*, IV, 177-179.

¹³⁶ *North Carolina State Records*, XXIII (Col. Laws), 57-61. See also *ibid.*, 99, 112-114; *North Carolina Laws* (Iredell), 72-74.

¹³⁷ *Georgia Assembly Acts* (De Renne & Jones), 313-321; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), V, 176-180, 247-249; VI, 124-131.

¹³⁸ French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, V, 290. See also Fortier, "Old Papers of Colonial Times," in *La. Hist. Soc., Publications*, I, Pt. II, 11.

¹³⁹ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 199.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 228. The act is given in full, in *Virginia, Acts of the General Assembly, 1639-40* (William and Mary Quarterly, 2 series, IV), 153.

as one $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high and "substantiall close downe to the bottome."¹⁴¹ By the act of 1642 the principle was also established that the person whose fences were "insufficient" should have no recourse for damages and should even be liable for any damage (later changed to double liability) that he might do to encroaching stock in driving them from his premises.¹⁴² The act of 1670 introduced an exception. Reciting the fact that "many damages" were done to corn fields by horses breaking through fences and declaring that it was "much fitter" for rich men having the benefit of the horses to enclose them than for the poor to be "enjoynd to the impossibility of every high ffences," it was provided that a fence of $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet should be regarded as "sufficient" against horses, but for swine and sheep the term "sufficient" should be interpreted to mean that such animals could not creep through.¹⁴³ Later Virginia acts defined more precisely the various kinds of fences deemed sufficient and the procedure for proof of sufficiency. There were also detailed provisions for taking up strays and claiming costs and damages.¹⁴⁴ The fence legislation of Maryland followed much the same course as that of Virginia,¹⁴⁵ but there was a tendency in the Carolinas and Georgia to make the requirements even more rigid, in some cases specifying fences 6 feet in height.¹⁴⁶ In Louisiana an ordinance issued by O'Reilly in 1770 required each inhabitant to enclose the whole front of his land and to agree to share with his neighbors the expense of enclosing back lands.¹⁴⁷

The fence laws were not popular among some classes. In Maryland, for instance, the practice of surreptitiously burning and otherwise destroying fences was prevalent, necessitating stringent prohibitive legislation.¹⁴⁸ Toward the close of the eighteenth century there was observable a tendency to change the principle of the fence laws in some of the districts where crops had become more important than livestock. Thus, a South Carolina act of 1785 made it unlawful to allow swine to run at large in Beaufort and Georgetown counties.¹⁴⁹ While the fence laws prohibited an individual from claiming damages from marauding stock unless his fences were "sufficient," they did not require the building of fences, and in new regions settlers frequently elected to assume the risk.¹⁵⁰

The open-range methods of livestock husbandry were favorable to the spread of contagious diseases, and there resulted a good deal of legislation to cope with the problem. As early as 1638 the prevalence of the "murreine" in Virginia was noted.¹⁵¹ In 1717 John Urmstone wrote from North Carolina, "The country

¹⁴¹ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 332.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 244, 458; II, 100.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, II, 279.

¹⁴⁴ See for essential characteristics, act of 1705, *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), III, 279; act of 1748, *ibid.*, VI, 38.

¹⁴⁵ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), I, 96, 344, 413; XIII, 472; XXII, 477; XXVI, 309; *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1704, ch. 41; 1708, ch. 18; 1712, ch. 26; 1715, ch. 31; 1753, ch. 7; 1757, ch. 5; 1760, ch. 13; 1763, ch. 11.

¹⁴⁶ *South Carolina Laws* (Trott), Pt. I, 38; *North Carolina State Records*, XXIII (Col. Laws), 61, 854; *North Carolina Laws* (Iredell), 343; *Georgia Assembly Acts* (De Renne & Jones), 51.

¹⁴⁷ French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, V, 290.

¹⁴⁸ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), II, 398; XIII, 487.

¹⁴⁹ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), IV, 673.

¹⁵⁰ *American Husbandry*, I, 266, 348.

¹⁵¹ *Calvert Papers*, I, 150.

is in a miserable condition; we lost almost all our Hogs and abundance of cattle are lately dead in all parts of the Government, of the murrian and mire.”¹⁵² In 1764 Governor Dobbs wrote the British Board of Trade that the planters of North Carolina had lost nearly seven eighths of their cattle, due to contagious distemper brought from South Carolina.¹⁵³ In 1752 he stated that the practice of annually burning over the range was to kill the cattle ticks, as well as to improve the grass.¹⁵⁴ In 1744 South Carolina attempted to deal with the problem of “infectious distemper” by an act requiring segregation of sick cattle and immediate burning of dead animals. Cattle from infected herds were not to be driven from the plantation, and no cattle were to be driven from the north side of the Santee to the south side.¹⁵⁵ In 1764 North Carolina established a quarantine against infected cattle from South Carolina, prohibiting the driving of cattle into the Province or from one county to another without certificate under oath that the cattle were healthy and that no cattle distemper or infection were known to be within five miles of the place whence they came.¹⁵⁶ Two years earlier Virginia had attempted to impose a quarantine against North Carolina cattle, but Governor Fauquier wrote the British Board of Trade, “I could not prevail on my self to pass the Bill into a Law, as the Trade of the neighboring Colonies is so deeply affected by it.”¹⁵⁷

HERDING ORGANIZATION AND METHODS

Even in long established plantation areas the practice of letting stock run loose, either with or without incidental feeding, was almost universal. We shall confine the term “herding,” however, to that phase of livestock economy in which large herds were maintained as the sole or principal business, mostly migrating from place to place in search of suitable range.

Very early it became customary to establish some sort of enclosure into which stock could be driven in the round-up, and these came to be known as “cowpens.” As early as 1634 the term is employed in a court judgment on the Eastern Shore of Virginia. Cowpens are mentioned in Maryland in 1661, and from this time forward they are frequently referred to in accounts of frontier districts.¹⁵⁸ Sometimes a cowpen was only an adjunct of a plantation. Frequently it was merely a temporary enclosure in the woods into which cattle were driven at the round-up held annually for branding the calves. Occasionally the cowpen consisted merely of the forks of a stream, fenced or ditched across, with an opening for the “drive.” This type was likely to be the temporary headquarters of wandering herdsmen. Sometimes the cowpen was of a more permanent character, resembling the modern ranch, with several keepers, even then known as “cowboys,”

¹⁵² *North Carolina Colonial Records*, II, 279; see also *ibid.*, III, 28.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, VI, 1029.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, V, 354.

¹⁵⁵ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), III, 643-645. Continued and amended, 1745, *ibid.*, 647.

¹⁵⁶ *North Carolina State Records*, XXIII (Col. Laws), 677.

¹⁵⁷ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1331, p. 3 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

¹⁵⁸ Upshur, “Eastern Shore History,” in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, IX, 97; *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), I, 419; Turner, F. J., “Old West,” in *Wis. State Hist. Soc., Proceedings*, 1908, p. 202.

who supplemented their activities on the range by raising small patches of corn and other provision crops.¹⁵⁹ The Trustees of Georgia, for instance, maintained such a ranch at Ebenezer, employing four men "to assist, in hunting, driving, marking, branding, etc."¹⁶⁰

HERDING REGIONS

In eastern Virginia and Maryland during the first half of the seventeenth century, herding proper, as distinguished from letting plantation and farm stock run loose in the woods, was probably precluded by the slow development of the market for livestock, the severe winters, and the menace of Indians. For several decades the colonists were compelled to rely on fortified ranges formed by running a pale across a narrow neck of land.¹⁶¹ About the middle of the seventeenth century herding had become sufficiently extensive on the frontiers of Virginia to cause the herdsmen to seek new range among the abundant pastures and in the milder climate of North Carolina.¹⁶²

Herding prevailed in the early stages of occupancy in the coastal plain of the Carolinas and Georgia. The herding industry in southeastern South Carolina was seriously impaired by the Yemassee War, and probably never fully recovered, for in little more than a decade that section became a plantation region.¹⁶³ At the time Georgia was colonized, unsettled Indian relations in upper South Carolina had restricted expansion in that direction. In February, 1735/6, South Carolina herdsmen were encroaching on Indian lands in Georgia, necessitating the issuance of a prohibitory order by Oglethorpe.¹⁶⁴ By 1757 the available ranges of South Carolina were so overstocked that great herds of from 300 to 1,500 head were being driven into the territory between the Savannah and the Ogeechee, and "kept in ganges under the auspice of cowpen keepers, which move (like unto the ancient Patriarchs, or the modern Bodewins in Arabia) from forest to forest, in a measure as the grass wears out, or the planters approach them, whose small stock of cattle are prejudicial to the great stocks." In the inevitable conflict between herdsmen and planters the herdsmen had the worst of it and were soon compelled to move to new territory. The stock belonging to the planters "draw the bulls and sometimes the calves (the latter if not mark'd are apt to become the planters' property), and as the cows follow the bulls also, great ganges are apt to be mislaid to the pasturage near the plantations."¹⁶⁵ The settlement of eastern Georgia displaced somewhat the herds from Carolina, for the new settlers developed an industry of their own. The Scotch Highlanders

¹⁵⁹ Gregg, *Old Cheraws*, 110; Salley, *Orangeburg County*, 220; De Brahm, *Philosophico-Historico-Hydrogeography of South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida* (Weston, Documents), 200; Logan, J. H., *Upper South Carolina*, 152.

¹⁶⁰ *Colonial Records of Georgia* (Proc. of Pres. & Assts.), VI, 61.

¹⁶¹ Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, 128; *idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, p. 184; Lawson, *Carolina*, 79. See also p. 18.

¹⁶² *North Carolina Colonial Records*, IV, 920; *cf. ibid.*, III, 149; Lawson, *Carolina*, 63, 80.

¹⁶³ Yonge, *View of the Trade of South Carolina*, 6. See above, p. 95.

¹⁶⁴ Moore, F., *Voyage to Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 102.

¹⁶⁵ De Brahm, *Philosophico-Historico-Hydrogeography of South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida* (Weston, Documents), 200; *cf.* Martyn, *Reasons for Establishing Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 223.

at New Inverness abandoned the cultivation of corn and took to herding cattle which they sold to supply beef to General Oglethorpe's regiment. The Salz-burgers also had "great herds of cattle." The Trustees maintained a large herd at their Ebenezer cowpen. On Cumberland and Amelia islands there was "a stud of horses and mares."¹⁶⁶

During the British occupation of Florida, as already noted, large herds of cattle were driven into that Colony. According to Thomas Hutchins, in the neighborhood of Pensacola it was "very common for an ordinary planter to have 200 heads and some 1000 heads."¹⁶⁷ The industry, however, largely disappeared after Spanish reoccupation. Forbes, writing nearly thirty years after the close of British occupation, asserted that the large herds of cattle and horses formerly maintained in Florida had largely disappeared by reason of the frequent depredations of Indians and various marauding parties from American States.¹⁶⁸

The up-country from Virginia to Georgia became the paradise of herdsmen, for the range was much richer on these comparatively fertile soils than in the low country. The cow-driver reigned supreme until the permanent farmers began to drift into the section. In 1776 a list of large cattle ranches between the upper Ogeechee and the Savannah showed herds ranging from 1,500 to 5,000 or 6,000 head.¹⁶⁹ The long whips used by the herdsmen gave rise to the sobriquet of "crackers." Drovers annually brought large herds of cattle and hogs to the seaboard. In the late colonial period stock from the back country of Virginia and the Carolinas, and during the Revolutionary War even from Georgia, were driven to the markets of Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York.¹⁷⁰

By reason of their security the islands off the coast of the Southern Colonies also afforded a range for stock.¹⁷¹ In fact, on the great barrier reef off the coast of North Carolina herds of stock continued to range in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Although all the land was claimed as private property, there were no boundaries or landmarks. Individuals were permitted to hunt the wild stock, and there were semiannual round-ups for branding.¹⁷²

In the third quarter of the eighteenth century much of central and southern Louisiana became an important herding region. It is probable that this development was due largely to the Acadians who came to the Province in 1765. An interesting contract made between a colony of Acadians and a Captain Daute-rive is preserved. The latter undertook to furnish each Acadian family with five cows with their calves and one bull. During the first year he agreed to run the risk of any losses that might occur, replacing any cattle that died. At the

¹⁶⁶ *Idem*, *Impartial Inquiry* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 160, 182; Stephens, W., *State of the Province of Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, II), 73.

¹⁶⁷ *Description of Louisiana and West Florida*, 80.

¹⁶⁸ *Sketches of the Floridas*, 169.

¹⁶⁹ Letter from Thomas Brown to Governor Tonyn enclosed in the latter's letter of June 10, 1776, in London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/556, p. 667 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

¹⁷⁰ Logan, J. H., *Upper South Carolina*, 151; Gregg, *Old Cheraws*, 110; Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina*, 257; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, VI, 1030; Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 109; cf. Turner, F. J., "Old West," in Wis. State Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, 1908, p. 203.

¹⁷¹ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/540, p. 111 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); Martyn, *Impartial Inquiry* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 182; Bartram, *Travels*, 65; cf. Wise, *Ye Kingdome of Accawmacke*, 309.

¹⁷² Ruffin, *Sketches of Lower North Carolina*, 130-132.

end of six years the Acadians were to return the number originally loaned of the same kind and age and divide half the profits and increase.¹⁷³ In 1770 the potential importance of the industry in the districts of Attakapas, Opelousas, and Natchitoches was recognized by a special land ordinance, issued by O'Reilly, providing for grants of from three fourths of a square league to one square league, according to relative frontage and depth. The applicant must possess a hundred head of tame cattle, some horses and sheep, and two slaves to look after the stock.¹⁷⁴ About the close of the century herding had become extensive in southwestern Louisiana.¹⁷⁵ Robin estimated that there were not less than 300,000 head of cattle feeding on the grass, which grew high as a horse's back, and on cane 15 to 20 feet high. Certain Acadian families had acquired enormous herds, some of them numbering thousands. The herd owners lived a comparatively primitive and simple existence because the difficulties of transport and commercial obstacles prevented them from selling their cattle in sufficient quantity to obtain many luxuries, for the supply of cattle exceeded the requirements for domestic consumption and for the New Orleans market. The custom of periodically burning the range prevailed, as in the British Colonies.¹⁷⁶

The expansion of the plantation system into herding regions frequently resulted in a sort of transition economy, which continued as long as farms and plantations were widely scattered. In the coastal plain with its extensive wet lands, even long after settlement there were large areas of range land adjacent to the plantations. While the labor force of such plantations was largely employed in the production of crops, large herds of cattle and hogs were kept in adjacent woods, swamps, or savannahs by methods requiring but little care except the occasional attention of one or two superannuated slaves. In the Carolinas and Georgia, where the production of stock for exportation to the West Indies was a prominent phase of industry in plantation districts, herds of a thousand head of cattle for a single plantation were not uncommon. Ownership was distinguished by brands. Stock were given salt or occasionally fed at certain places in order to attach them to the plantation, whither they were assembled by the blowing of a horn, or bells were attached to members of the herd to indicate their whereabouts. Corn was fed to hogs in the fall to fatten them for market or for home use. Shelters were exceedingly crude, if provided at all.¹⁷⁷ Sometimes, when the neighboring range disappeared through progress of settlement, planters took up small bodies of land farther west in order to have a legal right to the range,

¹⁷³ Fortier, "Old Papers of Colonial Times," in La. Hist. Soc., *Publications*, I, Pt. II, 18.

¹⁷⁴ French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, V, 290.

¹⁷⁵ Alliot, *Reflections on Louisiana* (Robertson, Louisiana, I), 115; Freeman & Custis, *Red River in Louisiana*, 16; cf., on the industry at a little later period, Stoddard, *Sketches of Louisiana*, 180-187.

¹⁷⁶ *Voyages*, III, 23-38.

¹⁷⁷ Shrigley, *True Relation of Virginia and Maryland* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 7), p. 5; *Perfect Description of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, II, No. 8), p. 3; Alsop, *Character of Maryland* (Hall, Narratives), 347; Purry, *Description of South Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 132; Nairne, *Letter from South Carolina*, 13; *American Husbandry*, I, 337; II, 32; De Brahm, *Philosophico-Historico-Hydrogeography of South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida* (Weston, Documents), 200; Gilmer, G. R., *First Settlers of Upper Georgia*, 178; Bartram, *Travels*, 307-309; Williamson, *History of North Carolina*, II, 216 n.

and there established cowpens as headquarters for stock.¹⁷⁸ Many of these planter-herdsmen migrated to new regions when the range became scarce. In 1733 Governor Burrington wrote that in North Carolina plantations with buildings, fences, cleared land, and orchards could be purchased for much less than the cost of the improvements because of the number of people who had removed "into fresh Places, for the Benefit of their Cattle, and Hogs."¹⁷⁹

While it is not certain that large-scale herding was a stage in the evolution of every community as the tide of settlement moved westward into the Mississippi valley, either herding or the transitional stage of economy just described prevailed at some time in nearly all parts of the South.¹⁸⁰ In his *Historical Sketch of American Agriculture*,¹⁸¹ Professor T. N. Carver has pointed out the similarity in the technique of the colonial industry and the industry in Texas, which he regards as the final stage of an expansion that began in the seaboard Colonies. The Texas industry, however, was largely of Mexican origin, and prevailed for nearly three centuries before the wave of Anglo-Saxon settlement. Undoubtedly the herding industry in the English Colonies bore a close resemblance to the industry in Texas and in other Spanish Colonies, a similarity which is probably attributable to the fact that similar circumstances led to similar adaptations, and to the migration to the eastern Colonies of settlers from the British West Indies, where the herding industry had displaced the earlier cattle industry of Spanish settlers. There were hundreds of "cowpens" in Jamaica and other islands. An English resident of the British West Indies asserted that the common word for a farm was "pen," derived from the time when Spanish wild cattle had been caught by the new English settlers and confined in cowpens.¹⁸² Much of the legislation regulating the industry in the American Colonies, including the fence laws, the range law, and the toll system, had their counterparts in the stock laws of Jamaica.¹⁸³ Indeed, it is not improbable that the institutions of the cattle industry in the West Indies resembled those of the industry of the great range districts of Spain.¹⁸⁴

NAVAL STORES AND LUMBERING

DEVELOPMENT IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

In the colonial period lumbering and the production of naval stores were essentially agricultural industries, for they were carried on mainly by farmer and planters.¹⁸⁵

¹⁷⁸ Glen, *Description of South Carolina*, and Milligen, *Description of South Carolina* (both in Carroll Hist. Collections, II), 249, and 482; Gregg, *Old Cheraws*, 68, 76; *New Voyage to Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, II), 50, 52; *American Husbandry*, I, 337-339; II, 16; Taylor, G., *Voyage to North America*, 228; Morse, *American Gazetteer*, article "Georgia;" Darby, *Emigrant's Guide*, 76.

¹⁷⁹ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, III, 430.

¹⁸⁰ For examples, see Warden, *Account of the United States*, III, 16, 149; Pope, *Tour*, 49, 64; Mississippi, Agricultural and Geological Survey, *Report* (Wailes, 1854), p. 129; Buttrick, *Voyages*, 73; Buckingham, *Slave States of America*, I, 308.

¹⁸¹ Bailey, *Cyclopaedia of American Agriculture*, IV, 44.

¹⁸² Nugent, *Journal: etc.*, 22 n.

¹⁸³ Leslie, *New History of Jamaica*, 167-170 (Gives an abstract of the Jamaica stock law of the period).

¹⁸⁴ See description in Washington Irving, *Alhambra*, 15.

¹⁸⁵ See pp. 152, 157.

After the craze for tobacco production began to be fully manifested in Virginia, the earlier attempts to engage in the production of woodland products for export¹⁸⁶ were largely discontinued for some years. The West Indian market had not yet developed, and the severe competition of the Baltic countries encountered in the English market had not yet been alleviated by bounties.¹⁸⁷ Furthermore, the sections of Virginia and Maryland first settled were not particularly well favored with long-leaf pine, cedar, and other timber suitable for naval stores and lumbering. Indeed, there was but little development of these industries before the middle of the century in either Maryland or Virginia except for domestic needs, although there were occasional attempts to encourage the production of naval stores, particularly when the tobacco industry was suffering depression.¹⁸⁸ By the closing years of the seventeenth century small quantities of tar and pitch for export were being produced in the section of Virginia south of Hampton Roads, amounting annually to about 1,200 barrels of tar and pitch, which the farmers burnt out of old fallen trees. In 1704 the quantity made in Princess Anne and Norfolk counties was estimated at 3,000 barrels annually, though of the worst quality. Practically all of it was marketed in the West Indies.¹⁸⁹

In Maryland and Virginia, and to some extent in South Carolina, the necessity of clearing land during the winter season for tobacco or other crops resulted in the incidental production of small quantities of clapboards, shingles, barrel staves, and other forest products. In 1775 it was asserted, "The woods on a tobacco plantation must be in great plenty for the winter employment of slaves else the planters' profits will be less than those of his neighbors." Some of the plantations in the older regions of settlement were already handicapped by scarcity of timber.¹⁹⁰

These incidental products were exported mainly to the West Indies or to the Azores and Madeira Islands.¹⁹¹ About the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, New England and New York had almost driven the Virginians out of their profitable trade in pipe staves and hoops to those islands, and in 1721 Mr. Byrd informed the British Board of Trade that he had never known of any lumber products exported from Virginia to the islands.¹⁹² By 1744 Virginia was again shipping thither some staves and heading, although the West Indies was the principal market.¹⁹³ Some lumber was shipped from the tobacco Colonies to Great Britain, mainly as a means of filling out incomplete cargoes of tobacco. About 1730 the value at English ports was estimated at £15,000 per annum.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁶ See above, p. 16.

¹⁸⁷ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1693-1696, p. 513.

¹⁸⁸ Neill, *Virginia Company of London*, 283; *Calvert Papers*, I, 191; Bullock, *Virginia Impartially Examined*, 33; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1661-1668, p. 110; *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), III, 511.

¹⁸⁹ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1697-1698, p. 264; 1704-1705, p. 89.

¹⁹⁰ *American Husbandry*, I, 266. Concerning South Carolina, see Glen, *Answers to Queries* (Weston, Documents), 72.

¹⁹¹ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XIX, 540; cf. Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 491-493; *American Husbandry*, I, 228, 302.

¹⁹² Oldmixon, *British Empire*, I, 318; Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1718-1722, p. 328.

¹⁹³ Governor Gooch replying to queries of the Board of Trade, Aug. 11, 1744, in London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1325, V 32 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

¹⁹⁴ Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 163.

BRITISH ENCOURAGEMENT IN THE EARLY YEARS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND COLONIAL RESPONSE

Up to the beginning of the eighteenth century Great Britain was almost entirely dependent on the Baltic countries for naval stores and lumber, and as late as 1703 only insignificant quantities of these commodities were imported from Southern Colonies.¹⁹⁵ Moreover, official reports showed that although the American Colonies had immense supplies of standing timber of high quality, they were greatly handicapped by the relatively high price of labor and cost of transport.¹⁹⁶ In 1709/10 freight from Sweden to London was £3 per last (about fourteen barrels) while from Carolina it was £10 per ton.¹⁹⁷ Another serious disadvantage was the poor quality of colonial tar. Merchants complained that the tar from Southern Colonies was "much hotter and more burning" than that of Sweden and tended to scorch the fiber of ropes. Its inferiority was alleged to be due partly to the practice of employing down timber, knots, and other refuse instead of cutting green timber.¹⁹⁸ In 1705 the merchants who were entering upon the plantation trade in tar and pitch petitioned the Queen to send a person skilled in their manufacture to instruct the colonists.¹⁹⁹

From the beginning of the colonial period the desirability of escaping the dangerous and, from the Mercantilistic point of view, uneconomic, dependence on the Baltic countries had been recognized.²⁰⁰ The British Government had sent a commission to America in 1698 to investigate the possibilities of obtaining supplies, and for some years prior to 1704 had entertained a number of proposals from private interests to import colonial naval stores under special contracts.²⁰¹ Positive action, however, was suddenly stimulated by the exigencies of war and by a Swedish provision in 1703 requiring that naval stores from that country should be carried to England only in Swedish vessels, and largely on Swedish terms. Prices of naval stores in the British market soon rose to fabulous heights.²⁰²

After mature consideration the British Government decided to offer bounties on importation, and in 1704/5 Parliament provided for the following premiums on naval stores imported from British plantations:²⁰³

1. For good tar per ton of 8 bbls., each bbl. of 31½ gals.—£4.
2. For good pitch per ton of 20 gross hundred (net pitch) to be brought in 8 bbls.—£4.
3. For good resin or turpentine per ton of 20 gross hundreds (net) in 8 bbls.—£3.

¹⁹⁵ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1704-1705, p. 344.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 129; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 598; *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, 254; cf. Lord, *Industrial Experiments*, 8, 58.

¹⁹⁷ Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1708-1715, p. 123. The exact weight of the last at that time is not known, but it was approximately two tons.

¹⁹⁸ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1697-1698, p. 265; *idem*, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1704-1709, p. 313.

¹⁹⁹ *Idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1704-1705, p. 680.

²⁰⁰ Lord, *Industrial Experiments*, 1-3; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 42, 393.

²⁰¹ For a detailed account, see Lord, *Industrial Experiments*, 18-41, 61-63.

²⁰² Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, II, 724-726; Oldmixon, *British Empire*, I, 320; cf. Lord, *Industrial Experiments*, 59; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1704-1705, p. 165.

²⁰³ *Idem*, *Statutes at Large* (Ruffhead), IV, 181-183 (3 & 4 Ann., c. 10).

4. For hemp, water-rotted, bright and clean, per ton of 2,000 (gross)—£6. As a further encouragement arrangements were made for the appointment of a surveyor of the woods, among whose functions was instructing the colonists in methods of producing naval stores,²⁰⁴ and in 1713 Parliament appropriated £10,000 to employ skilled people and the necessary utensils for promoting the industry.²⁰⁵

In all the Southern Colonies the production of tar and pitch, as well as the lumbering industry, received considerable legislative regulation and encouragement. The gauge of barrels for the shipment of tar and pitch was fixed by law, and the cooper's initials required to be marked on the barrel. False packing was discouraged by heavy penalties. The dimensions of staves, heading, and other kinds of lumber for export and the kinds of timber to be employed, as well as the quality of tar and pitch, were standardized by legal enactments. Some of the Colonies provided a regular system of inspection.²⁰⁶ Colonial legislation also provided positive encouragement in the form of bounties. Thus, in 1722 and again in 1748 Virginia passed an act reciting the uselessness of pine lands for tobacco and the desirability of their use for lumbering, and providing for a bounty of 2 shillings per barrel on all tar made according to the specifications of the English bounty legislation.²⁰⁷ Several previous acts for encouraging the production of tar and hemp had been found ineffectual.²⁰⁸

The principal activity in the earlier years under the bounty was in New England. In 1704 the total imports of tar and pitch into Great Britain amounted to 61,525 barrels, of which only 872 barrels came from the American Colonies. By 1707 this had increased to 9,358 barrels. From that time the trend of imports from the Colonies was downward until 1713, when the total was only 4,825 barrels.²⁰⁹ As late as 1709 exports of Virginia and Maryland to Great Britain amounted to only 15 lasts and 10 barrels of pitch and tar, and from the Carolinas, 359 lasts and 5 barrels, besides a small quantity of turpentine.²¹⁰ The colonists had not yet learned to make a product of high quality. Naval officials were inclined to discriminate against the colonial product by declaring a considerable part of it unworthy of the bounty, and there was also dissatisfaction with methods of paying the bounty. It is probable also that the hazards of communication incident to the war were an important deterrent, for the volume of imports from the Colonies increased after its close from 4,825 barrels in 1713 to 82,084 barrels in 1718.²¹¹

²⁰⁴ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1704-1705, p. 688.

²⁰⁵ *Idem*, *Statutes at Large* (Ruffhead), IV, 408 (8 Ann., c. 13).

²⁰⁶ *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1745, ch. 15; 1753, ch. 3; 1757, ch. 6; 1760, ch. 11; *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), II, 55-57, 157-159, 216-220; III, 686-690; *South Carolina Laws* (Trott), Pt. I, 100, 119, 148, 290-291; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), III, 148, 254-258; V, 164-168; VI, 146-151, 233-235; VII, 570-575; VIII, 351, 366; *North Carolina State Records*, XXIII (Col. Laws), 55, 352-355, 380, 432, 485, 639-649, 790-801; *Georgia Assembly Acts* (De Renne & Jones), 218-220; *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, II, 238.

²⁰⁷ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), IV, 97; VI, 144.

²⁰⁸ Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, IV, 137.

²⁰⁹ Cf. table of imports in Lord, *Industrial Experiments*, App. B.

²¹⁰ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1710-1711, p. 340.

²¹¹ Lord, *Industrial Experiments*, 66-70, App. B.

Most of this increase was due to the extraordinary growth of the industry in the Carolinas. As early as 1699 and 1700 reports to the Commissioners of Trade had pointed out the superior cheapness of Carolina tar as compared with that of New England.²¹² In the year beginning January 5, 1718, exports of South Carolina to Great Britain included 27,660 barrels of tar and 18,414 barrels of pitch, besides exports to the West Indies and other Colonies of 5,677 barrels of tar and 4,187 barrels of pitch.²¹³ The year before it was stated that New England was also being supplied with tar from Carolina, and in 1719, that South Carolina had come to "surpass all America besides" in the production of pitch and tar.²¹⁴ Francis Yonge, whose book was published about 1722, asserted that in some years 60,000 barrels of pitch and tar, besides "great Quantities of Turpentine," were imported into Great Britain from South Carolina.²¹⁵

In 1719 the industry in South Carolina received a rude check. The great quantities of tar and pitch shipped to Great Britain, far exceeding requirements, had broken the market, and it was found necessary to reexport to Holland. The issuance of colonial bills of credit had caused a number of merchants to discontinue trade with the Colony.²¹⁶ Governor Johnson informed the British Board of Trade that under these unfavorable conditions the removal of the bounty would cause the industry to be reduced to one third of its volume.²¹⁷

MODIFICATION OF THE BOUNTIES AND DECLINE OF THE INDUSTRIES IN SOUTH CAROLINA

A serious controversy had arisen in England over the advisability of continuing bounties which stimulated excessive production.²¹⁸ It was claimed that much of the Carolina product received the bounty in spite of the fact that its quality did not conform to requirements of the law. According to Governor Johnson, this claim was made by merchants disgruntled because of the decline of the Baltic trade.²¹⁹ At an investigation made by the British authorities in 1717, several ropemakers certified the goodness of South Carolina tar, and about the same time a merchant engaged in the naval stores trade informed the Board of Trade, "There is scarce a ropemaker here, but uses Carolina tar, . . . none making objections to it." Necessity had first made the ropemakers use the Carolina product, but it was now found as good as Swedish tar.²²⁰ After fully considering the matter the Board decided to recommend that half the premium be taken off pitch and tar, with the exception that on tar purchased by the navy the bounty should be lowered only a fourth; that the premium on turpentine be lowered

²¹² Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1699, pp. 106-108; 1700, p. 357.

²¹³ Rivers, *Chapter in the Early History of South Carolina*, 109; cf. London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1293, p. 167 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

²¹⁴ Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1714-1718, p. 213; Rivers, *Chapter in the Early History of South Carolina*, 98.

²¹⁵ *View of the Trade of South Carolina*, 7.

²¹⁶ Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1718-1722, p. 22.

²¹⁷ Rivers, *Chapter in the Early History of South Carolina*, 99.

²¹⁸ Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1718-1722, pp. 17, 23.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 22; Rivers, *Chapter in the Early History of South Carolina*, 99.

²²⁰ *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, II, 229; Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1714-1718, p. 214; cf. also statement by Joshua Gee, *ibid.*, 1718-1722, pp. 17, 23.

two thirds; that the premium on resin be removed entirely; and that the bounties on hemp and masts remain unchanged.²²¹ In 1721 Parliament provided that after September 29, 1724, the bounty on tar and pitch should apply only when colonial authorities certified that they had been made in the Swedish manner—that is, from green timber rather than from down timber.²²²

According to Francis Yonge, who as agent of the Colony of South Carolina in London had instructions, and apparently labored assiduously to secure the retention of the bounties and a modification of the clauses respecting quality, the lowering of the bounty was a ruinous blow to the Carolina industry. In the first place, he alleged, "No one knows the Pitch or Lightwood Pine as it is growing, and consequently there may be Twenty Trees prepared and felled as is prescribed by the Method it is said to be made in Sweden, and not above two of them fit to be put into the Kiln." More serious, however, was the fact that the Swedish method required much more labor in felling the trees, and the same quantity of green timber yielded little more than a third as much product as the same quantity of dry timber.²²³

The industry was dealt a further blow by the fact that the acts providing the bounty were allowed to expire in 1724. In 1729 a new set of bounties was provided. For tar made from green timber according to the methods required by act of 1721, the former bounty of £4 per ton was allowed. The bounty on other tar was lowered from £4 per ton to £2 4s., on pitch from £4 to £1 per ton, and on turpentine from £3 to £1 10s. No bounty was allowed on resin, but the former duty on masts, yards, and bowsprits was continued.²²⁴ Thus, the effect of the act was to legitimize the production of common tar, but at a considerably lower bounty.²²⁵ Evidently production continued largely on the basis of the crude labor-saving methods. In 1731 it was declared that the price of Carolina tar in London was so low (1,000 barrels clearing the planter scarcely 20 shillings sterling) that the planters were "generally resolved to make no more." The low price was largely attributed to inferior quality due to the practice of making fires too hot in order to make a larger quantity.²²⁶ In 1770 it was suggested that officers be appointed in North Carolina to see that the tar was "properly burned." Much of the product was "adulterated and bad," and not one-twentieth was worth the bounty.²²⁷

The South Carolina industry never fully recovered from these discouragements, and the rice industry and later indigo absorbed a large proportion of the productive resources of the Colony. By 1731 shipments from Charleston comprised only 10,754 barrels of pitch, 2,063 barrels of tar, and 1,159 barrels of

²²¹ Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioner for Trade and Plantations*, 1718-1722, p. 18.

²²² *Idem*, *Statutes at Large* (Ruffhead), V, 368 (8 Geo. I, c. 12).

²²³ South Carolina, *Council Journals*, 1722, pp. 119-120; 1723, p. 172 (Manuscript in South Carolina State Library, Columbia); Yonge, *View of the Trade of South Carolina*, 8; cf. Lord, *Industrial Experiments*, 75-83.

²²⁴ Great Britain, *Statutes at Large* (Ruffhead), V, 715-717 (2 Geo. II, c. 35).

²²⁵ The provisions for these bounties were continued by 16 Geo. II, c. 25; 24 Geo. II, c. 52; 25 Geo. II, c. 35; 32 Geo. II, c. 23; 6 Geo. III, c. 44; 14 Geo. III, c. 86; (*ibid.*, VI, 507; VII, 402, 437; VIII, 359; X, 253; XII, 196).

²²⁶ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, IV, 5.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, VIII, 187-189.

turpentine. In 1740 the output was about the same. By 1748 exports of pitch had fallen to 5,521 barrels. The Carolinians evidently were still clinging mainly to their ancient method of tar production, for the list of exports included 2,784 barrels of "common" tar and 291 of "green" tar. There were also 97 barrels of resin, 2,397 barrels of turpentine, and small quantities of oil of turpentine.²²⁸ This was probably an off year. From 1749-50 to 1754-55 inclusive exports of naval stores from Charleston averaged about 20,000 barrels. They declined considerably during the Seven Years' War, but in the three years 1763-64 to 1765-66 inclusive had recovered to the point of averaging about 14,000 barrels.²²⁹ Apparently also pitch and turpentine had come to have a greater relative importance as compared with tar. This suggests that in South Carolina, as in North Carolina, the production of naval stores had become mainly a woodland industry, and no longer a plantation industry to any important extent, even in winter.²³⁰

DEVELOPMENT IN OTHER SOUTHERN COLONIES

As late as 1720 North Carolina exported only about 6,000 barrels of pitch and tar, carried first to New England and thence shipped to Great Britain.²³¹ By 1753, it was later stated, exports of pitch, tar, and turpentine amounted to 84,012 barrels, while exports of South Carolina averaged scarcely a fourth as much.²³² This might appear an exaggeration in view of the fact that in 1764 Governor Dobbs reported that exports of naval stores had "increased" to 36,647 barrels, besides 30,000,000 feet of lumber and scantling.²³³ However, official reports of exports for 1768-69 showed a total of 127,780 barrels. (Table 36, Appendix.) By the last decade of the eighteenth century the industry was being carried on as far west as Greenville and Tarborough.²³⁴

The different course of the industry in North Carolina as compared with its sister Province is accounted for by several facts. Lumbering was not subject to the keen competition of other staples. The settlement of the Cape Fear region provided a feasible outlet to European and West Indian markets. Finally, the organization of the industry was different. Whereas in South Carolina it had been principally a means of employing plantation labor in winter,²³⁵ in North Carolina it came to be mainly carried on by small farmers living in the vast pine forests, sometimes surreptitiously appropriating timber from crown lands. Some of them hired slaves from planters in more fertile portions of the Province.²³⁶

²²⁸ McCrady, *South Carolina under the Royal Government*, 126; Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 227; Glen, *Answers to Queries* (Weston, Documents), 88-90.

²²⁹ For annual figures, see British Museum, *King's Manuscripts*, 206, f. 29 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

²³⁰ Carried on mainly by small shareholders. See below, p. 539.

²³¹ Boone and Barnwell to the Board of Trade, Nov. 23, 1720, in *North Carolina Colonial Records*, II, 396.

²³² *American Husbandry*, I, 347. See statistics, British Museum, *King's Manuscripts*, 206, f. 29 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

²³³ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, VI, 1030.

²³⁴ Washington, *Diaries* (Fitzpatrick), IV, 164.

²³⁵ Yonge, *View of the Trade of South Carolina*, 8; Glen, *Answers to Queries* (Weston, Documents), 72; Oglethorpe, *New and Accurate Account of South Carolina and Georgie* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 50.

²³⁶ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, IV, 176; Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, I, 98; Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, II, 95.

One of the aims of the founders of Georgia was the preparation of potashes from lumber to take the place of the large British imports from Russia.²³⁷ It was soon found, however, that it was more profitable to ship barrel staves and heading, shingles, and dimension lumber to the West Indies.²³⁸ The industry was probably largely a winter activity on plantations. In 1740 it was stated that a white servant during six winter months could earn 2 shillings a day in lumbering, raising food for his support during the other six months.²³⁹ In Georgia, however, the principal emphasis was on staves, heading, shingles, and construction timber rather than on tar, pitch, and turpentine. From the time slaves were permitted in the Province, lumber production increased rapidly. By 1772 exports amounted to 3,525,930 shingles, 988,791 staves, and 2,163,582 feet of timber. Exports of tar, pitch, and turpentine never amounted to more than a few hundred barrels.²⁴⁰

In Florida lumbering was one of the principal plantation industries during British occupancy. In 1766 Governor Grant complained of the illicit trade in mahogany at the Florida Keys "by the Inhabitants of the Bahama Islands."²⁴¹ Under the stimulating influence of the bounties on naval stores, which the Colony enjoyed throughout the Revolutionary War, together with the obstacles to the trade of other Colonies, the industry became extremely profitable.²⁴² In 1788 official reports of exports included 8,121 barrels of tar, 1,979 barrels of turpentine, 320,000 oak staves, 322,300 pine boards, 146,500 pieces of pine timber and scantling, 46,000 cypress shingles, 48,500 feet of mahogany, and miscellaneous minor lumber products.²⁴³ In 1780, however, the governor wrote, "The Planters and Merchants complain since the ports in the other Colonies have been open, that there is a great quantity of Naval Stores on hand for want of Ships to carry them off."²⁴⁴

A table of exports from the Southern Colonies for 1768-69 (Appendix, Table 36) shows that in addition to the production of tar, pitch, and turpentine both of the Carolinas engaged largely in the export of lumber, mainly to the West Indies, consisting of staves and heading, shingles, and some construction timber. The exports of South Carolina were much less than those of Georgia, but North Carolina exceeded both of these Colonies. The trend of the volume of exports of these products remained about constant from 1747 to 1763,²⁴⁵ but in the next three years increased considerably. By 1768-69 lumbering had made noticeable headway in Virginia and Maryland. In the preparation of staves for the West Indies Virginia exceeded even North Carolina in volume of exports, though probably some of the shipments consisted of Carolina staves marketed through Virginia.

²³⁷ Martyn, *Reasons for Establishing Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, II), 210.

²³⁸ Moore, F., *Voyage to Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 106.

²³⁹ Martyn, *Impartial Inquiry* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 187; Habersham, *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, VI), 161.

²⁴⁰ See Table 2.

²⁴¹ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/541, p. 2 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); cf. also *ibid.*, 552, p. 119.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, vol. 557, p. 42; cf. Forbes, *Sketches of the Floridas*, 133; Fairbanks, *History of Florida*, 235.

²⁴³ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/559, p. 469 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 560, p. 100.

²⁴⁵ British Museum, *King's Manuscripts*, 206, f. 29 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

In colonial Louisiana lumbering came to be a considerable industry. The magnificent forests of long-leaf pine and cypress early attracted attention. Where long-leaf pine was plentiful, as in the vicinity of Mobile and Pensacola, there was a tendency to make the manufacture of pitch and tar the principal means of employing slave labor. The transfer of the center of commercial activity to the Mississippi proved a severe handicap to the lumber industry of the Mobile district by reason of its indirect and costly method of marketing. In the fertile alluvial regions of the Mississippi and its tributaries lumbering was a winter industry, supplementary to the production of staple crops and more or less incidental to land clearing. The timber was sawed into planks by means of sawmills operated during the three or four months of high water. Sometimes planters sent their slaves up the river to cut timber and raft the logs down to the plantation sawmills or to New Orleans.²⁴⁶ Sporadic shipments of lumber to the French West Indies occurred during the first two decades of the Louisiana Colony. As early as 1720 Louisiana was exporting lumber, pitch, and tar in considerable quantities. By 1724 the development of the pitch and tar industry alarmed the authorities of South Carolina, who feared the competition of the Louisiana products. Scattering shipments were sent to France, but after about 1735 the West Indies became the principal market.²⁴⁷ By 1734 production of pitch and tar was estimated at 10,000 to 12,000 barrels per year.²⁴⁸ In 1768 it was officially asserted that the lumber trade of Louisiana to the West Indies comprised 80 to 100 cargoes a year, worth at least 500,000 livres.²⁴⁹ After the Spanish took control a market developed at Havana, which drew from Louisiana timber required for the operation of its extensive shipbuilding yards.²⁵⁰

METHODS OF PRODUCING TAR AND PITCH

The methods employed in producing turpentine, tar, and pitch appear to have been fairly uniform throughout the Southern Colonies. Turpentine was gathered by cutting incisions in the bark of long-leaf pine trees, reaching from about the height of a man and meeting in a point near the bottom. A plank or trough conducted the liquid to buckets. The bark was stripped off a part of the tree next the sun in order to stimulate the flow of liquid. Later it became customary to cut a "box" in the trunk where the incisions met and allow the liquid to collect in these boxes. The turpentine was collected by slaves at the rate of about 2 barrels per day. A thousand trees would yield about 2½ barrels of turpentine, and it might be gathered once every 14 days until frost. Oil of turpentine was

²⁴⁶ France, AC, B 95, f. 338 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 184, 284, 385; Gordon, H., *Journal* (Mereness, Travels), 485; *Memorial of the Merchants and Planters of Louisiana, etc.*, 1768 (French, Hist. Collections, V), 220 n.; Pittman, *European Settlements on the Mississippi*, 23; Baudry des Lozières, *Voyage à la Louisiane*, 27; Dubroca, *L'itinéraire des Français dans la Louisiane*, 95; Robin, *Voyages*, II, 233; Hutchins, *Description of Louisiana and West Florida*, 38; Dumont, *Mémoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, I, 67.

²⁴⁷ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 161, 367-376, 378, 381, 447; *Present State of the Country and Inhabitants of Louisiana*, 10.

²⁴⁸ France, AC, B 61, f. 650 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

²⁴⁹ Louisiana, *Decree of the Superior Council*, 1768 (French, Hist. Collections, V), 167 n.

²⁵⁰ Baudry des Lozières, *Voyage à la Louisiane*, 219; cf. *ibid.*, 218; United States, President Jefferson, *Account of Louisiana*, 40.

obtained by distillation, and resin from the residue. Tar was made by constructing a circular floor of clay declining a little toward the center, with a pipe of wood leading from the floor to a lower pit in which barrels could be placed to receive the tar. On this floor was built up a circular pyramid of pine wood split in pieces. The whole was covered with earth, leaving a small opening at the top for kindling the fire, which was started at the top of the pile. After the aperture was closed, the heat forced the tar downwards to the floor, whence it ran through the pipe to the waiting barrels. Pitch was made by boiling the tar in large iron kettles or in round clay holes made in the earth.²⁵¹

²⁵¹ The above account is based on the following: Nairne, *Letter from South Carolina*, 11-13; Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, I, 96-98; Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, II, 95-97; Taylor, G., *Voyage to North America*, 230-231; Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 140-143; Wynne, *British Empire*, II 296.

CHAPTER VII

GRAIN CROPS

Slow Adoption of Small Grain in Early Colonial Economy, 161. Expansion of Wheat Production during the Eighteenth Century, 164. Extent of Substitution of Small Grain for Tobacco in Tidewater Virginia and Maryland, 166. Varieties and Methods of Production of Small Grain, 169. Indian Corn: Production and Foreign Trade, 171. Varieties of Indian Corn and Methods of Production, 172. Prices of Grain, 174.

SLOW ADOPTION OF SMALL GRAIN IN EARLY COLONIAL ECONOMY

Although wheat and other kinds of small grain were tried out in the early years of all the Colonies, these crops occupied an unimportant place in the agriculture of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. For one thing, the prevailing climate and soils of the coastal plain were less adapted to such crops than were the metamorphic soils and cooler temperature of the piedmont areas, especially south of Virginia and Maryland. The inferiority of wheat and other kinds of small grain to Indian corn as pioneer crops was another important reason for their slow adoption. Land must be more fully cleared for small grain, while corn could be grown among the stumps and down timber, and even in the midst of trees killed by girdling. It could be planted in hills with the hoe without breaking up the intervening ground, an important advantage to pioneers who owned neither plows nor draft animals. Small grain was much more difficult to harvest than corn, and threshing more laborious than husking. The average yield of small grain was considerably smaller than of corn, and a much larger proportion of the small grain crop was required for seed. In short, wheat was a more expensive food than corn. Various official acts rating the two commodities in the seventeenth century placed the price of wheat at one and a half to two times the price of corn.¹ Moreover, corn fodder was superior to wheat straw as forage for stock.

The relative disadvantages of small grain as compared with Indian corn in pioneer communities were especially serious because of the greater difficulty in preparing them for consumption. Corn could be pounded in a hollow block with a wooden pestle or ground in small hand mills.² Small grain required a more elaborate process of milling, usually justified only by a considerable density of population.³ In the early decades of the Colonies mills were established but slowly. A water mill was erected in Virginia as early as 1621.⁴ The Maryland colonists set up a water mill near St. Marys in 1634,⁵ but in 1639 special inducements were resorted to in order to induce a planter to establish another one.⁶

¹ Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 171 n.; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 380; II, 206. See below, pp. 174-176.

² Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 116.

³ Browne, W. H., *Maryland, the History of a Palatinate*, 163.

⁴ Neill, *Virginia Company of London*, 283.

⁵ Hall, C. C., *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 76.

⁶ *Calvert Papers*, I, 174; Bozman, *History of Maryland*, II, 156.

As late as 1649 Virginia had but four wind mills and five water mills.⁷ Even as late as 1692 it was stated that the lack of water mills in Maryland was the reason why cultivation of small grain was "but coldly prosecuted."⁸ Before the close of the colonial period flour mills were numerous in Maryland and Virginia. Within twelve miles of the location of a proposed new mill in Tidewater Virginia twenty-three other mills were counted.⁹ Colonial mills were public utilities, and provision was made for permitting the exercise of the power of expropriation in order to make available suitable sites.¹⁰ The millers' function was considered so important that they were exempted from military duty.¹¹ They were required to grind grain in turn as it was offered, to grind it "well and sufficiently," and to employ standard measures,¹² the tolls being fixed by statute. Up to 1671 the Virginia law specified one sixth of any kind of grain, but thereafter it was one sixth of the corn and one eighth of the wheat. Apparently, this rule became general in the Southern Colonies.¹³

After the earliest years of pioneering in each community had resulted in the clearing of land sufficient for the production of small grain, the provision of toll mills, and the support of draft animals, wheat began to be grown by the more prosperous classes to diversify their diet. Barley was produced in small quantities to supply malt, and the other kinds of small grain for various purposes. By 1649 in Virginia there were "neer upon a hundred and fifty Plowers with many brave yoak of Oxen," and "many hundred Acres of Wheat, as good, and faire, as any in the world." The Virginians produced oats, rye, and "plenty of Barley" and made "excellent Mault," having "Six publike Brewhouses."¹⁴ Throughout the seventeenth century and the early years of the eighteenth, however, wheat and other kinds of small grain were grown mainly for home use. In 1686 a Huguenot traveller in Virginia reported that plows were but little employed and that "the peasants" made "only a few bushels of wheat on each plantation, intending it for pastry, because of the great abundance of venison and apples."¹⁵

Years of unusually abundant crops permitted the exportation of small quantities of grain, mainly to the West Indies.¹⁶ On the other hand, in years of severe shortage Virginia and Maryland were dependent on grain from other Colonies and were compelled to restrict its exportation. In Virginia serious shortages, partly relieved by purchase from the Indians, occurred in 1630 and

⁷ *Perfect Description of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, II, No. 8), p. 5.

⁸ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XIII, 534. See also *ibid.*, II, 211-214.

⁹ Carter, R., *Letter Book* (William and Mary Quarterly, XI), 245.

¹⁰ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XIII, 534; XXXVIII, 32; (Coun. Proc.), VIII, 499; *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1669, ch. 8; 1676, ch. 2; 1692, ch. 70; 1694, ch. 32; 1699, ch. 40; 1704, ch. 16; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), II, 260; V, 359; VI, 55-57; *North Carolina State Records*, XXIII (Col. Laws), 48.

¹¹ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), V, 17, 22; VII, 100.

¹² *Ibid.*, II, 127, 242; III, 402.

¹³ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXVI, 231; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 301, 348, 485; II, 127, 242, 286; *North Carolina State Records*, XXIII (Col. Laws), 49.

¹⁴ *Perfect Description of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, II, No. 8), pp. 3, 14; Shrigley, *True Relation of Virginia and Maryland* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 7), p. 5; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1696-1697, p. 642.

¹⁵ Durand, *Frenchman in Virginia*, 106, 108; cf. Vries, *Voyages*, 183; Williams, E., *Virginia . . . Richly and Truly Valued* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 11), p. 12; Danckaerts & Sluyter, *Journal*, I, 216-218; Tyson, "Settlement of Ellicott's Mills," in Md. Hist. Soc., *Fund Publications*, No. 4, p. 3.

¹⁶ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1696-1697, p. 642; 1708-1709, p. 484.

1636.¹⁷ In 1647 exports of English and Indian corn were specifically forbidden, and it was found necessary to fix prices and to prohibit engrossing. In Maryland also proclamations by the governor forbade the exportation of corn, and similar action was necessary in 1652.¹⁸ The great storm of 1667 destroyed such large quantities of stored grain that exports of grain and pulse from Virginia were forbidden except provisioning of vessels or shipment to Maryland to relieve the scarcity in that Colony. In Virginia Bacon's Rebellion resulted in prohibition of exportation of corn and provisions, and similar action was taken by Maryland in 1674, 1675, and 1678.¹⁹ In 1681, 1683, 1684, 1690, and 1695, Maryland prohibited the exportation of Indian corn and English grain, as well as other provisions.²⁰ In 1699 two successive years of unseasonable weather had reduced the supply of Indian corn so greatly that exportation was forbidden by Virginia until the following December. Later the provisions of the act were continued until 1705.²¹

While such shortages gradually became less frequent during the eighteenth century, they were of occasional occurrence. In 1706 Robert Quarry asserted that the tobacco fleet had been compelled to provision in Pennsylvania, and he spoke approvingly of the dependence of the sugar and tobacco Colonies on Pennsylvania, which enabled them to concentrate on the production of staples. Shortage of all kinds of grain in 1709 led to prohibition of exports of Indian corn from Virginia. Similar action was taken by Maryland in 1714.²² Finally, in 1727, a general Virginia act gave authority to the governor to prohibit the exportation of corn, grain, flour, meal, or peas by proclamation whenever necessary.²³ In Maryland scarcity of Indian corn in 1724 and 1728 led to prohibition of exportation and suspension of existing restrictions on importations.²⁴ By reason of a great drouth in 1737 exportation of grain, flour, and bread was again forbidden by Virginia and Maryland.²⁵ Even as late as 1742 the Maryland Assembly by a close vote agreed to include wheat in a bill to prohibit the export of corn, but it was not included in the act.²⁶ In the latter part of the seventeenth century and the early decades of the eighteenth Maryland attempted to promote its economic independence of other Colonies by prohibiting the importation of grain, flour, or bread,²⁷ but it was found necessary from time to time to suspend the operation of this policy and to permit or even encourage imports.²⁸

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1574-1660, pp. 113, 124; Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 131.

¹⁸ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 347; *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), III, 194, 293.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, XV, 44, 54, 194; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), II, 261, 338; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1661-1668, p. 500.

²⁰ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XVII, 49, 179, 269; XX, 327; *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1688, ch. 11 n.

²¹ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), III, 185, 200.

²² Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1696-1697, p. 617; 1708-1709, p. 480; *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXIX, 458-460.

²³ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), IV, 221.

²⁴ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXXVIII, 336-338; (Coun. Proc.), XXV, 491; *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1724, ch. 1.

²⁵ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XL, 104, 134; (Coun. Proc.), XXVIII, 127; *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1737, ch. 14.

²⁶ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XLII, 324, 326, 328, 392; *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1742, ch. 5.

²⁷ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXVI, 314; XXX, 226; XXXVIII, 182.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, XXIV, 185; XXVII, 482; XXXV, 56; XXXVI, 275; *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1709, ch. 11.

EXPANSION OF WHEAT PRODUCTION DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

About the beginning of the eighteenth century Maryland and Virginia had a trade in provisions to the West Indies, which was sufficiently considerable to cause the inhabitants of the former Province to protest in 1697 against the proprietary requirement that all exports be sent first either to New England or to Newfoundland.²⁹ It is probable that corn and barrelled meat were more important than wheat, for in 1707 a report on Virginia trade to the West Indies did not mention wheat, although the shipment of flour to South Carolina was mentioned.³⁰

The last six decades of the eighteenth century witnessed a distinct expansion in the production of small grain for export. In 1742 Lieutenant-Governor Gooch, of Virginia, reported annual shipments of about 20,000 bushels to Portugal and Madeira, and "some bread and flour" to the West Indies.³¹ In the same year Maryland was sending "a Vessel or two in a year to the Maderas Loaded with Wheat, Indian Corn Bread flower, and Staves, . . . an inconsiderable Quantity of Wheat and Lumber sent to Lisbon and that but Seldom and sometimes a Vessel to Ireland which carrys Wheat and Lumber thither."³² By 1753 Maryland was exporting a total of 110,567 bushels of wheat and 6,327 barrels of bread and flour.³³ An itemized list of exports from January 5, 1768 to January 5, 1769 showed a total of 196,786 bushels of wheat, and 19,016 barrels and 899 tons of bread and flour, while Virginia was exporting 183,261 bushels of wheat, and 12,440 barrels and 216 tons of bread and flour.³⁴ At the outbreak of the Revolution the annual wheat exports of Virginia and Maryland were estimated at 40,000 quarters.³⁵

In part this expansion was made possible by the development of new market outlets. In the early part of the colonial period England had afforded no practicable market for colonial grain. Philip Alexander Bruce has shown that in the period of the Virginia Company the price of grain in the mother country was not high enough to justify the costs of exporting it from Virginia.³⁶ In 1649 Bullock, whose pamphlet was designed to encourage immigration, tried to show the possibility of producing wheat for the English market, although he admitted that in common opinion sending wheat to England was like "sending Sugar to Barbado's."³⁷ England was still largely self-sufficing as to food, although markets had not become nation-wide. Some districts might have a surplus of grain for foreign export while others were in want, but there was no important regular surplus for export, nor was grain imported regularly in large volume. There were duties on imports, which were relaxed in years of serious scarcity; and under Elizabeth a more liberal policy of permitting exports in periods of abun-

²⁹ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XXIII, 267-269; Hartwell, Blair, & Chilton, *Present State of Virginia and the College*, 4.

³⁰ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1316, O 25 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

³¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 1325, No. 32. See also *ibid.*, vol. 1327, pp. 172, 239.

³² *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XXVIII, 469.

³³ Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province*, 125.

³⁴ British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts*, 15485, pp. 4-10, 19 (Transcripts, Library of Congress). Fractional quantities omitted.

³⁵ *American Husbandry*, I, 256.

³⁶ *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 254-259.

³⁷ *Virginia Impartially Examined*, 39-41.

dance, but subject to export duties, had been developed.³⁸ Grain production gradually increased under the Stuart policy of encouraging arable farming. The Civil Wars resulted in temporary scarcity; but by 1663 all restrictions on exportation of corn were removed, and in 1689 the policy of granting a bounty on exports was begun.³⁹ This tended to stimulate the growth of sufficient grain for domestic consumption even in unfavorable seasons and for exportation in years of abundance. In 1695 Sir Francis Brewster wrote, "We often see Corn so Cheap, that the Farmers are broke by it."⁴⁰ Seven years later he asserted that England exported wheat under the bounty in good years but in lean years was forced to import.⁴¹

With the increase of population in the latter half of the eighteenth century England found herself drifting more and more toward dependence on imports, especially in years of small crops. The War of the Austrian Succession led to requirements that colonial grain be sent exclusively to Great Britain and Ireland. In 1748, on consideration of a petition from Maryland, the privy council advised the King that the emergency no longer existed and that the colonists should be permitted again to export grain to the Madeiras and friendly European countries.⁴² In 1755, 1758, and 1766 it was found necessary to pass emergency legislation, which included relaxation of the duty on imports from America.⁴³ Beginning with 1773, additional encouragements were provided for grain imports, and henceforth England became increasingly dependent on foreign supplies.⁴⁴ By 1795 it had been found necessary to change from a policy of permitting imports at low rates of duty in years of high prices and giving bounties on exports in years of low prices to a policy of restricting exports and paying bounties on imports in years of high prices.⁴⁵

There was some exportation of grain to England from the Colonies even as early as the middle of the eighteenth century.⁴⁶ In 1757 Governor Dinwiddie wrote that some 50,000 bushels of wheat on board a ship bound for Great Britain and Ireland had been held up by the embargo.⁴⁷ In the fiscal year 1768 Maryland exports to Great Britain included 11,363 bushels of wheat and about 155 tons of bread and flour. Virginia exported 55,059 bushels of wheat and about 119 tons of bread and flour. Maryland reported exports to Ireland of 8,661 bushels of wheat and about 173 tons of bread and flour, while Virginia shipped to Ireland 11,413 bushels of wheat.⁴⁸

³⁸ Cunningham, W., *English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times*, Pt. I, 85-92, 98, 537.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 190, 540.

⁴⁰ *Essays on Trade and Navigation*, 124.

⁴¹ *New Essays on Trade and Navigation*, 54.

⁴² Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, IV, 387.

⁴³ Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 307, 438; *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XXXII, 161.

⁴⁴ Cunningham, W., *English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times*, Pt. II, 707; Galpin, *Grain Supply of England during the Napoleonic Period*, 1-3.

⁴⁵ Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 537; IV, 334-335, 359-362, 493.

⁴⁶ Virginia, *Journals of the Council, Executive Sessions, 1737-1763* (*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XV), 115; cf. also record of sale at Bristol of 3,000 bushels of wheat and 250 barrels of flour from Virginia, Extract from journal of Felix Farley, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XV, 437.

⁴⁷ Dinwiddie, *Official Records*, II, 665.

⁴⁸ British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts*, 15485, pp. 4-8 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

The West Indies afforded a more easily accessible market, although one that demanded more corn than wheat.⁴⁹ In the fiscal year 1768 exports to the British and foreign West Indies comprised 9,577 barrels of bread and flour from Maryland and 8,433 barrels from Virginia. The south of Europe and the "wine islands" provided a still more important market to which Maryland shipped 149,009 bushels of wheat and 9,439 barrels of flour, while Virginia shipped 65,764 bushels of wheat and 4,007 barrels of flour. Both Colonies had also a considerable coast-wise trade, comprising exports from Maryland of 27,753 bushels of wheat and 571 tons of flour; and from Virginia 51,026 bushels of wheat and 97 tons of flour.⁵⁰

From time to time various special encouragements of the wheat industry were provided. In 1657 Virginia offered a premium of 10,000 pounds of tobacco to anyone who would produce and export wheat to the value of £500 sterling.⁵¹ In 1662 a Virginia act permitted an acre of wheat to be substituted for the two acres of corn required by each tithable. In the same year Maryland passed an act for encouraging the growing of English grain, which was continued from time to time until 1676.⁵² In 1688 certain exemptions from taxation were allowed producers of English grain and malt.⁵³ Of similar effect was the agreement in 1717 to substitute an export tax on tobacco for quitrents.⁵⁴ As early as 1694 South Carolina attempted to encourage the planting of wheat, but the act was repealed two years later.⁵⁵ In 1743, as one of the means of promoting settlement of the back country, the council offered a bounty of £5 currency for each barrel of "good and merchantable white flour," up to the first twenty barrels, made in the "Welch Tract" on the upper Pedee river and brought to Charleston.⁵⁶

Various Colonies provided for systematic inspection of flour to be exported. In 1739 a motion was made by the Maryland Assembly to bring in an act providing for the inspection of flour, and five years later such an act especially applicable to Cecil County was passed.⁵⁷ An inspection act passed by Virginia in 1745, amended from time to time, continued for more than a century to promote the prosperity of the grain and flour industry.⁵⁸ South Carolina provided in 1792 for the inspection of flour.⁵⁹

EXTENT OF SUBSTITUTION OF SMALL GRAIN FOR TOBACCO IN TIDEWATER VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND

The increased attention to wheat as a market crop represented partly a permanent movement away from tobacco, which is to be distinguished from the

⁴⁹ Campbell, G. L., *Itinerant Observations in America* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, IV), 35; cf. *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XXXII, 23.

⁵⁰ British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts*, 15485, pp. 9-12, 19 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

⁵¹ Cabell, *Early History of Agriculture in Virginia*, 13.

⁵² *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), II, 123; *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1662, ch. 9; 1676, ch. 2; *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), I, 445, 537.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, XIII, 218.

⁵⁴ See below, p. 383.

⁵⁵ *South Carolina Laws* (Trott), Pt. I, 34; South Carolina, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly*, Jan. 30-Mar. 17, 1696, p. 27.

⁵⁶ Gregg, *Old Cheraws*, 60.

⁵⁷ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XL, 311; XLII, 618.

⁵⁸ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), V, 352; VI, 147-149; VII, 570-575; VIII, 143-145, 511-514; Virginia, *Majority Report of the Committee on Agriculture relative to the Inspection of Flour*, 1857-1858, Doc. 63, pp. 4-5.

⁵⁹ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), V, 215, 290-294.

temporary diversification of crops in periods of low tobacco prices.⁶⁰ These developments were regarded by the more conservative planters with great distrust as a very uncertain innovation,⁶¹ but others considered them a wholesome economic tendency. In 1770 a Virginia merchant wrote, "I say ye article of wheat, a kind of second staple, is a prodigious addition. It will enrich ye People & add greatly to ye value of ye Lands."⁶²

It is difficult to determine the time of beginning and the extent of the tendency to permanently substitute wheat for tobacco as a market crop in the Tidewater. Professor Gould believes that a permanent shift away from tobacco began on the Eastern Shore as early as the decade 1720-1730.⁶³ In 1736 a traveller in Maryland observed a tendency for planters dissatisfied with the oppression of tobacco merchants to turn their attention to raising grain and livestock.⁶⁴ As early as 1735 inhabitants of Cecil County, Maryland, petitioned for exemption from requirements for paying public charges in tobacco alleging that they did not produce it.⁶⁵ Several years later representatives of Eastern Shore counties supported a bill permitting payment of fees in money.⁶⁶ In May, 1744, a bill providing for commuting quitrents received negative votes only from representatives of the old tobacco counties of St. Marys, Anne Arundel, Calvert, Charles, and Prince Georges, and by one representative each of Baltimore and Talbot counties.⁶⁷ From this time the trend away from tobacco was considerable on the Eastern Shore, always handicapped by poor harbors. In 1746 an article in the *London Magazine* contained the statement that because they had been so hardly used by the merchants the Maryland planters "in great numbers have turned themselves to the raising of grain and livestock, of which they begin to send great quantities to the West Indies."⁶⁸

The same tendency was gradually manifested in the older tobacco districts of Maryland and eastern Virginia because of soil exhaustion and of dissatisfaction with marketing conditions.⁶⁹ In 1765 the tendency in eastern Virginia was sufficiently strong to reach the ears of the editor of a Georgia newspaper, who wrote, "We also hear that the inhabitants of that colony [Virginia] intent to give over the culture of tobacco, as it greatly impoverishes their land, and to introduce a species of agriculture that will be a more general utility, and better adapted to the good of their soil."⁷⁰ David Macpherson stated that the quantity of tobacco in Virginia and Maryland "was diminishing . . . for many years before the Revolution, owing to the soil being exhausted by it," and that the planters "had turned much of their tobacco land to the cultivation of wheat and other grain."⁷¹ In

⁶⁰ See below, p. 231.

⁶¹ Tyson, "Settlement of Ellicott's Mills," in Md. Hist. Soc., *Fund Publications*, No. 4, p. 11.

⁶² Atkinson, *Letters* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XV), 350, 352.

⁶³ *Land System in Maryland*, 39.

⁶⁴ Campbell, G. L., *Itinerant Observations in America* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, IV), 35.

⁶⁵ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXXIX, 169.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, XL, pp. vii, xii, 51.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, XLII, pp. xi, xviii, 549, 561.

⁶⁸ Quoted in *Farmers' Register*, V, 83.

⁶⁹ Sharpe, *Correspondence* (Maryland Archives, VI), 38.

⁷⁰ *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), Aug. 29, 1765.

⁷¹ *Annals of Commerce*, III, 569 & n.

1771 Charles D'Avenant asserted that the Virginians had been "discouraged from planting tobacco."⁷² About 1775 Romans declared that the tobacco trade of Virginia and Maryland was "excessively on the decline."⁷³ Another observer noted a tendency for tobacco planters to sell their "exhausted" lands to new settlers for the production of corn and wheat.⁷⁴ Just after the Revolution a traveller in the region south of Fredericksburg, Virginia, noted an inclination to substitute wheat for tobacco.⁷⁵ It is not probable, however, that tobacco was extensively abandoned in the Tidewater before the Revolution.⁷⁶

The increase of wheat production in the latter half of the eighteenth century was probably due mainly to settlement on the piedmont soils. About 1763 Lieutenant-Governor Fauquier noted a shift in the location of the wheat trade. He declared that the number of vessels from the northern part of the Colony were fewer, while the number had increased in the southern part, James River and the town of Norfolk having "almost wholly engrossed the West India and Grain trade."⁷⁷ This expansion of wheat production occurred also in the back country of the Carolinas. As early as 1764 Governor Dobbs wrote the British Board of Trade of the activity of the settlers in the back country in sowing wheat and erecting mills. Several hundred barrels of flour had been recently exported to the West Indies from North Carolina, but the greater part was hauled to Fayetteville and shipped by river to Charleston.⁷⁸ In 1773 Governor Martin wrote that North Carolina farmers were imitating the example of the Virginians and were "going more and more upon wheat."⁷⁹ This tendency was manifest in the tidewater section of the Colony, as well as in the back country.⁸⁰ About 1760 flour mills were established at Camden, South Carolina. Although the flour was at first inferior in quality, it was improved to such an extent that it was found possible to market it in the West Indies by shipping it in barrels so marked as to make it appear they came from Baltimore or Philadelphia.⁸¹ In 1768 a correspondent of the *South Carolina Gazette* wrote that they expected to ship from Camden 3,000 barrels of flour and 1,500 barrels of ship bread.⁸²

The infrequent mention of oats, barley, and rye would indicate that through most of the colonial period they were not widely grown. None of them could rival corn in cheapness and adaptability to pioneer conditions. Wheat was likely to be preferred by those able to afford a more expensive bread cereal than corn. As late as 1775 it was observed that the Virginians did not grow much rye, as their lands were in general good enough for wheat.⁸³ The southward migration

⁷² *Works*, II, 27; cf. similar observation in Wynne, *British Empire*, II, 246.

⁷³ *East and West Florida*, 147.

⁷⁴ *American Husbandry*, I, 230.

⁷⁵ Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 44.

⁷⁶ See below, p. 766.

⁷⁷ Letter to the Board of Trade, Jan. 30, 1763, in Virginia, *Official Correspondence* (Force Transcripts, Library of Congress).

⁷⁸ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, V, pp. xiii, 355; VI, 1030; VII, p. xix.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, IX, 621; also 612.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 669; Memoirs of Josiah Quincy, Jr., in *North Carolina Colonial Records*, IX, 612.

⁸¹ Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, II, 216; cf. Hammond, H., "The Century in Agriculture," in the *Charleston News and Courier*, Centennial ed., 1803-1903, p. 32.

⁸² Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina*, 321.

⁸³ *American Husbandry*, I, 263.

of German and Irish farmers from Pennsylvania in the latter part of the colonial period probably resulted in the more extensive growth of rye in the back country. William Strickland observed in 1796 that the Germans grew rye for bread, and the Irish, for whisky.⁸⁴ By the beginning of the eighteenth century, according to Beverley, the wealthier classes imported their malt, since there were no malt houses in Virginia; the poorer classes depended on various substitutes.⁸⁵ In 1699/1700 reports to Parliament indicated, presumably for the previous year, that Virginia imported from London 174 quarters of malt, and Maryland 348 quarters.⁸⁶ Hugh Jones, however, asserted that a few planters still grew barley and made their own malt.⁸⁷ It is probable that after the planters began to keep fine horses in considerable numbers, oats came to be grown more widely. In 1768 Virginia exported 13,255 bushels to the West Indies and 14,373 coastwise.⁸⁸

VARIETIES AND METHODS OF PRODUCTION OF SMALL GRAIN

As early as 1674 both winter wheat and spring wheat were grown in Virginia, the first planted in September and the latter in March,⁸⁹ although it is probable that the wheat planted in the spring did not have the characteristics which distinguish the spring wheats of the present day. In 1772 it was stated that in North Carolina wheat was sown "in October and November, and some in March."⁹⁰ In 1672 Governor Calvert wrote Lord Baltimore that the Maryland wheat was characterized by smaller grains than that of England. He attributed this to improper soil and sowing at the wrong season. He had recently imported from England some seed of "white flaxen wheate."⁹¹ Shortly after the close of the Revolutionary War Smyth mentions the adoption in Virginia of "Sicilian, or forward white wheat," which he declared was "of the heavy white flinty species," ripening about a fortnight earlier than the common English red wheat. It was found that the Sicilian variety tended to escape rust and smut, and made the "most estimable superfine flour in the world."⁹² About 1785 Washington was experimenting with Siberian wheat.⁹³ He also mentions the yellow bearded wheat as the only one sufficiently resistant to the Hessian fly; the Cape wheat; and two kinds sent him by Arthur Young, one of them called the Harrison and the other a large white wheat.⁹⁴

Methods of preparing the seed bed and sowing small grain must have been exceedingly crude. In 1649 it was estimated that to plow and sow twenty acres of wheat and three acres of flax required the time of two men for eight weeks. If "Dutch" plowing were employed, one man instead of two could do the requisite

⁸⁴ *Report to the [British] Board of Agriculture* (Farmers' Register, III), 263.

⁸⁵ *History of Virginia*, 254.

⁸⁶ Stock, *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments*, II, 360.

⁸⁷ *Present State of Virginia*, 52.

⁸⁸ British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts*, 15485, pp. 11, 19 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

⁸⁹ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1669-1674, p. 637.

⁹⁰ Scotus Americanus, *Informations concerning North Carolina* (North Carolina Historical Review, III), 614.

⁹¹ *Calvert Papers*, I, 272.

⁹² *Tour*, II, 120.

⁹³ Haworth, *George Washington: Farmer*, 105.

⁹⁴ Washington, *Writings* (Ford), XI, 302.

plowing.⁹⁵ Until late in the colonial period it was by no means uncommon to plant and cultivate small grain with the hoe, in hills or in drills. In 1776 Colonel Landon Carter, of Virginia, deplored the degeneracy of the times which had caused people to depend on plows for raising wheat. Solely by use of the hoe his father had raised large quantities of wheat for export; "annually a large Bermudian & many vessels from Norfolk came for his wheat, . . . I myself have loaded a Bermudian carrying between 5 & 6,000 bushels."⁹⁶ In many parts of the South it was customary to sow small grain in the corn fields before the stalks were broken down or the ground plowed.⁹⁷ Colonel Landon Carter sowed his "barley every other 3 foot drill, and spelt between." He planned to sow peas between the barley and spelt. He spoke of "setting out my timothy seed between my wheat hills and oat rows."⁹⁸ About 1775 it was said to be the custom in Virginia and Maryland to sow about two bushels of wheat per acre,⁹⁹ but in 1796 William Strickland declared that nowhere in Virginia was more than a bushel per acre used, and frequently only a half bushel.¹⁰⁰ Just after the Revolution it was customary to soak the seed in "strong salt-lye." The grain was then mixed with shell lime in order to get rid of cheat, darnel, and other weeds,¹⁰¹ and probably to guard against fungous diseases.

About the time of the Revolutionary War Schoepf wrote that wheat in Virginia suffered much damage from the weevil, especially when allowed to lie for a long time unthreshed.¹⁰²

Throughout the colonial period wheat was harvested with the sickle. In 1649 it was stated that it would require three men three weeks to reap 20 acres,¹⁰³ an average of little more than 1 acre a day per man. In 1791 it was estimated that a "good reaper" in Frederick County, Maryland, "cuts, binds, and stacks, about three quarters of an acre" per day.¹⁰⁴ The English officer Smyth claims to have introduced the use of the scythe and the cradle just after the Revolutionary War. He also dispensed with the practice of binding the grain in sheaves; instead, he had the unthreshed grain hauled to the barnyard and stacked there. He also introduced the English method of going over the field with large wooden rakes to collect the scattered wheat. These methods excited the ridicule of neighboring planters wedded to the old methods of harvesting grain.¹⁰⁵

In the colonial period several methods of threshing were employed. By the time-honored use of the flail a laborer could beat out about one bushel of wheat a day.¹⁰⁶ In 1649 it was estimated that three men would require ten weeks to beat out the product of 20 acres, but if it were trodden out or rubbed out by oxen,

⁹⁵ Bullock, *Virginia Impartially Examined*, 38.

⁹⁶ Carter, L., *Diary* (William and Mary Quarterly, XVII), 17.

⁹⁷ Drayton, *View of South Carolina*, 139; Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 44.

⁹⁸ Carter, L., *Diary* (William and Mary Quarterly), XIV, 39; XVII, 14.

⁹⁹ *American Husbandry*, I, 263.

¹⁰⁰ *Report to the [British] Board of Agriculture* (Farmers' Register, III), 263.

¹⁰¹ Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 45.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, II, 44.

¹⁰³ Bullock, *Virginia Impartially Examined*, 38.

¹⁰⁴ Washington, *Letters on Agriculture*, 46.

¹⁰⁵ *Tour*, II, 112-115; cf. Romans, *East and West Florida*, 178.

¹⁰⁶ Carter, L., *Diary* (William and Mary Quarterly, XIII), 159.

it could be done in a fortnight or less.¹⁰⁷ In 1775 Romans, writing mainly of observations in the southeastern Colonies, asserted that to many farmers even the common flail was unknown, long poles or a crooked cudgel being employed.¹⁰⁸ Some of the better farmers constructed a sort of platform for the threshing process. One of these platforms is described as a circular floor 150 yards in circumference and 12 feet wide, with a gentle declivity toward the circumference. A fence was built around both sides. On this floor was laid as much wheat or straw as would make 500 bushels of grain, and a large herd of horses and cattle were driven around and around the platform. By this method it was possible to thresh 500 bushels of wheat per day. For separating the grain from the chaff a riddle having two long handles was employed, and suspended by cords and a pulley fastened to the extremity of an elastic pole. Afterward the grain was run through Dutch fans to clean it thoroughly.¹⁰⁹ In 1774 a Colonel Daingerfield, near Fredericksburg, Virginia, employed a machine consisting of a circular platform about 60 feet in diameter upon which moved a series of rollers turning round a center axle. This machine was capable of beating out 100 bushels a day.¹¹⁰ In 1774 the Society for the Advancement of Useful Knowledge, organized in that year at Williamsburg, Virginia, voted a reward to a Mr. Holiday for an ingenious and useful machine for threshing wheat.¹¹¹

INDIAN CORN: PRODUCTION AND FOREIGN TRADE

Whereas the cultivation of the small grain crops was sporadic and occasional before the settlement of the back country, Indian corn was universally grown from the earliest period of settlement.¹¹² The taste acquired for it in the various forms in which it was prepared no less than its great economic advantages made it the staff of life for high and low alike. According to Marc Catesby, who obtained his information from Colonel William Byrd, certain Virginia slaves who by reason of the temporary scarcity of Indian corn were compelled to eat wheat "found themselves so weak that they begged of their Master to allow them *Indian Corn* again, or they could not work."¹¹³ Indian corn was also the principal grain fed to livestock.

By reason of its importance in the economic life of the South corn was the subject of a great deal of restrictive legislation. So long as the corn acreage was small, the hazard of shortage led to the policy in Virginia and Maryland of compelling the production of a minimum quantity for each laborer and the restricting of exports.¹¹⁴ Apparently the need for the first type of legislation had passed away before the beginning of the last quarter of the seventeenth century. The last Virginia act on the subject was probably that of March, 1662, and in Mary-

¹⁰⁷ Bullock, *Virginia Impartially Examined*, 38.

¹⁰⁸ *East and West Florida*, 178; cf. *Plough Boy*, II, 5.

¹⁰⁹ Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, II, 116-120.

¹¹⁰ Harrower, *Diary* (American Historical Review, VI), 86.

¹¹¹ *Virginia Historical Register*, VI, 218. Concerning the adoption of Scotch machines shortly after the Revolutionary War, see below, p. 799.

¹¹² See above, p. 27.

¹¹³ *Natural History of Carolina, Florida, etc.*, II, p. xvii.

¹¹⁴ See above, pp. 29, 37.

land the act of 1654.¹¹⁵ As already noted, occasional restrictions on exportation of Indian corn and other grain were found necessary in Maryland and Virginia until well into the eighteenth century.¹¹⁶ Early in the seventeenth century small exports of corn began to be sent occasionally to New England or the West Indies.¹¹⁷ Ships that came to Virginia and Maryland relied largely on corn as food for the return voyage. As early as 1619 it was asserted that "Virginia wheat, called maize, is much commended for an excellent strong meat, and hearty, for men at sea, and more wholesome than beef."¹¹⁸ But even in the latter part of the eighteenth century exports were small in proportion to the large quantity produced for domestic consumption. In 1742 Lieutenant-Governor Gooch, of Virginia, reported annual shipments of about 12,000 bushels to Portugal and Madeira, and about 100,000 bushels to the British West Indies.¹¹⁹ In 1753 exports of corn from Maryland amounted to 154,741 bushels, and two years later Virginia exports were estimated at 250,000 bushels.¹²⁰ In the latter part of the colonial period small quantities of Indian corn were shipped to Great Britain, amounting in 1768 to 14,677 bushels from Maryland and 76,599 from Virginia, besides 4,860 bushels shipped from the latter Colony to Ireland. Exports to the West Indies comprised 88,829 bushels from Maryland and 365,879 bushels from Virginia. To the south of Europe, the "wine islands," and Africa, Maryland shipped 103,388 bushels, and Virginia 113,906 bushels. Maryland reported coastal exports of 109,032 bushels, and Virginia 129,786 bushels.¹²¹

Even after South Carolina agriculture came to be built largely around rice and indigo, there continued to be small incidental exports of Indian corn and peas from Charleston, averaging nearly 30,000 bushels per year in the period 1747-1765 inclusive.¹²² Evidently the surplus was not large enough to ensure supply in lean years, as shown by various acts prohibiting exports or other provisions encouraging imports.¹²³ Because of poor communication exports of maize from North Carolina were mainly incidental to domestic supply. In 1768 the Colony exported 7,800 bushels to Great Britain, 64,038 to the West Indies, and 7,545 to the south of Europe and the "wine islands."¹²⁴ It was occasionally necessary to prohibit exports.¹²⁵

VARIETIES OF INDIAN CORN AND METHODS OF PRODUCTION

The native maize of Virginia comprised a number of varieties. In color some was white, some red, some yellow, and some blue. Harriot reported that there

¹¹⁵ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), II, 123; *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1654, ch. 32.

¹¹⁶ See above, p. 162.

¹¹⁷ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, p. 175; 1696-1697, p. 642; *Relation of Maryland*, 1635 (Hall, Narratives), 75.

¹¹⁸ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1675-1676, Addenda for 1574-1675, p. 57.

¹¹⁹ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1325, V 32 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

¹²⁰ Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province*, 125; Dinwiddie, *Official Records*, I, 386.

¹²¹ British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts*, 15485, pp. 4-11, 19 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

¹²² British Museum, *King's Manuscripts*, 206, f. 29 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

¹²³ *South Carolina Laws* (Trott), Pt. I, 292, 341; *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), IV, 1, 447.

¹²⁴ British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts*, 15485, pp. 4-11, 19 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

¹²⁵ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, VII, 225; XXIII (Col. Laws), 388.

were three varieties. Two of these ripened in from ten to twelve weeks, attaining a height of 6 or 7 feet. The third variety required fourteen weeks, but attained a height of 10 feet. The stalks contained from 1 to 4 ears, each with from 500 to 700 kernels.¹²⁶ Strachey asserted, "Every stalke commonly beareth two eares, some three, manie but one, and some none."¹²⁷ It is probable that varieties were also introduced from the West Indies. Thus, the first Maryland colonists brought maize seed from Barbados.¹²⁸ Mr. Guy N. Collins, a student of the varieties of Indian corn, asserts:¹²⁹

"All the recognized seed types of maize, with the exception of the comparatively unimportant waxy maize recently discovered in China, were being grown by the American Indians at the time of the discovery. It may even be said that in the four and a quarter centuries during which the white race has been growing maize almost nothing has been produced that can not be duplicated among the cultures of the aborigines. The most highly developed varieties of the flint, flour, pop, and sweet types are little if any superior to individual types in native cultures, the chief advance having been toward uniformity. The dent varieties of the West and South represent the widest departure from the Indian types. No variety of maize not grown by the Indians, and not under the suspicion of having been secured from the white man, approximates the more highly developed dent varieties.

"There is, however, direct evidence that the Indians of Virginia had originally a variety of maize of a pronounced dent type. In Beverley's *History of Virginia* four sorts of Indian corn are described, two early and two late varieties. Of the late variety he says:

"The late Ripe Corn is diversify'd by the Shape of the Grain only, without any Respect to the accidental Differences in Color, some being blue, some red, some yellow, some white, and some streak'd. That therefore which makes the Distinction, is the Plumpness or Shrivelling of the Grain; the one looks as smooth and as full as the early ripe Corn, and this they call Flint-Corn; the other has a larger Grain, and looks shrivell'd, with a Dent on the Back of the Grain as if it had never come to Perfection; and this they call She-Corn.' "

Guinea corn was also introduced into the South during the colonial period,¹³⁰ probably brought by slave ships from Africa.

The early colonists adopted with slight changes the Indian methods of growing corn. The seed was planted in hills, frequently with beans and peas, 4 or 5 feet apart. Usually the ground was not broken between the plantings of corn except when a hole was made for planting pumpkins, squashes, or melons. When the stalk was about half grown, it was hilled up. For a long time the colonists made little use of the plow, either in preparing the soil or in cultivating it, though plowing became more general in the latter part of the colonial period.¹³¹ Some planters

¹²⁶ *Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, 13. In Mexico the Spaniards found three colors, white, yellow, and red. Martyr, *History of the West Indies* (Hakluyt, Selection of Curious, Rare . . . Voyages, Supplement), 661.

¹²⁷ *Historie of Travaile*, 117.

¹²⁸ *Calvert Papers*, III, 19.

¹²⁹ "History of Maize," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1919, I, 423; Beverley, R., *History of Virginia*, 125-127.

¹³⁰ Romans, *East and West Florida*, 125; Lucas, *Journal and Letters*, 13.

¹³¹ Concerning Indian methods observed by the early colonists of Virginia, see Strachey, *Historie of Travaile*, 117; Spelman, *Relation of Virginia* (Works of Capt. John Smith), p. xcii; Catesby, *Natural History of Carolina, Florida, etc.*, II, p. xvi.

considered the planting of corn on the level bad practice. Toward the close of the colonial period Landon Carter, one of the progressive planters of Virginia, was greatly provoked because his lazy Negroes had planted a portion of his corn crop on the level instead of in the hill.¹³² After systematic planting became general, corn was planted in regular rows at various distances.¹³³ Toward the latter part of the colonial period some thought was being given to the proper distance. Bernard Romans asserted that the hills ought to be not less than 5 feet apart. While some people planted corn only 3 feet apart, this tended to prevent the free circulation of air, with the result that the yield was considerably reduced.¹³⁴ It was customary to plant from 5 to 6 kernels in a hill and later thin to a stand of 2 or 3 stalks. It was also customary to sucker the corn once or twice. Very early the practice developed of pulling fodder,—that is, pulling the tender leaves from the plant while still green and wrapping them in bundles to be used as feed for livestock during the winter,—and this custom became very general throughout the South. It was also customary to cut off the top of the stalk just above the highest ear and cure the tops for fodder.¹³⁵

Whether there was any universal custom in harvesting is not clear. According to Romans, in the Southeast it was customary to snap the corn—that is, to pull the ear, husk and all, from the stalk and throw it into a basket.¹³⁶ The practice of cutting the entire stalk and shocking it was probably employed but little, if at all, in the colonial period. A committee of the Virginia State Agricultural Society reported in 1853 that this practice was first introduced about 1780, in Hardy County, Virginia (now West Virginia), by a John Harness.¹³⁷ According to Romans, it was customary in the Southeastern Colonies to shell corn by throwing it into a pile and beating with flails. By this method, he declared, a man could shell 20 bushels an hour as compared with 6 a day by hand.¹³⁸

PRICES OF GRAIN

Various rating acts indicate that the level of prices for wheat ranged from 2 to 4 shillings sterling per bushel, with occasional extreme variations. Thus, in 1640 wheat was rated in Maryland at 4 shillings per bushel. In 1658, in order to give special encouragement, wheat was rated in Virginia at 5 shillings, which was probably above the normal value. Maryland took similar action in 1662 and 1664. In 1666, however, Virginia rated wheat in payment of tobacco debts at only 3 shillings. In 1676 and again in 1682 wheat was rated in Virginia at 4 shillings. In 1691 in Virginia and the following year in Maryland the price

¹³² *Diary* (William and Mary Quarterly, XX), 174. Concerning the prevalence of the old system, cf. *American Farmer*, 1 series (1820–34), II, 81; XV, 306; Cabell, *Early History of Agriculture in Virginia*, 11; *Southern Cultivator*, IV, 8.

¹³³ Catesby, *Natural History of Carolina, Florida, etc.*, II, p. xvi.

¹³⁴ *East and West Florida*, 119.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 119–121; Jones, H., *Present State of Virginia*, 40; Catesby, *Natural History of Carolina, Florida, etc.*, II, p. xvi.

¹³⁶ *East and West Florida*, 121.

¹³⁷ Virginia State Agricultural Society (Special Committee, N. F. Cabell, Chairman), Report on history of improvements in Virginia agriculture, in *Journal of Transactions*, I, 115.

¹³⁸ *East and West Florida*, 121, 179.

was again 4 shillings.¹³⁹ In a letter written probably about 1692, William Byrd (II) alleged that the prevailing rate of 4 shillings was too high, since wheat commonly sold at 2 shillings 6 pence.¹⁴⁰ Between 1702 and 1715, probably as a result of the long period of war and the interruption of trade with the West Indies, a somewhat lower level of prices may have prevailed, as indicated by a number of rating acts in different years, all at 3 shillings 6 pence.¹⁴¹ In 1723 and again in 1731 the rate was increased in North Carolina to 4 shillings.¹⁴² In 1744 wheat shipped to the Madeiras from Virginia was valued at only 2 shillings, and in 1763 the same. In 1755 it was 2 shillings 6 pence.¹⁴³ Just before the outbreak of the Revolution prices appear to have been higher. In the late Fall of 1771 wheat was in "uncommon demand" in Virginia at 4 shillings 6 pence and in the early Fall of the following year was bringing 5 shillings currency.¹⁴⁴ In August, 1773, wheat was quoted at Baltimore at 6 shillings 6 pence, and the following year at 7 shillings to 7 shillings 4 pence.¹⁴⁵

The other kinds of small grain tended to be rated somewhat lower than wheat. For instance, the Maryland acts of 1662 and 1664, designed to encourage the growth of small grain, valued wheat at 5 shillings per bushel, rye at 4 shillings, barley at 3 shillings, and oats at 2 shillings 6 pence.¹⁴⁶ In 1682 and again in 1691 barley was rated in Virginia at 3 shillings 7½ pence, and the following year at 2 shillings 6 pence in Maryland.¹⁴⁷ The price of barley, like that of wheat, seems to have been relatively low from 1702 to 1715, as indicated by Maryland rating acts of 1704, 1708, and 1715.¹⁴⁸ Oats were rated at only 2 shillings in 1692, 1704, 1708, and 1715,¹⁴⁹ although in 1682 and 1691 they had been rated in Virginia at the same price per bushel as barley—namely, 3 shillings 7½ pence.¹⁵⁰

A considerable amount of material on the price of Indian corn at various times and places during the colonial period indicates that it was rarely higher than 2 shillings a bushel except under abnormal conditions. At times corn fell as low as 1 shilling, and frequently the price ranged between 1 and 2 shillings. There were a few times when great scarcity drove the price above 2 shillings. Thus,

¹³⁹ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), I, 445, 537; XIII, 532; (Coun. Proc.), III, 95; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 470; II, 222, 506; London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1306, No. 32 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 206.

¹⁴⁰ *History of the Dividing Line and Other Tracts* (Wynne), II, 160.

¹⁴¹ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1702, p. 273; *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXVI, 279; XXVII, 374; XXX, 259; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, IV, 292, 920; XXIII (Col. Laws), 54.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, III, 168; IV, 293; Franklin, "Agriculture in Colonial North Carolina," in *North Carolina Historical Review*, III, 569.

¹⁴³ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1325, V 32; vol. 1330, p. 542 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); Dinwiddie, *Official Records*, I, 386. For wheat prices for the latter part of the colonial period, see Peterson, *Historical Study of Prices of Farm Products in Virginia*, 126. Cf. also quotations for flour at Southern ports, in Clark, V. S., *History of Manufactures*, I, 595-599.

¹⁴⁴ Pleasants, *Letters* (William and Mary Quarterly, 2 series), I, 111, 113; II, 268.

¹⁴⁵ *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Aug. 20, 1773; *Virginia Gazette and Norfolk Intelligencer*, Aug. 4, 1774.

¹⁴⁶ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), I, 445, 537.

¹⁴⁷ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), II, 506; London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1306, No. 32 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XIII, 532.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, XXVI, 279; XXVII, 374; XXX, 259.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, XIII, 532; XXVI, 279; XXVII, 374; XXX, 259.

¹⁵⁰ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), II, 506; London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1306, No. 32 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

during Bacon's Rebellion corn was rated at 2 shillings 6 pence.¹⁵¹ In 1717, a time of scarcity in South Carolina, corn brought 15 shillings per bushel in colonial currency,¹⁵² then considerably depreciated. Shortly afterward currency in terms of sterling was at seven to one. In 1720, by reason of a great drouth, corn sold at 50 shillings currency per bushel,¹⁵³ probably equivalent to above 7 shillings sterling. It was at 10 shillings in 1748,¹⁵⁴ but this represented less than 2 shillings sterling. In 1737 there was an extraordinary scarcity in Virginia and Maryland, but conditions were much worse in South Carolina. A number of Negroes died of want, and "nothing but great Misery was expected." Corn in South Carolina sold up to 40 shillings currency a bushel.¹⁵⁵

During the last few years before the Revolutionary War prices seem to have been frequently high. In January, 1771, a Virginia merchant reported that he could hardly buy corn, and that it would sell for more than 10 shillings a barrel.¹⁵⁶ In the late Fall of that year it brought 12 shillings 6 pence per barrel.¹⁵⁷ In November, 1772, at Charleston, South Carolina, it was quoted at 22 shillings 6 pence per bushel,¹⁵⁸ or over 3 shillings sterling. In August, 1773, it was 2 shillings 9 pence at Baltimore, and in July, 1774, it was 2 shillings to 2 shillings 3 pence.¹⁵⁹ About 1775 it was observed that corn and other provision crops had borne such good prices for a number of years that some planters in South Carolina had even found it more profitable to employ their slaves on these products than on rice or indigo.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵¹ Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 206.

¹⁵² *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, II, 232.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, III, 278.

¹⁵⁴ Glen, *Answers to Queries* (Weston, Documents), 88.

¹⁵⁵ *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), Aug. 19-26, 1737.

¹⁵⁶ Letter from Adam Fleming, Jan. 15, 1771, in *Jamieson Papers* (Manuscripts, Library of Congress, [No. 2875 in pencil]); cf. Peterson, *Historical Study of Prices of Farm Products in Virginia*, 126.

¹⁵⁷ Pleasants, *Letters* (William and Mary Quarterly, 2 series, I), 111.

¹⁵⁸ British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts*, 22680, f. 22 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

¹⁵⁹ *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Aug. 20, 1773; *Virginia Gazette and Norfolk Intelligencer*, Aug. 4, 1774.

¹⁶⁰ *American Husbandry*, I, 446.

CHAPTER VIII

MINOR CROPS AND GENERAL CROP HUSBANDRY

Grasses and Legumes, 177. Hemp and Flax, 179. Cotton, 182. Silk, 184. Grapes and Wine, 188. Other Kinds of Fruit, 190. Miscellaneous Crops, 192. Implements and Farm Machinery, 194. Field Systems and Crop Rotations, 196. Soil Fertilization, 198.

GRASSES AND LEGUMES

Throughout most of the colonial period the great abundance of open range and the practice of pulling fodder tended to discourage the employment of artificial grasses.¹ The straw of rice, wheat, and other small grains was employed as roughage, and in 1686 a traveller in Virginia noted the practice of pasturing growing wheat.² The soils of the coastal plain were not favorable without special fertilization to most of the usual meadow and pasture grasses, and the great heat in summer was another disadvantage.

At various times different kinds of grasses were tried in the colonial South. As early as 1635 it was suggested that immigrants to Maryland bring with them "good store of Claver grasse seede, to make good meadow."³ In 1649 rape was grown in Virginia.⁴ About 1739 that versatile woman, Eliza Lucas, of South Carolina, was experimenting with lucerne, which had been tried in 1735 by the settlers at Frederica, Georgia.⁵ In 1760 George Washington was experimenting with it, but found the Mt. Vernon soil not well adapted to it.⁶ About the close of the Revolutionary War Thomas Jefferson wrote, "Our grasses are Lucerne, St. Foin, Burnet, Timothy, ray [rye], and orchard grass; red white and yellow clover; greenswerd, blue grass, and crab grass."⁷ Timothy, which was erroneously claimed to have originated in North Carolina, was grown in Virginia before the Revolution. About 1772 Colonel Landon Carter mentions in his *Diary* that he planted at times as much as twenty acres, sown with wheat or other small grain.⁸ In 1791 it was said to be the only grass cultivated to an important extent in Fairfax County, Virginia, as it was better adapted to the hot climate than any other, and especially suitable for water meadows.⁹

Before the Revolutionary War the growing scarcity of open range led progressive planters in Virginia and Maryland to lay down water meadows and to employ clover and timothy.¹⁰ About a decade after the war, however, William Strick-

¹ For discussion of the range, see above, p. 138.

² Drayton, *View of South Carolina*, 142; Durand, *Frenchman in Virginia*, 109.

³ *Relation of Maryland*, 1635 (Hall, *Narratives*), 98.

⁴ Bullock, *Virginia Impartially Examined*, 9, 33, 61.

⁵ *Journal and Letters*, 5; Moore, F., *Voyage to Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 115.

⁶ Haworth, *George Washington: Farmer*, 91.

⁷ *Notes on Virginia* (Ford, 1894), p. 63. Concerning the question whether white clover and bluegrass were indigenous or introduced, see Carrier & Bort, "History of Kentucky Bluegrass and White Clover," in Amer. Soc. of Agronomy, *Journal*, VIII, 256-261.

⁸ (William and Mary Quarterly), XIII, 219; XVII, 14; Caruthers, *David Caldwell*, 52 n.

⁹ Washington, *Letters on Agriculture*, 51; Lee, W., *Letters*, II, 459; *Times and Alexandria Advertiser* (Virginia), Nov. 24, 1798.

¹⁰ Gordon, A., *Journal* (Mereness, Travels), 409.

land observed of Virginia, "Clover and lucern are yet little known . . . and meadows are more precarious, and less frequent [than in the North]." ¹¹

In the Carolinas and Georgia there was even less tendency to employ artificial meadows and pastures. In 1775 it was stated that the planters of South Carolina never thought of mowing the wild grass of the savannahs. ¹² About the same time Romans observed that the "artificial grasses" found in South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida were the so-called "crop grass;" "nutt grass;" a grass locally known as "black seed grass," resembling "silver hair grass;" "scud grass, vulgarly called Scots grass;" "A species of *Dolichos* lately introduced into Georgia from China although not properly a grass, yet as it thrives to admiration there and yields four or five crops per annum, i think it not improper to recommend, as deserving cultivation for feeding cattle, the more so as all kinds are fond of it." The so-called "black seed grass" made "excellent pasture on the meanest sand we find in this country." The nut grass also did well in poor ground. The crop grass was regarded by planters as a great pest, but Romans believed that they "would do well to consider its excellent quality in fattening cattle, and the fondness all cattle shew for it." He declared it would grow well on the "poorest soils of Florida." Experience had taught the planters "that *sain-foin*, *lucerne*, *clover* and *timothy grass* thrive not in the eastern part of these provinces." ¹³ About the close of the century Drayton wrote that there was but little mowing done in South Carolina. Although there were many nutritious natural grasses, the general preference was for "crop grass or crab grass (*Syntherisma*)." The large demand for hay in Charleston had stimulated the formation of a few meadows in the vicinity of that city. A number of meadows had been developed in upper South Carolina; one consisting of sixteen to twenty acres of bottom land in York County contained among other grasses some red clover, which appeared to thrive. ¹⁴

All of the Colonies exported small quantities of pulse to the West Indies and the Madeiras. ¹⁵ In the trade year ending January 5, 1769, exports of peas and beans in bushels were as follows: ¹⁶

From	To				
	Great Britain and Ireland	South Europe and "wine islands"	West Indies	Coastwise	Total
Maryland.....	5,527	1,860	1,774	9,161
Virginia.....	3,576	5,154	36,074	3,924	48,728
North Carolina.....	20	1,374	1,422	2,816
South Carolina.....	669	3	672
Georgia.....	420	70	490
West Florida.....	52	52

¹¹ *Report to the [British] Board of Agriculture* (Farmers' Register, III), 263.

¹² *American Husbandry*, I, 459.

¹³ *East and West Florida*, 128-130.

¹⁴ *View of South Carolina*, 142.

¹⁵ See above, pp. 46, 58; Carter, L., *Diary* (William and Mary Quarterly, XXI), 18.

¹⁶ British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts*, 15485, pp. 4, 6, 9, 19 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

The practice of planting beans and peas in the midst of corn, adopted in the beginnings of settlement, was continued throughout the colonial period, but about 1775 the probable effect of the practice in reducing the yield of corn was already debated.¹⁷ It is probable that the more widely grown varieties were adopted from the Indians. About the beginning of the eighteenth century Lawson wrote concerning North Carolina:¹⁸

"Of the Pulse-kind, we have many sorts. The first is the Bushel-Bean, which is a spontaneous Product. They are so called, because they bring a Bushel of Beans for one that is planted. They are set in the Spring, round Arbours, or at the Feet of Poles, up which they will climb, and cover the Wattling, making a very pretty Shade to sit under. They continue flowering, budding, and ripening all the Summer long, till the Frost approaches, when they forbear their Fruit, and die. The Stalks they grow on, come to the Thickness of a Man's Thumb; and the Bean is white and mottled, with a purple Figure on each side of it, like an Ear. They are very flat, and are eaten as the Windsor-Bean is, being an extraordinary well-relish'd Pulse, either by themselves, or with Meat.

"We have the *Indian Rounceval*, or *Miraculous Pease*, so call'd from their long Pods, and great Increase. These are latter Pease, and require a pretty long Summer to ripen in. They are very good; and so are the *Bonavis*, *Calavancies*, *Nanticokes*, and abundance of other Pulse, too tedious here to name, which we found the *Indians* possess'd of, when first we settled in *America*; some of which sorts afford us two Crops in one Year; as the *Bonavis* and *Calavancies*, besides several others of that kind . . .

"The Kidney Beans were here before the *English* came, being very plentiful in the Indian Corn-Fields."

Romans declared that cornfield beans and peas were improperly called "pease" in the Colony, since they were really species of the *Phaseolus* and *Dolichos*. Most people used them "like European pease either green or dry, and some kinds such as the small white sort, the bonavist, cuckolds increase, the white black eyed pea, the white crowder, and many others," were as good as European peas.¹⁹

HEMP AND FLAX

The encouragement of production of hemp and flax was the object of solicitude on the part of the British Government, eager to escape from dependence on the Baltic countries and Holland. The naval-stores act of 1704/5, noted above, placed a bounty of £6 per ton on the importation of water-rotted hemp of good quality,²⁰ and in 1721 hemp from the British plantations in America was exempted from duty, the bounty being also continued for a period of sixteen years.²¹ At the termination, however, of the period of the bounty on hemp the act was allowed to expire because "not having in the Course of many Years Experiment, produced any effect."²² Flax, rough or undressed, was put on the

¹⁷ *American Husbandry*, I, 448.

¹⁸ *Carolina*, 76-77; cf. Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 139.

¹⁹ *East and West Florida*, 122.

²⁰ See p. 154.

²¹ Great Britain, *Statutes at Large* (Ruffhead), V, 367 (8 Geo. I, c. 12); Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, II, 724-726; III, 120.

²² Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, IV, 632; Rutherford, *Importance of the Colonies to Great Britain* (Boyd, Some Eighteenth Century Tracts concerning North Carolina), 111.

free list in 1731.²³ About 1764 there was a revival of interest, for it was believed that prospects of production were more favorable. Accordingly, Parliament allowed a bounty of £8 sterling per ton of hemp or of flax from June 24, 1764 to June 24, 1771, and of £6 from June 24, 1771 to June 24, 1778.²⁴ In general, moreover, there was a tendency to exempt naval stores from the operation of the British policy of discouraging manufactures in the American Colonies, but in 1706 the British Council for Trade and Plantations instructed Governor Nott, of Virginia, to discourage the planting of flax.²⁵ One argument for the bounty of 1764 was that the encouragement of the importation of hemp and flax into Great Britain was a means of preventing the Colonies from manufacturing those products.²⁶

The Colonies also provided special encouragements. Maryland offered bounties for flax or hemp, or for both, in 1671, 1682, 1688, and 1695. An act of 1706 permitted the use of hemp and flax as legal tender at certain specified rates in payment of one fourth of all debts. The act was disallowed,²⁷ but in 1723 an act passed the assembly providing a bounty of 50 pounds of tobacco for each hundred pounds of hemp, increased in 1727 to 100 pounds of tobacco.²⁸ Between 1730 and 1740 a number of acts were passed for the encouragement of the manufacture of cloth from hemp or flax.²⁹

Virginia early made the production of hemp and flax compulsory. Acts of 1619 and 1633 required every planter to sow hemp and flax.³⁰ Lack of seed probably prevented the acts from being effective, for in 1661 and 1662 similar acts were suspended and provision made for sending to England for seed.³¹ Acts of 1673 and 1691 required each county to purchase at its own expense one quart of flax seed and one quart of hemp seed for each tithable, who was required in the following year to produce at least one pound of each crop or two pounds of one of the crops.³² Various acts were passed to provide bounties on hemp and flax or on hemp alone, and on cloth or cordage manufactured from raw material grown in the Colony.³³

The Carolinas and Georgia also encouraged the growing of hemp and flax, mainly as a means of stimulating settlement in the back country or as a phase of the policies of economic resistance preceding the Revolutionary War. In the late colonial period North Carolina provided substantial bounties on the production of hemp and flax for export, and provision was also made for the warehousing and inspection of these commodities.³⁴ As early as 1722 or 1723 South

²³ Great Britain, *Statutes at Large* (Ruffhead), VI, 66 (4 Geo. II, c. 27).

²⁴ *Idem*, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, IV, 632-636; *idem*, *Statutes at Large* (Ruffhead), IX, 185 (4 Geo. III, c. 26).

²⁵ *Idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1706-1708, p. 63.

²⁶ *Idem*, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, IV, 635.

²⁷ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), II, 300-302; VII, 272, 304; XIII, 222; XIX, 173; XXVI, 632; XXX, 6, 10.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, XXVI (with appendix for 1714-1726), pp. 84, 564; *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1723, ch. 21; 1727, ch. 3.

²⁹ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XLII, 144.

³⁰ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 218; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 239.

³¹ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), II, 26, 120.

³² *Ibid.*, 306; III, 81.

³³ *Ibid.*, I, 469; II, 120; IV, 97, 293; V, 357; VI, 145; VIII, 363.

³⁴ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, VI, 1036, 1154; IX, 911; XXIII (Col. Laws), 613, 741-744, 768.

Carolina placed a bounty on hemp.³⁵ In 1733 a salary of £100 sterling for three years was voted for one Richard Hall who was to engage in promoting the growth of hemp and flax, including writing a book of directions for their production. Hall was sent to Holland to procure a large quantity of seed.³⁶ In 1744 bounties were provided for flax, hemp, and silk. After the middle of the century the beginnings of settlement in upper South Carolina led to another series of bounty acts and provisions for inspection of the product.³⁷ Georgia provided in 1767 for free distribution of seed to farmers and the publication of special directions for cultivation, and in 1768 for bounties on hemp and flax.³⁸

In spite of the numerous attempts at official encouragement little progress was made before the middle of the eighteenth century in establishing hemp and flax as commercial crops.³⁹ Prior to 1750 they were sporadically grown for home use, particularly in frontier districts.⁴⁰ Interest in them increased in periods of depression, but planters abandoned their cultivation when the price of tobacco recovered.⁴¹ The scarcity and relatively high price of labor, and the inexperience of the planters were probably serious obstacles to commercial cultivation. Governor Berkeley reported in 1663 that for lack of experienced laborers he had lost £1,000 in attempts to grow hemp and flax.⁴² In 1737 William Byrd (II), wrote that he had tried to raise hemp. "It thrives very well in this Climate, but Labour being much dearer than in Muscovy, as well as the Freight, we can make no Earnings of it."⁴³

The occupation of the more favorable soils of the back country, together with the substantial encouragements offered by Great Britain and the Colonies themselves, undoubtedly resulted in much greater activity in hemp and flax production.⁴⁴ In the back country they came to be widely grown. In 1739 Gooch reported, "The common people in all parts of the colony and indeed many of the better sort are lately got into the use of looms, weaving coarse cloth for themselves and for the negroes. And our new inhabitants on the other side of the mountains

³⁵ *South Carolina Laws* (Trott), Pt. I, 404; *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), III, 184. The date is given as 1723, in *South Carolina, Council Journals*, Feb. 9, 23, 1723, pp. 178, 242 (Manuscript in South Carolina State Library, Columbia).

³⁶ *South Carolina Laws* (Trott), Pt. II, 34; *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, III, 309, 312.

³⁷ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), III, 436, 615; IV, 28, 232, 316; cf. British Museum, *King's Manuscripts*, 206, f. 32 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

³⁸ *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), Feb. 11, 1767; Dec. 28, 1768; *Georgia Assembly Acts* (De Renne & Jones), 395.

³⁹ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, IV, 6; *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), IV, 166; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), V, 358; cf. also Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, IV, 137.

⁴⁰ Vries, *Voyages*, 183; *Perfect Description of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, II, No. 8), p. 4; Hartwell, Blair, & Chilton, *Present State of Virginia and the College*, 5; Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1714-1718, p. 218; *idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1706-1708, pp. 382, 760.

⁴¹ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXXIV, 314; Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, IV, 632.

⁴² *Idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1661-1668, p. 316; cf. also *Perfect Description of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, II, No. 8), p. 4.

⁴³ Byrd & Sloane, *Letters relative to Plants and Minerals of Virginia* (William and Mary Quarterly, 2 series, I), 196.

⁴⁴ Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, IV, 633; London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1327, p. 148 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), May 30, 1765; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), VIII, 253-255; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, V, 5; *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), Sept. 10, 1776; *American Historical Review*, XXVI, 739, 743.

make very good linen which they sell up and down the country."⁴⁵ The exclusion of British goods before and during the Revolutionary War greatly increased the tendency. In 1778, for instance, South Carolina repealed its bounty acts on the ground that the manufactures of the Colony were so flourishing that the earlier acts of encouragement were no longer needed.⁴⁶

Hemp and flax never became important items of exportation. The Colonies were at a great disadvantage in comparison with Baltic countries in higher labor costs and in cost of transport to the British market. Moreover, until effective inspection was provided for, there were serious defects in the method of preparing the American product.⁴⁷ In 1730 Virginia exported only 300 pounds of hemp.⁴⁸ In 1768 exports to Great Britain comprised 9 tons from Maryland, 388 tons from Virginia, and 9 tons from North Carolina. Maryland shipped 15,685 bushels of flaxseed to Ireland, and North Carolina 1,734 bushels.⁴⁹ In January, 1765, it was reported that during the past year bounties had been paid in South Carolina on about 100,000 pounds, and that cultivation was rapidly increasing. In 1770 the governor reported the payment of bounties on 526,131 pounds. In 1771, the year of largest exportation, Georgia shipped 5,470 pounds of hemp.⁵⁰

Some farmers in the Southern Colonies followed the practice of dew rotting and others of winter or water rotting.⁵¹ It was said that a hand in South Carolina could care for 4 acres of hemp, yielding 800 to 1,000 pounds per acre, or double the money return of rice or indigo per hand, not counting the colonial bounty on hemp.⁵² Since there was no important tendency for planters to turn from rice and indigo to hemp, the estimate was probably unduly optimistic. An estimate in a pamphlet issued in 1775 for the advocacy of hemp cultivation placed the yield on well dunged land at 900 to 1,400 pounds of clean hemp per acre; estimated at 1,000 pounds and a price of 37 shillings 6 pence each would mean a return of £18 15s. A detailed estimate of expenditures totaled £10.⁵³

COTTON

After the early years of experimentation with cotton it continued to be raised more or less for home use in all the Southern Colonies. In 1695 Governor Andros, of Virginia, was especially active in promoting cotton production; but his successor, Nicholson, reflecting British antipathy to colonial manufactures, discouraged it.⁵⁴ The tendency toward cotton production increased during the long

⁴⁵ Flippin, "William Gooch: Successful Royal Governor of Virginia," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2 series, V, 240.

⁴⁶ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), IV, 428.

⁴⁷ Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, IV, 634-636, 649.

⁴⁸ Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 159.

⁴⁹ British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts*, 15485, pp. 4, 8, 18 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); cf. also *ibid.*, 8133B, f. 141.

⁵⁰ *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), Jan. 24, June 27, 1765; Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 504; Romans, *East and West Florida*, 104.

⁵¹ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), VIII, 363; cf. also directions in *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXXIII, 547-549; *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), Feb. 11, 1767. These directions probably represent British practice.

⁵² *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), Sept. 10, 1766.

⁵³ *Essay on the Culture and Management of Hemp . . .*, 49.

⁵⁴ Beverley, R., *History of Virginia*, 90, 92; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1693-1696, p. 512; Hartwell, Blair, & Chilton, *Present State of Virginia and the College*, 5.

tobacco depression beginning in 1702, although in 1706 Governor Nott was instructed to discourage the planting of cotton.⁵⁵ Just before the Revolution cotton had come to be raised extensively in the various Colonies for domestic use, and there was a further increase in its use during the Revolution, even in Maryland.⁵⁶ Anburey observed that in Virginia cotton had come to be even more generally produced by the poorer classes than tobacco.⁵⁷

Undoubtedly seed from many different sources had been introduced from time to time. Both perennial and annual varieties were grown along the Georgia and Florida coast, although in parts of Georgia it had been found that the perennial tended to die in winter.⁵⁸ Both green-seed varieties with lint adhering closely to the seed and black-seed varieties with smooth seeds were grown. There was a leaning toward the smooth-seed kind—a preference emphasized by the introduction of roller gins, which were employed before the Revolution from Virginia to Florida and along the lower Mississippi, replacing the earlier custom of having slaves separate the seed by hand as a nightly task.⁵⁹ The gins consisted of two grooved rollers operated by treadles. The French in West Florida had greatly improved the machine by attaching two of the roller gins to a large fly-wheel. A boy could turn this with sufficient rapidity to gin 70 or 80 pounds of clean cotton a day.⁶⁰

Legislative attempts at encouraging the growth of cotton were not numerous, for until late in the period there appeared to be little prospect for its commercial production. In 1744 South Carolina provided a bounty of three pence proclamation money for every pound of "neat well cleared and merchantable cotton" exported. This bounty was probably continued until after the Revolutionary War, for cotton was included with hemp and flax in the act of 1778 to repeal previous bounties.⁶¹

Minor attempts at commercial production occurred before the Revolutionary War in Florida, South Carolina, and Georgia.⁶² Dr. Turnbull, the colonizer of New Smyrna, Florida, was greatly impressed with the commercial possibilities of cotton. He established a cotton plantation at Mosquito Inlet, importing gins from Europe. In 1769 Governor Grant wrote that small quantities were being sent to Europe, but people seemed to fear that cotton prices were going to decline.⁶³ About 1775 a Colonel Delagall, of South Carolina, it is said, had 30 acres

⁵⁵ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1706–1708, p. 63; cf. also *ibid.*, 1704–1705, p. 741.

⁵⁶ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, VII, 429; "Beginnings of Cotton Cultivation in Georgia," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, I, 39–45; Watson, *Men and Times of the Revolution*, 48, 53; Mississippi, Agricultural and Geological Survey, *Report* (Wailles, 1854), pp. 129, 141–143; Bartram, *Travels*, 65; Stephens, W., *State of the Province of Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, II), 70; Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 74.

⁵⁷ *Travels through North America*, II, 375.

⁵⁸ Stephens, W., *State of the Province of Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, II), 70; Bartram, *Travels*, 65.

⁵⁹ Watson, *Men and Times of the Revolution*, 48; Anburey, *Travels through North America*, II, 377; Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 75; *Southern Agriculturist*, new series, IV, 161–163.

⁶⁰ Romans, *East and West Florida*, 139–141.

⁶¹ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), III, 615; IV, 428.

⁶² *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, I, 40 (quoting the *Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser*, Savannah, Ga., Oct. 15, 1799).

⁶³ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/548, p. 285 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); Doggett, *Dr. Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony*, 27.

in cultivation.⁶⁴ In the trade year 1768 Virginia exported 43,350 pounds to Great Britain, South Carolina exported 3,000 pounds, and Georgia 300 pounds.⁶⁵ In two quarters of the year 1766 four bags of cotton were exported from Georgia.⁶⁶ Various Colonies also imported small quantities.⁶⁷

Cotton was raised in patches, planted in hills or holes, and cultivated mainly with the hoe. In Virginia it was topped and suckered, like tobacco.⁶⁸ As early as 1728 the "cotton weevil" was reported in North Carolina.⁶⁹

SILK

The attempts to produce silk which occurred in the beginnings of settlement in Virginia were soon renewed. In 1628 instructions were sent to Governor Harvey to promote the planting of mulberry trees, and the following year a sample was sent to the King. From this time until the change in attitude of Great Britain toward colonial manufactures, injunctions to produce silk were sent from time to time as a part of the propaganda of diversification.⁷⁰ Shortly after the middle of the century Edward Digges imported Armenian silk experts, and about 1654 wrote that he had produced eight pounds of silk. Some fifteen years later Governor Berkeley recommended Digges' appointment as auditor as a reward for his exertions in showing the colonists how to produce silk.⁷¹ The period of Digges' activity also gave rise to that interesting pamphlet, *The Reformed Virginian Silk Worm*,⁷² with its extravagant claims that the native worms could be kept outdoors and sustained by the leaves of native mulberry trees, and other native trees, and that Indians could be employed to care for the worms. At this period the Virginia Assembly was not backward in legislative encouragements. In 1656 an allowance of 4,000 pounds of tobacco was made to an Armenian to remain in the country, and several years later he was voted a reward for having successfully produced 10 pounds of wound silk.⁷³ In 1658 silk was included in the list of commodities for the production of which premiums were provided.⁷⁴ In 1662 an act was passed requiring every landowner to plant 10 mulberry trees properly fenced and tended for every hundred acres of land owned. These stimuli may have been tolerably effective, for in 1666 the Virginia Assembly withdrew the premiums on silk and certain other commodities on the ground that successful production had been fully demonstrated.⁷⁵ Secretary Ludwell wrote in 1665 that the planters had made "fair beginnings" in producing

⁶⁴ Affleck's *Southern Rural Almanac*, for 1851 and 1852, p. 37.

⁶⁵ British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts*, 15485, p. 4 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

⁶⁶ *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), May 28, 1766.

⁶⁷ British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts*, 15485, p. 15 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

⁶⁸ Doar, *Sketch of the Agricultural Society of St. James, Santee*, 13; Fithian, *Journal and Letters*, 246; Mississippi, Agricultural and Geological Survey, *Report* (Wailles, 1854), p. 130.

⁶⁹ Franklin, "Agriculture in Colonial North Carolina," in *North Carolina Historical Review*, III, 559.

⁷⁰ Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, 128; *idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, p. 288; 1661-1668, pp. 11, 110; 1681-1685, p. 188.

⁷¹ Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 365; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1669-1674, p. 69.

⁷² Hartlib, in Force, *Tracts*, III, No. 13.

⁷³ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 425; II, 199

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 470; cf. also *ibid.*, 487, 521.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 121, 241.

silk, flax, and certain other commodities, and Berkeley wrote enthusiastically of the "great and unexpected progress in silk." In 1668 the governor sent 300 pounds to Charles II, who pronounced it of excellent quality.⁷⁶

It gradually became evident, however, that silk could not rival tobacco under normal price conditions,⁷⁷ although there were occasional further attempts at its production. By 1672 Berkeley was writing the English authorities urging the sending of skilled silk producers. In 1730 it was reported that 300 pounds of raw silk had been exported from Virginia. Occasionally attention was called to the physical possibility of carrying on the industry, and as late as the Revolutionary War there were those who considered the possibility of silk production a neglected opportunity.⁷⁸

It is probable that the rise of the rice industry tended to divert interest from the experiments in silk production in South Carolina which had been promoted by Governor Nathaniel Johnson. Nevertheless, the Huguenot settlers were interested in the industry, and in 1710 and again about 1716 several bales of silk were reported to have been received in London from Carolina.⁷⁹ In 1722 Governor Nicholson wrote Lord Carteret that he was "greatly in favor of the cultivation of silk."⁸⁰ About the same time Francis Yonge remarked that since the market for rice was distinctly limited and the cattle industry had been largely ruined by Indian forays, silk was the only alternative staple.⁸¹ About ten years later attention was again called to the subject, and planters on the lower Cape Fear, in North Carolina, were planting white mulberry trees and experimenting with silk production.⁸² In 1736 the South Carolina Assembly offered a bounty of 20 shillings currency for each pound of merchantable silk and a further premium of 10 shillings for each pound produced above ten. Two years later an act provided for the management of silk manufacture under the direction of one John Lewis Poyas. In 1744 the payment of 16 shillings proclamation money was authorized for each bushel of silk cocoons of good quality and not exceeding 40 shillings for each pound of "organized" silk.⁸³ It is probable that these encouragements and those provided by the British Government resulted in the production of small quantities of silk in the Carolinas, at Purysburg, Hillsboro, and other places.⁸⁴

⁷⁶ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1661-1668, pp. 290-291, 316, 595, 627; 1669-1674, p. 27. See letter from Charles II, in *Colonial Records of Virginia* (State Senate Doc., Extra, Richmond, 1874), p. 97.

⁷⁷ Beverley, R., *History of Virginia*, 281; Jones, H., *Present State of Virginia*, 130; cf. Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 369.

⁷⁸ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1669-1674, p. 321; Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 159; Hartwell, Blair, & Chilton, *Present State of Virginia and the College*, 4; Jones, H., *Present State of Virginia*, 60, 130; *American Husbandry*, I, 285; Lee, W., *Letters*, II, 364.

⁷⁹ Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1714-1718, p. 158; cf. Hirsch, "French Influence on American Agriculture," in *Agricultural History*, IV, 6.

⁸⁰ *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, I, 233.

⁸¹ *View of the Trade of South Carolina*, 11.

⁸² Purry, *Description of South Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 134; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, IV, 6.

⁸³ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), III, 437, 613; British Museum, *King's Manuscripts*, 206, f. 31 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

⁸⁴ Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 273, 314; *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), July 19, 1769; Stephens, W., *Journal* (Colonial Records of Georgia, Sup. IV), 141; Hirsch, "French Influence on American Agriculture," in *Agricultural History*, IV, 7.

From 1742 to 1755 inclusive South Carolina exported a total of only 651 pounds of raw silk, 118 pounds for 1750 being the largest amount for a single year.⁸⁵ In 1766 a factory for spinning silk was opened at Charleston and another at Hillsboro. Two years later a filature was established at Purysburg.⁸⁶ In 1768 the assembly voted £571 sterling to pay bounties on silk wound in Charleston.⁸⁷

In selecting silk as the most desirable commercial product, the promoters of the Georgia Colony either were unaware of or disregarded the numerous unsuccessful attempts that had been made in the older Southern Colonies. It was argued that the industry would require but little male labor, the work of caring for the worms and reeling the silk being suitable for the efforts of women and children and perhaps for the employment of Indians. It was believed that Georgia would have low wages as compared with Italy because of the cheapness of food in the former, and it was believed that the low rental value of land in Georgia would also confer a great advantage.⁸⁸

For twenty years every encouragement was employed to stimulate the industry. Foreign experts in feeding and caring for silkworms and in winding silk were sent out by the Trustees. A nursery of mulberry trees was established at Savannah. Italian families were maintained by the Trustees to wind the silk cocoons brought in by the farmers. Later two public filatures were erected at Savannah, and two at Ebenezer. Efforts were made to obtain the most improved appliances from France. Books were sent to enlighten the colonists in the art of producing silk, and free instruction was provided.⁸⁹ In addition to these encouragements the Trustees bought silk from the producers at high prices and offered special bounties, which were several times increased. It was estimated that more than £1,500 was expended by the Trustees for the production of 1,000 pounds of silk.⁹⁰ In 1755 the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce offered a premium of £10 to the person planting the largest number of mulberry trees in one year, with smaller second and third premiums.⁹¹

These encouragements were supplemented by various requirements. Each grantee of a 500-acre tract was required to clear and cultivate 200 acres within ten years, on which at least 2,000 white mulberry trees must be planted. On every hundred acres remaining, at least 1,000 trees must be planted.⁹² In 1740 these requirements were somewhat reduced. Even when the Trustees were finally compelled to abandon their long struggle to exclude slavery, they were careful to make the best terms possible for their cherished industry. Each

⁸⁵ Glen, *Description of South Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 272.

⁸⁶ Hirsch, "French Influence on American Agriculture," in *Agricultural History*, IV, 7.

⁸⁷ British Museum, *King's Manuscripts*, 206, f. 32 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

⁸⁸ Oglethorpe, *New and Accurate Account of South Carolina and Georgia*, Martyn, *Impartial Inquiry*, and *idem*, *Reasons for Establishing Georgia* (all in Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), respectively pp. 68-70, 160-162, and 206-210.

⁸⁹ Moore, F., *Voyage to Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 99; *Colonial Records of Georgia* (Journal of the Trustees), I, 568; *ibid.* (Minutes of Com. Coun. of Trustees), II, 420, 449, 480-482, 519; *ibid.* (Proc. of Pres. & Assts.), VI, 373, 389-390, 395.

⁹⁰ *Colonial Records of Georgia* (Journal of the Trustees), I, 339; *ibid.* (Minutes of Com. Coun. of Trustees), II, 420, 428, 487, 491; *ibid.* (Proc. & Min. of Gov. & Coun.), VII, 114; Jones, C. C. *History of Georgia*, I, 433.

⁹¹ Habersham, *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, VI), 9.

⁹² Georgia Historical Society, *Collections*, II, 315.

planter holding 500 acres was required to plant and fence 500 mulberry trees, and smaller holders in proportion. For every four male slaves one female slave must be sent to Savannah for instruction in the silk industry. In the same year membership in the new assembly was made conditional upon the planting of 100 mulberry trees, and after 1753 no one was entitled to membership who did not annually produce 15 pounds of silk and conform to the conditions with respect to slaveholdings mentioned above.⁹³

For the first ten years the industry made little progress. The Italians proved refractory and unmanageable.⁹⁴ In 1739 Oglethorpe was able to send but 20 pounds of silk to England, though he had hoped for "five times the quantity." About 1741 prospects began to brighten a little. Secretary Stephens wrote that he was very much encouraged over the silk industry, estimating that about 600 pounds of cocoons would be produced in the Colony that year, whereas less than 37 pounds of wound silk had been produced in all the previous years of the Colony.⁹⁵ In 1749 the Salzburgers alone produced 762 pounds of cocoons and 50 pounds, 13 ounces of spun silk.⁹⁶ In 1758 the public filature at Savannah burned, but the authorities arranged for the construction of another commodious one.⁹⁷ By 1764 the total product of the Colony amounted to 15,212 pounds of cocoons, of which 8,695 pounds came from Ebenezer.⁹⁸ Exports of raw silk for the period 1755-56 to 1772-73 in pounds were as shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4.—*Exports of silk from Savannah, 1755-56 to 1772-73*¹

Year	Pounds	Year	Pounds	Year	Pounds
1755-56	438	1761-62	332	1767-68	671
1756-57	268	1762-63	380	1768-69	541
1757-58	358	1763-64	953	1769-70	332
1758-59	358	1764-65	898	1770-71	290
1759-60	734	1765-66	711	1771-72	438
1760-61	558	1766-67	1,084	1772-73	485

¹ From table of exports compiled by William Brown, Comptroller and Searcher of His Majesty's Customs in the Port of Savannah, and reprinted in Romans, *East and West Florida*, 104. (Fiscal year beginning Jan. 5.)

In 1839, long after the period under consideration, when Georgia, together with the greater part of the United States, was in the throes of a speculative mania for silk cultivation, a journal established for the promotion of the industry attempted to prove that it was prospering until the Revolutionary War and was terminated by that struggle.⁹⁹ The above figures, however, show that the industry reached its high point in 1766 and thereafter declined until 1771, when there was a slight increase. The chief blow appears to have been the reduc-

⁹³ *Colonial Records of Georgia* (By-laws and Laws), I, 60; *ibid.* (Minutes of Com. Coun. of Trustees), II, 340, 500.

⁹⁴ Moore, F., *Voyage to Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 99.

⁹⁵ Oglethorpe, *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, III), 79; Stephens, W., *Journal* (Colonial Records of Georgia, Sup. IV), 141, 238.

⁹⁶ Jones, C. C., *Dead Towns of Georgia*, 27.

⁹⁷ *Colonial Records of Georgia* (Proc. & Min. of Gov. & Coun.), VII, 792.

⁹⁸ Jones, C. C., *Dead Towns of Georgia*, 28; cf. Morse, *American Geography*, 450.

⁹⁹ *Southern Silk Journal and Farmers' Register*, I, 10-13.

tion in the fixed price allowed by the British Government. The former price of 3 shillings a pound, according to Macpherson, was at least three fourths bounty. This was reduced to 1 shilling 6 pence. In 1769 an act of Parliament provided for a sliding scale bounty on silk produced in America and imported into Great Britain, instead of a fixed price, the bounty to be 25 per cent ad valorem for the period January 1, 1770 to January 1, 1777; 20 per cent for 1777 to 1784; and 15 per cent for 1784 to 1791.¹⁰⁰

As soon as slaves began to be admitted to Georgia the energies of the inhabitants were largely turned to rice culture, for it was recognized that silk was not profitable even at the high official price. It continued for a time to be produced by the Germans at Ebenezer,¹⁰¹ accustomed to an intensive and largely self-sufficing economy. It is probable that the industry in Georgia never made much headway except among this class of settlers. Strobel asserts that the industry began to decline as early as 1750 except among the Germans at Ebenezer.¹⁰² Since about sixteen pounds of cocoons were required to make one pound of silk, and since a large part of the European value of the pound of reeled silk was attributable to the expense of reeling it, the exportation of cocoons was not to be thought of. The reeling of silk, however, in competition with the low priced labor of Italy and the Orient could not be economically carried on by persons who valued their labor in accordance with rates prevailing in the New World.¹⁰³

GRAPES AND WINE

In spite of the disappointing results of the early attempts in Virginia, wine also continued to be an object of extravagant hopes, continuous agitation, occasional experimentation, but small fulfillment. In 1649 it was stated that wine was obtained in Virginia from three varieties of grapes, and it was proposed to import skilled vigneron from southern Europe. A Captain Brocas had planted a vineyard and made wine.¹⁰⁴ In 1658 the Virginia Assembly offered a premium of 10,000 pounds of tobacco for anyone making "two tunne" of wine.¹⁰⁵ About the third quarter of the seventeenth century a little wine for home use was being made from wild grapes; but shortly after the beginning of the eighteenth century it was asserted that all who had attempted to raise grapes and make wine in Virginia had failed, although the newly settled Huguenots at the Monacan town were talking of reviving the industry.¹⁰⁶ Probably the Huguenot example led Robert Beverley to undertake experiments in wine production. He had become much interested in the propagation of native grapes, of which he describes four

¹⁰⁰ *Annals of Commerce*, III, 452, 488; cf. De Brahm, *History of Georgia*, 21, 49.

¹⁰¹ *Colonial Records of Georgia* (Proc. & Min. of Gov. & Coun.), XII, 143; Habersham, *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, VI), 146, 200. Apparently this was counted in the official records of exports for 1772-73. See Table 4, above.

¹⁰² *The Salzburger and Their Descendants*, 129.

¹⁰³ This is recognized in an article from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1756, reprinted in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, II, 40; McSparran, *America Dissected* (Hazard Pamphlets, XLIII, No. 1), p. 5; Jones, C. C., *Dead Towns of Georgia*, 28, 30.

¹⁰⁴ Bullock, *Virginia Impartially Examined*, 8; *Perfect Description of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, II, No. 8), p. 14.

¹⁰⁵ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 470.

¹⁰⁶ Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 470; Oldmixon, *British Empire*, I, 306.

varieties, some very large, and of different colors—white, blue, and black. Of one variety the Huguenots had made some excellent claret, “pleasant, strong, and full bodied.” Beverley had observed that the native varieties were greatly improved by transplanting them from the woods into vineyards, but he declared that until recent years the planters had been content to use them in the wild state, nor had many of them set out European varieties. He himself had undertaken to plant a vineyard on a wager, and from it in one year produced over 700 gallons.¹⁰⁷ His experiment attracted much attention and raised hopes that a wine industry would develop in Virginia.¹⁰⁸ William Byrd (II), also much interested in viticulture, wrote elaborate directions for the care of vineyards and the making of wine, soliciting from some of his correspondents information on various phases of the subject.¹⁰⁹ In 1737, however, he confessed, “Our Seasons are so uncertain, and our Insects so numerous, that it will be difficult to succeed.” He was planning to establish a colony of Swiss on the upper Roanoke river and have them experiment with wine, silk, and potash.¹¹⁰ In 1769 the Virginia Assembly provided for the purchase of a tract of land in York County and a number of slaves for the purpose of experimenting in wine production, but a later act provided for their sale as it had been “found that they have become useless and of no advantage to the public.”¹¹¹

About 1760 Andrew Burnaby noted experiments in the making of wine in Maryland. Colonel Tasco (Tasker) had succeeded fairly well in making Burgundy.¹¹² About 1767 Governor Sharpe wrote Lord Baltimore, asking him to send choice varieties of vines and fruit trees. He was particularly desirous of Rhenish grapes. Sharpe declared that Burgundy grapes did not do well in Maryland, nor any other early ripening variety. The native grapes were of too harsh a flavor, though he was attempting to soften the taste through cultivation.¹¹³

Occasional experiments were made in the Carolinas during the later colonial period. During the Revolutionary War Schoepf declared that almost forty years before, in response to the premium offered by the Colony, a Frenchman near Orangeburg had made a few tuns of very good wine. Another resident, Thorpe, planted a vineyard thirty miles from Charleston under the supervision of a Portuguese whom he had imported for the purpose. He made a few tuns of wine, but the enterprise was later abandoned. In the up-country experiments had also been made in the settlement called Long Canes, where there were a good many French settlers.¹¹⁴ One German was reported to have made 80 gallons.¹¹⁵ The Swiss settlers at Purysburg also attempted wine production. There were fine varieties of native grapes in North Carolina. About 1775 a traveller asserted,

¹⁰⁷ *History of Virginia*, 117, 279; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 471; Fontaine, *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, 265. Cf. also Lawson's description of native varieties, *Carolina*, 112.

¹⁰⁸ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1708-1709, pp. 457, 565.

¹⁰⁹ *History of the Dividing Line and Other Tracts* (Wynne), II, 172-184.

¹¹⁰ Byrd & Sloane, *Letters relative to Plants and Minerals of Virginia* (William and Mary Quarterly, 2 series, I, 196).

¹¹¹ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), VIII, 365; IX, 239.

¹¹² *Travels in North America*, 55.

¹¹³ *Correspondence* (Maryland Archives, XIV), 402.

¹¹⁴ *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 184.

¹¹⁵ Report of Lieutenant-Governor Bull, quoted by Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 504.

"Finer grapes cannot be met with than are to be found everywhere wild. . . . On a sail we took up a creek [Cape Fear River] we found the grapes dangling over our heads in large bunches, particularly a red grape, whose berries are very large." There were also many white grapes.¹¹⁶ Although some of the native varieties were subsequently domesticated, they were not employed for commercial wine production in the colonial period.

An effort was made to develop a commercial wine industry in the early years of Georgia. The travelling botanist of the Colony sent from Madeira a quantity of Malmsey and other well known varieties of wine-producing grapes.¹¹⁷ Foreign vignerons were sent to the Colony, and one of them, a Portuguese Jew of large experience in viniculture, imported Oporto and Malaga vines, as well as other varieties, which he planted in the experimental gardens. He proposed to the Trustees that they lend him £200 sterling to be employed with funds of his own in importing vines and vignerons from Portugal. He promised that at the end of three years he would have 40,000 vines growing, which he would sell the colonists at moderate prices. The Trustees agreed, but neglected to carry out the arrangement.¹¹⁸

OTHER KINDS OF FRUIT

With the exception of Charleston there were no towns in the South affording a considerable market for fruit, and most types were too perishable for exportation. Consequently, with the exception of small quantities of oranges and orange juice shipped from Georgia and Florida in the late colonial period,¹¹⁹ fruit production was not on a commercial basis. The production of the common English fruits for home use early became very general.¹²⁰ The use of various beverages made from fruit, such as perry, peach and other brandies, and cider, was very general. While the wealthier planters imported foreign wines, the masses depended on the various domestic drinks, including those distilled from fruit juices.¹²¹ In the back country of all the Colonies the common English tree fruits grew abundantly. In the coastal plain of South Carolina and Georgia and in Florida it is probable that these fruits, other than peaches and apricots, were little employed after the early period of experimentation, but figs, nectarines, pomegranates, and oranges were commonly grown. In all of the Colonies peaches abounded in such quantities that they were fed to hogs.¹²²

¹¹⁶ Schaw, *Journal of a Lady of Quality*, 175.

¹¹⁷ Martyn, *Reasons for Establishing Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 212.

¹¹⁸ McCall, *History of Georgia*, I, 58; Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 184; Jones, C. C., *History of Georgia*, I, 377.

¹¹⁹ See pp. 103, 114.

¹²⁰ Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 204; Shrigley, *True Relation of Virginia and Maryland* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 7), p. 5; Oldmixon, *British Empire*, 307; Bullock, *Virginia Impartially Examined*, 7, 9; Hammond, J., *Leah and Rachel* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 14), p. 13.

¹²¹ *Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland* (American Historical Review, XII), 329; Joyce, *Letter from Caroline County, Virginia* (Richmond Daily Dispatch, Aug. 16, 1877); Jones, H., *Present State of Virginia*, 41; *Calvert Papers*, I, 263; Oldmixon, *British Empire*, I, 207; Milligen, *Description of South Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 481; Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 183; Beverley, R., *History of Virginia*, 254, 279.

¹²² Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 180; Romans, *East and West Florida*, 132; Milligen, *Description of South Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 481; Georgia Historical Society, *Collections*, I, 199; Martyn, *Impartial Inquiry* (ibid.), 159; De Brahm, *History of Georgia*, 21; Beverley, R., *History of Virginia*, 279; Jones, H., *Present State of Virginia*, 41; Nairne, *Letter from South Carolina*, 9; *American Husbandry*, I, 341.

Lawson has given a fairly circumstantial account of the varieties of English fruits grown in North Carolina about the beginning of the eighteenth century, the names of which are reproduced here according to his spelling. Of apples, he mentions the Golden Russet, Pearmain, Harvey-Apple, Juniting Codlin, Red-streak, Long-Stalk, Lady-Finger, Winter Queening, Leather Coat, Rope-Apples, Flattings, Grigsons, and Cheese-Apples. Of pears, he speaks of Wardens, Katherines, and Sugar-pears. According to Lawson, the Bergamot and Bonne Chrestiennes were not found in North Carolina, but he understood they had them in Virginia. Of quinces, he mentions Brunswick, Portugal, and Barbary. There were two kinds of figs, a bush variety and a tree variety. The common red and black cherries were grown.¹²³ Nairne noted the presence of fourteen or fifteen varieties of peaches in South Carolina.¹²⁴

The domestic fruits were supplemented by the many kinds of native fruits, such as persimmons, papaws, haws, several kinds of wild mulberries, dewberries, blackberries, raspberries, wild plums, and wild cherries. The latter were probably the common chokecherry, for Lawson speaks of them as growing "in bunches, like *English Currants*, but much larger." They were of "a bitterish sweet Relish." There was another variety of wild cherry more rarely found, which was red and "not much unlike the *Cornel-Berry*." Of wild plums, Lawson noted a red variety and a black one, as well as what he called "*American damsons*," some bearing black fruit and others white, but all about as large as the European variety. They were found on the sand banks all along the coast. Lawson described a bushy tree regarded as a winter currant which grew seven or eight feet high. The fruit was dried for later use or made into tarts. There were also April currants and a variety which he calls "*Bermudas Currants*," resembling European currants.¹²⁵

The practice of grafting on native crab stocks or wild plum was early employed, but probably few planters went to this trouble, most fruits being propagated from the seed.¹²⁶ As early as 1640 a Virginia act required every person "having one hundred acres of land of inheritance" to enclose a quarter acre for an orchard and garden, and to plant therein "one Crabb Stock Thorn stock or Cabbage stalke p. poll and that they procure to be grafted on the sd stocks or stalks slips of Apple trees Pare trees or some other Likely fruites."¹²⁷

At various times in South Carolina citrus trees were destroyed by unusually cold weather. In 1763 it was even reported that lemons abounded in South Carolina, but their success must have been very temporary. In 1748 some 296,000 oranges were exported,¹²⁸ but in 1740 no oranges grew "nearer than Amelia to the southward"¹²⁹—that is, in southern Georgia. Losses from freezing had probably largely discouraged their cultivation in the neighborhood of Savannah, although various persons there, as well as in South Carolina, continued to raise

¹²³ *Carolina*, 109–111.

¹²⁴ *Letter from South Carolina*, 9.

¹²⁵ *Carolina*, 102–107.

¹²⁶ *Perfect Description of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, II, No. 8), p. 14; Lawson, *Carolina*, 106, 109–111; Beverley, R., *History of Virginia*, 278; Scotus Americanus, *Informations concerning North Carolina* (North Carolina Historical Review, III), 612.

¹²⁷ *Acts of the General Assembly, 1639–40* (William and Mary Quarterly, 2 series, IV), 148.

¹²⁸ Lucas, E., *Journal and Letters*, 17; Wallace, D. D., *Henry Laurens*, 23.

¹²⁹ Thomas Jones to John Lyde, in Georgia Historical Society, *Collections*, I, 199.

them.¹³⁰ The British attempted to adopt into their own economy the large number of orange, lime, and lemon trees found in Florida at the beginning of their occupation.¹³¹ The results, however, were somewhat disappointing. It was found that from some unknown cause the sweet-orange and lime trees decayed after a number of years, and also that they were seriously injured by cold winters. In March, 1769, the governor wrote that in preceding winters lemon and lime trees had suffered much; but he asserted, "We shall again get into those Fruits which we should have lost, if great care had not been taken of the young plants."¹³²

Following the earlier experiments already noted, various attempts were made to establish olive growing. In 1734 experiments with olive trees were being conducted along the lower Cape Fear river, in North Carolina. About 1755 Henry Laurens introduced olives into South Carolina. In 1763 they were reported to be growing there, and during the Revolutionary War there were a few large olive trees in and around Charleston which bore copiously.¹³³

Henry Laurens also experimented with other exotic fruits. Ramsay says:¹³⁴

"Henry Laurens purchased a lot of four acres in Ansonborough, . . . enriched it with every thing useful and ornamental that Carolina produced or his extensive mercantile connexions enabled him to procure from remote parts of the world. Among a variety of other curious productions, he introduced olives, capers, limes, ginger, guinea grass, the alpine strawberry bearing nine months in the year, red raspberry, blue grapes; and also directly from the south of France, apples, pears, and plums of fine kinds, and vines which bore abundantly of the choice white eating grape called Chasselats blancs."

MISCELLANEOUS CROPS

Following the early years of experimentation, the concentration of energy in the production of tobacco, rice, and indigo led to a tendency to neglect plantation gardens,¹³⁵ but after the first struggle with the wilderness was sufficiently advanced, the growth of garden vegetables for domestic use became general.¹³⁶ Robert Beverley asserted that in addition to all the common vegetables and culinary herbs found in English gardens, the Virginians enjoyed a number peculiar to their country, including Indian cresses, red buds, sassafras flowers, cymplings, (water) melons, and (sweet) potatoes.¹³⁷ Schoepf remarked that cushaws were more generally raised in Virginia than farther north, and various kinds of squashes, gourds, and melons were more widely used throughout the American Colonies than in other countries. Nevertheless, he declared, "The pleasure of a fine garden is as yet scarcely known in Virginia." Perhaps a few of the more important families had attempted extensive and systematic gardens, but the majority were

¹³⁰ Stephens, W., *State of the Province of Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, II), 70.

¹³¹ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/540, p. 288; vol. 550, p. 86 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

¹³² *Ibid.*, vol. 550, p. 85.

¹³³ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, IV, 6; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, II, 228; Milligen, *Description of South Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 481; Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 181.

¹³⁴ *History of South Carolina*, II, 228.

¹³⁵ Danckaerts & Sluyter, *Journal*, 216-218; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, II, 227.

¹³⁶ Shrigley, *True Relation of Virginia and Maryland* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 7), p. 5; Jones, H., *Present State of Virginia*, 60; *Perfect Description of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, II, No. 8), p. 4.

¹³⁷ *History of Virginia*, 253.

satisfied "with planting cabbage and turnips in an enclosed space which goes by the name of a garden, and sticking among them a few uncomely flowers."¹³⁸ It is probable that he underestimated the variety of garden vegetables enjoyed by well-to-do planters and farmers in Virginia because their gardens did not appear as neat and systematic as in the Northern States. A generation before his visit, William Byrd (II), whose botanical interests led him to make numerous experiments and to maintain a correspondence with several contemporary botanists, was said to have "the best garden in Virginia, and a pretty green-house, well furnished with Orange Trees."¹³⁹ Schoepf observed of South Carolina that garden vegetables were gradually coming to be raised in greater abundance, but in the Charleston market a head of cabbage or colewort still sold for 6 pence sterling.¹⁴⁰ Some of the wealthier planters there also had gratified their tastes by the establishment of formal gardens.¹⁴¹

Sweet potatoes were one of the most important sources of food, especially in the Carolinas and Georgia. Romans mentioned five important varieties: the Spanish, or original root, which was coarse and fibrous, suitable mainly for feeding stock; the Carolina, little superior to the Spanish; the Brimstone, so called from its color, having red skin; the Purple, having that color except a little of the heart; and the Bermudas, or round white potato. The Purple and the Bermudas were excellent for table use.¹⁴² Although Irish potatoes were introduced in the early years of colonization, their use probably became more common in the latter part of the eighteenth century,¹⁴³ largely as a result of the immigration of small farmers.

While there were early experiments with sugar-cane in the various Colonies, they were especially notable in Florida, where great hopes were had for the industry. Lieutenant-Governor Moultrie was one of the leaders, attempting to grow sugar on his plantation south of St. Augustine. In the Fall of 1770 he had a field of sugar-cane ready to cut, and the following December the canes had turned out well, and in the opinion of a Jamaica planter were as rich and produced as well as in most parts of the West Indies; the sugar that had been made was "allowed to be good." Moultrie's success was so encouraging that in the following year all of the planters in the southern part of the Province planted small fields of cane.¹⁴⁴ In February, 1773, Moultrie wrote that a Mr. Elliot had planted 60 or 70 acres, had "a mill and other utensils ready," and was experimenting on the quantity of sugar to be made per acre. Next year, declared Moultrie, "will give a decisive Experiment of the Culture" of sugar.¹⁴⁵ Robin reported a small sugar plantation near Pensacola which had succeeded fairly well, though on sandy land.¹⁴⁶ These promising experiments, however, came to little. It was

¹³⁸ *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 76.

¹³⁹ P. Collinson to John Bartram, in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, 2 series, VI, 311.

¹⁴⁰ *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 189.

¹⁴¹ Habersham, *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, VI), 91-93; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, II, 227-229.

¹⁴² *East and West Florida*, 123.

¹⁴³ *Baltimore Daily Repository*, Aug. 17, 1792.

¹⁴⁴ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/551, p. 183; vol. 552, pp. 17, 38 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); Doggett, *Dr. Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony*, 51; Fairbanks, *History of Florida*, 220.

¹⁴⁵ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/553, p. 34 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

¹⁴⁶ *Voyages*, II, 6.

found that the keen and penetrating northwest winds injured the cane, hindered it from coming to maturity, and prevented it from filling with juice.¹⁴⁷

Various other crops were sporadically grown. Groundnuts, or peanuts, were said to have been introduced by Negroes from Guinea, who used them raw, roasted or boiled in soup. They were also employed in the Colonies as a source of oil. Another crop raised for the oil was sesame, also said to have been introduced from Africa. In 1730 Thomas Lowndes, of South Carolina, sent samples of oil made from "sesamum" to the Lords of the Treasury.¹⁴⁸ Palma Christi was planted in South Carolina,¹⁴⁹ and about 1715 there was much interest in the same Colony in the production of cochineal, for numerous insects were found on the wild prickly pear growing in the Province.¹⁵⁰ In 1722 the South Carolina Council passed a vote of thanks to Governor Nicholson for presenting each member with some coffee trees and berries for trial; and a few days later the Governor expressed the hope that South Carolina might supply Great Britain with that product.¹⁵¹ In 1790 a Richmond paper¹⁵² contained advertisements of seed of Jerusalem artichokes to be planted for stock feed. At an earlier period they had been used by the poorer classes in Virginia for brewing beer.¹⁵³ Hops had been early introduced into Virginia,¹⁵⁴ but it is probable that after the planters ceased to make their own malt they were not generally cultivated. About the beginning of the Revolutionary War an attempt was made to stimulate interest in the production of madder, and a pamphlet giving directions for its cultivation was published at Charleston, South Carolina.¹⁵⁵

IMPLEMENTS AND FARM MACHINERY

During the colonial period the use of hand tools predominated. Horse-drawn implements and vehicles were not extensively employed, especially in the earlier part of the period. A plantation inventory for 1771 included among other items: plows, oxcarts, a wagon, "threshing instruments," harrows, hilling hoes, weeding hoes, grubbing hoes, spades, hayforks, hayrakes, dung forks, scythes, cradles, sickles, a cider press, a cider mill, axes, wedges, crosscut saws, a whipsaw, and a considerable variety of other carpenter's and blacksmith's tools.¹⁵⁶ Some progress had been made by the close of the colonial period in the development of more elaborate implements.

The necessity of planting large areas of newly cleared land, full of stumps and roots, and the predominance of two intertilled crops, corn and tobacco, were conditions which retarded the adoption of plows. Frequently small pioneer

¹⁴⁷ Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, II, 23; Stork, *Account of East Florida*, 60; Romans, *East and West Florida*, 133.

¹⁴⁸ Romans, *East and West Florida*, 130; Georgia Historical Society, *Collections*, I, 199; *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, III, 297.

¹⁴⁹ Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, II, 347.

¹⁵⁰ Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1714-1718, p. 158.

¹⁵¹ South Carolina, *Council Journals*, Jan. 24, 29, 1723, pp. 151, 156 (Manuscript in South Carolina State Library, Columbia).

¹⁵² *Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser*, Aug. 25, 1790.

¹⁵³ Beverley, R., *History of Virginia*, 254.

¹⁵⁴ *Perfect Description of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, II, No. 8), p. 3.

¹⁵⁵ Loock, *Some Observations and Directions for the Culture of Madder*.

¹⁵⁶ Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, I, 247-251.

farmers were too poor to afford plows, harness, and draft animals. In 1686 a traveller in Virginia was astonished at the fact that though horses were numerous practically none of the planters employed plows. In 1697 it was declared that there were few places in Virginia where a plow was used, and several years later a similar observation was made concerning North Carolina.¹⁵⁷ Although there was a gradually increasing tendency to rely on horses or oxen for plowing and hauling, there were good planters even late in the colonial period who relied entirely on the hoe both for plowing and for cultivation. In 1776 Colonel Landon Carter, of Virginia, expressed his attitude toward plows and carts as follows:¹⁵⁸

"I hear abundance abt. Plows & carts; my father never used a Plow in the five years from 1727 to '32, in which he died . . . and as to his carts, he never had but old Nassau with 12 oxen for all his Plantations . . . I never used cart or plow in Northumberland till, growing delicate in taste, I would have oysters brot up from thence, and then I had only one cart, & each plantation kept 2 oxen. But now I have carts, oxen and plows everywhere, I don't make 10 bbls. of corn a share, . . . by setting tobacco & even corn I always effected by my hands & never was at the least expence about feeding draught horses."

In 1767 the inventory of the ten plantations of Philip Ludwell showed only four plows and six old harrows on the home plantation and neither plows nor harrows on any of the other nine plantations.¹⁵⁹ Just before the Revolutionary War a traveller in eastern North Carolina noted that the time of twenty Negroes was required to do what would have been done by a man and boy with two horses. In 1753 Bishop Spangenberg travelled 140 miles without seeing a plow or a wagon.¹⁶⁰

In eastern South Carolina and Georgia the West Indian method of turning up the ground with heavy hoes was early introduced, and the practice became firmly fixed in local custom. Early in the nineteenth century Ramsay asserted that the inhabitants of Edisto Island, one of the most flourishing of the sea-island planting districts, were "unacquainted with the plow, the harrow, the scythe, rake, reaping hooks."¹⁶¹ The general nonuse of the plow characteristic of the coastal plain did not apply to the up-country. About the close of the eighteenth century Drayton asserted that plows were generally employed in middle and upper South Carolina, including the bar-share, shovel, fluke, single coulter, cutter, and drill; but in lower South Carolina even the laborious work of trenching was done largely with the hoe. Oxcarts holding three or four barrels each were used for hauling rice. Drawn by three or four yoke of oxen and attended by two or three Negro drivers, such a cart required a whole day to make its leisurely journey of ten or twelve miles to a landing.¹⁶²

Other than the plow there were but few horse-drawn implements of tillage,

¹⁵⁷ Hartwell, Blair, & Chilton, *Present State of Virginia and the College*, 7; Durand, *Frenchman in Virginia*, 108; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1696-1697, p. 643; Lawson, *Carolina*, 75.

¹⁵⁸ *Diary* (William and Mary Quarterly, XVII), 17.

¹⁵⁹ *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXI, 395-416.

¹⁶⁰ Franklin, "Agriculture in Colonial North Carolina," in *North Carolina Historical Review*, III, 559.

¹⁶¹ *History of South Carolina*, App., pp. 561-565; *American Husbandry*, I, 462; cf. also Drayton, *View of South Carolina*, 140; Olmsted, F. L., *Cotton Kingdom*, I, 217.

¹⁶² *View of South Carolina*, 140-142.

even for some time after the close of the colonial period.¹⁶³ In 1775 Romans, writing with reference to the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida, urged the following improvements:¹⁶⁴

"As much as possible disuse the hand hoe, particularly at turning up, and otherwise preparing the ground for seed; introduce the plough; the newest lands may be ploughed, and the hand hoe is only necessary to assist a little round the edges of stumps, &c. introduce likewise the horse hoe with the *Dutch* and *Suffolk* foot ploughs, to do the laborious work of the hoe in hilling corn up; in well improved grounds for rice use the drill plough, especially in countries where an ox of four years old may be had for forty shillings, and a serviceable horse for four pounds; all these would save great sums, and render it less necessary for the planter to depend on the labour of negroes."

The writer of *American Husbandry* found that in North Carolina a horse-drawn implement had been introduced for cultivating between the rows of tobacco. It was between a plow and a harrow in character, resembling the horse hoes of England, but not very generally employed.¹⁶⁵ In 1790 a North Carolinian wrote that much had been said recently about the trench plow and roller. "The roller," he said, "is a very useful instrument, though little used by the farmers in North-Carolina; it is very useful in breaking clods, in pressing down the roots of wheat thrown out by the frost, and to prevent them from being thrown out."¹⁶⁶

The implements of cultivation employed by the French on the lower Mississippi about the close of the eighteenth century are described as consisting of light plows, harrows, sometimes protected with iron, ordinary spades, and broad flat mattocks. All these implements except the spades and mattocks were made locally. Carts and other wheeled vehicles, and carpenters', joiners', and coopers' tools were largely of English origin, as they were found to be much more serviceable than those obtained from France.¹⁶⁷ The implements in general use among the pioneer French farmers of the upper Mississippi were of the crudest character, largely of domestic manufacture. Wooden plows were employed "for breaking and tilling the ground, hand-flails for threshing their grain, and rude wooden carts without a particle of iron. . . . Oxen were yoked by the horns instead of the neck and were guided by strips or ropes of untanned hide." Even the common churn was unknown to these simple farmers, their butter being made by shaking cream in a bottle or beating it in a bowl with a spoon.¹⁶⁸

FIELD SYSTEMS AND CROP ROTATIONS

Because of the migratory character of Southern agriculture the clearing of new ground was a continuous phase of Southern economy, for, excepting small interspersed prairies and savannahs,¹⁶⁹ the greater part of the area east of the Mississippi was originally covered with forest. The methods of clearing land varied

¹⁶³ See below, p. 727.

¹⁶⁴ *East and West Florida*, 175.

¹⁶⁵ I, 350.

¹⁶⁶ *North Carolina Chronicle, or Fayetteville Gazette*, Sept. 27, 1790. Concerning devices for harvesting and threshing small grain, see above, p. 170, and for rice, below, pp. 281-283.

¹⁶⁷ Robin, *Voyages*, II, 111.

¹⁶⁸ Wallace, J., *Illinois and Louisiana*, 407; Billon, *Annals of St. Louis*, 85-86.

¹⁶⁹ See p. 138.

according to the necessity for haste and the character of husbandry. Where hoe-cultivation predominated, it was not necessary to clear away the large trees at first. The Indian practice of girdling—cutting a ring around the tree and allowing it to die by degrees—was commonly employed. The underbrush was cut down, the larger roots grubbed, and the crop planted in the midst of the standing timber. Many planters, however, cut down the trees and, after allowing them to dry thoroughly, started a fire on a windy day, which destroyed a large part of the branches and some of the trunks. Planters were careful to fell the trees in one direction. When the plow was used, the trees were felled in the direction of the furrow. When the hoe was used entirely, it was considered desirable for the trees to fall at right angles to the row. Many planters considered the burning of the entire forest injurious to the land because a large part of the leaves, trash, and mould were destroyed. Few attempted to grub up stumps, usually leaving them to decay.¹⁷⁰

Well-defined systems of rotation were rarely employed in the tobacco Colonies before the close of the colonial period. In 1649 it was said that planters in Virginia reaped their wheat in July and then sowed barley in the same field.¹⁷¹ In 1686 a traveller observed that the Virginia planters made a practice of using half of their cleared land for pasture and the other half for crops. Every four years they transferred fences to the half which had been rested. This method was widespread in the Northern Neck just before the Revolutionary War.¹⁷² In Virginia and Maryland the general practice was to clear new land, employ it for tobacco until no longer profitable, and then plant it to wheat and corn. It was believed that small grain did better on land partially exhausted by tobacco, being less inclined to grow too rank.¹⁷³ Edmund Ruffin describes the older methods as follows:¹⁷⁴

“If not rich enough for tobacco when first cleared, (or as soon as it ceased to be so,) land of its kind was planted in corn two or three years in succession, and afterwards every second year. The intermediate year between the crops of corn, the field was ‘rested’ under a crop of wheat, if it would produce four or five bushels to the acre. If the sandiness or exhausted condition of the soil, denied even this small product of wheat, that crop was probably not attempted—and instead of it, the field was exposed to close grazing, from the time of gathering one crop of corn, to that of preparing to plant another. No manure was applied, except on the tobacco lots; and this rotation of a grain crop every year, and afterwards every second year, was kept up as long as the field would produce five bushels of corn to the acre. When reduced below that product, and to less than the necessary expense of cultivation, the land was turned out to recover under a new growth of pines. After twenty or thirty years, according to the convenience of the owner, the same land would be again cleared, and put under similar scourging tillage.”

¹⁷⁰ Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 150; Hartwell, Blair, & Chilton, *Present State of Virginia and the College*, 7; Wilson, S., *Account of Carolina*, and Purry, *Description of South Carolina* (both in Carroll, *Hist. Collections*, II), 24, and 127; *American Husbandry*, II, 21; *Southern Agriculturist*, IV, 5-6, 456; *American Farmer*, 1 series, XIV (1832-3), p. 338.

¹⁷¹ Bullock, *Virginia Impartially Examined*, 9.

¹⁷² Durand, *Frenchman in Virginia*, 109; Fithian, *Journal and Letters*, 140.

¹⁷³ Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 257; Bullock, *Virginia Impartially Examined*, 33, 37.

¹⁷⁴ *Essay on Calcareous Manures*, 12; cf. Cabell, “Post-Revolutionary History of Agriculture in Virginia,” in *William and Mary Quarterly*, XXVI, 147.

Late in the colonial period a system of rotation was more or less employed in northern Virginia and Maryland which consisted in sowing small grain in the midst of standing corn. After the fodder was pulled and the corn harvested, the stalks were "knocked down." It was believed that the corn shaded the grain for a time and that the cultivation of corn prepared the land for the sowing of grain, thus greatly economizing labor. Sometimes this field system was combined with a period of one or two years of "rest," during which time stock were pastured on the weeds and stubble. This practice was generally known as the "old three-field system."¹⁷⁵ In other parts of Virginia wheat and corn were grown on the same land in alternate years.¹⁷⁶

In South Carolina, when land became too much exhausted for indigo, it was devoted to wheat or corn and afterwards to barley.¹⁷⁷ In the rice region the swamp lands were used year after year for rice. The planters customarily devoted to corn the interspersed tracts of uplands where the soil was suitable,¹⁷⁸ and raised sweet potatoes on the sandier uplands.

SOIL FERTILIZATION

The practice of continuous cropping with little attention to soil conservation, supplemented by clearing new land, was almost universal as long as fresh land was available.¹⁷⁹ Families fortunate enough to have large reserves of virgin land in their plantations were enabled to continue this process sometimes for several generations. A traveller in North Carolina just before the Revolutionary War even found a prejudice against the use of animal manures on food crops. Her hostess remarked that she "never would eat corn that grew thro' dirt."¹⁸⁰ The general rule was migration to fresh lands, but before the close of the seventeenth century there were planters who, for one reason or another unable or unwilling to migrate to fresh lands, were compelled to take steps to ameliorate the soil, either by one of the crude systems of crop rotation already mentioned or by fertilization. In the rice region the rich swampy soils, partially replenished by silt in the process of irrigation, did not soon require amelioration. A few planters, however, undertook to fertilize upland soils for corn and potatoes by composting rice straw.¹⁸¹

Some beginnings were made in the systematic fertilization of the soil. In the tobacco Colonies a method of fertilization widely employed in the eighteenth century was stock-penning, a practice begun at least as early as the latter part of the seventeenth century.¹⁸² Temporary moveable fences were constructed

¹⁷⁵ Harrower, *Diary* (American Historical Review, VI), 100; Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour.*, II, 123; Parkinson, *Tour*, I, 200; Washington, *Letters on Agriculture*, 22; La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, III, 113.

¹⁷⁶ Strickland, *Report to the [British] Board of Agriculture* (Farmers' Register, III), 262.

¹⁷⁷ *American Husbandry*, I, 449.

¹⁷⁸ Glen, *Description of South Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 201, 203.

¹⁷⁹ See p. 217.

¹⁸⁰ Schaw, *Journal of a Lady of Quality*, 160.

¹⁸¹ Winyah and All-Saints Agricultural Society, *Reports Submitted April 20, 1848*, pp. 16-21; Doar, *Sketch of the Agricultural Society of St. James, Santee*, 10; Account of excursion into St. Johns, Berkeley, in *Carolina Planter* (1840), pp. 52, 149; also report in *Farmers' Register*, VIII, 115; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, II, 225.

¹⁸² Jones, H., *Present State of Virginia*, 39; Clayton, *Letter giving an Account of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 12), p. 24; Hartwell, Blair, & Chilton, *Present State of Virginia and the College*, 7. See p. 217.

for the purpose of confining cattle to certain limited areas. Some planters followed the rule of penning cattle on tobacco land at the rate of 100 cattle to every 1,000 plants, the pens being moved weekly.¹⁸³ A few began using swamp mud as fertilizer. Washington directed that after the completion of corn planting all the hands on his farm "not indispensably engaged in the crops . . . be uninterruptedly employed in raising mud from the pocosons, and from the bed of the creek." It was to be carried by scows and carts to the fields and employed in a compost.¹⁸⁴ The use of marl was suggested in 1688 by Clayton, an English traveller in Virginia.¹⁸⁵ In 1760 and 1763 George Washington carried on experiments in the use of marl on a small scale. He did not form a favorable conclusion as to its value as a fertilizer, and also reached an unfavorable conclusion from a later experiment tried in 1785.¹⁸⁶ The use of cowpeas as green manure was also practiced before the beginning of the Revolutionary War. In letters addressed to George Washington, Colonel Landon Carter, of Virginia, described the renovating properties of cowpeas. The effect was admitted by many of his fellow farmers, but the cause was commonly attributed to the fact that the peas shaded the land, while the roots pulverized the soil and brought up fertility. While admitting these advantages, Carter voiced the theory that peas deposited in the soil elements of fertility drawn from the air.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸³ La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, III, 147; Instructions given by Richard Corbin to his agent for the management of his plantations in Virginia, in Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, I, 110; cf. Washington, *Agricultural Notes* (Farmers' Register, V), 490.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 489.

¹⁸⁵ *Letter giving an Account of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 12), p. 24.

¹⁸⁶ Haworth, *George Washington: Farmer*, 92-95, 105 & n.

¹⁸⁷ *Diary* (William and Mary Quarterly, XXI), 12.

CHAPTER IX

LIVESTOCK HUSBANDRY

General Character of Livestock Husbandry, 200. Horses and Mules, 202. Cattle, 203. Swine, Sheep, Poultry, and Bees, 206. Trade in Livestock and Livestock Products, 209.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF LIVESTOCK HUSBANDRY

As settlement became more fully developed some sections of the colonial South passed beyond the herding or semiherding stages of livestock economy, previously described. Where there was no longer any public range, stock were largely restricted by the range available on privately owned land; although in the general absence of fences except around cultivated lands it was difficult to prevent trespassing on the range of other planters. The practice of providing adequate shelter and supplemental feed developed but slowly. In 1638 Secretary Kemp, of Virginia, wrote Lord Baltimore that fodder for cattle was "very rare in Virginea, and I beleeve not yett knowen in Maryland."¹ In 1666, according to Alsop, it was still the practice to kill cattle and hogs out of the woods; and several years later another writer asserted that in Virginia and Maryland it was not customary to feed cattle or swine, but only to "kill them fat out of the Woods."² About 1671 Glover wrote that the planters of Virginia gave their cattle in winter only the husks of Indian corn (probably corn blades) or occasionally a little wheat straw; consequently, cattle ventured into the marshy grounds in search of food, and many were lost.³ About 1686 a French traveller noted that the Virginia planters did not "know what it is to save hay." He saw the "poor beasts of a morning all covered with snow and trembling with the cold, but no forage was provided for them. They eat the bark of the trees because the grass was covered. To the swine only they feed Indian corn."⁴

In older settled regions more provident methods were gradually adopted. In Maryland and Virginia a series of unusually severe winters in the last decade of the seventeenth century led to heavy losses. In 1694 a detailed report by counties for Maryland alone showed a loss of 25,429 cattle and 62,373 hogs. These experiences are said to have led the planters to conclude that they must employ more of their time in looking after their stock and providing them with fodder.⁵ Moreover, in the older districts the range was beginning to be scarce. A traveller in Maryland in 1705-1706 wrote:⁶

"Those plantations that Lye farther up in the Woods are still the same for att the fall of the Leaffe they have fatt Beefe and fatt Porke Comes home to their Doores without

¹ *Calvert Papers*, I, 150.

² Alsop, *Character of Maryland* (Hall, Narratives), 347; Shrigley, *True Relation of Virginia and Maryland* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 7), p. 5.

³ *Account of Virginia* (Lowthorp, Philosophical Transactions and Collections, III), 571.

⁴ Durand, *Frenchman in Virginia*, 115-117.

⁵ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XX, 191, 242, 269; XXIII, 89.

⁶ *Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland* (American Historical Review, XII), 329.

giving 'em any Corne when at the same time the people that live upon the River sides and the plantations being thick together they are forced to give there Hogs a great Deall of Corne to flatt 'em."

Near the close of the first quarter of the eighteenth century Hugh Jones observed, concerning eastern Virginia:⁷

"*Indian Corn* is the best Food for *Cattle*, *Hogs*, *Sheep*, and *Horses*; and the *Blades* and *Tops* are excellent *Fodder*, when well cured, which is commonly used, though many raise good *Clover* and *Oats*; and some have planted *Sanfoin*, &c."

Large orchards of peaches and apples provided much food for swine.⁸

These improved practices, however, were by no means general, for Jones' contemporary, Robert Beverley, commented on the poor provision made for cattle in winter, whereby he believed their growth was stunted. Yet, though they grew poor in winter, they became fat in the spring, which seems to have been a favorite time for butchering.⁹ Even when cowpenning became necessary in order to provide manure for tobacco fields, slovenly methods of livestock husbandry were continued. The majority of cattle ran out all winter and were given but little feed. Some cattle, especially those required for milking, were kept in pens and fed corn blades, and the manure thereby obtained used for the tobacco fields.¹⁰ During the Revolutionary War Schoepf observed that in lower Virginia little or no hay was made, for "the dry sandy soil does not bring it willingly, and they do not understand how to make use of their marshes." The horses and such cows as were milked were fed on corn fodder as long as the supply lasted, and afterwards must shift for themselves. The straw of small grain was cast out as useless. During the war, however, when Pennsylvania and Maryland teamsters came through the country, the people "made the important and new discovery that horses eat small-cut straw."¹¹

In short, throughout most parts of the Southern Colonies there prevailed one of the three stages of livestock husbandry already described—that is, herding proper; herding on the open range combined with planting; and ranging of stock, more or less confined to the plantation or its immediate vicinity, with the incidental feeding of corn to fatten swine, corn blades for cattle in winter, and fairly good care of horses. Before the close of the period, in certain districts, such as the Eastern Shore of Maryland and northern Virginia, and on occasional plantations or farms elsewhere, livestock husbandry involved more care than the methods already described. Meadows of clover or timothy were employed, and water meadows began to be prized, although artificial pastures, except in meadows,

⁷ *Present State of Virginia*, 40.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁹ *History of Virginia*, 252.

¹⁰ *American Husbandry*, I, 266–277; letters from Lieutenant-Governor Fauquier to Board of Trade, Dec. 24, 1764, in *Virginia, Official Correspondence* (Force Transcripts, Library of Congress); also in London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1331, pp. 1–4; La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, III, 147.

¹¹ *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 89, 109, 246. For other citations in general confirming this description as to the ordinary methods of livestock husbandry in plantation regions, see Parkinson, *Tour*, I, 38–40; Purry, *Description of South Carolina*, and Milligen, *Description of South Carolina* (both in Carroll, *Hist. Collections*, II), 32, and 482; *American Husbandry*, I, 364–466.

were practically unknown. Stock were more carefully sheltered and more systematically fed.¹²

HORSES AND MULES

For some decades after the various Colonies were settled, horses were not numerous. In 1645 a consignment of horses was brought from New England to the Eastern Shore. In 1649, however, there were only about 200 horses and 70 asses in Virginia. As late as 1662 the scarcity of horses is indicated by the laws prohibiting their exportation, but by 1668 the number had so increased that the prohibition was removed. The next year the numbers were "rather growing burthensome," and an act was passed to prohibit their importation.¹³ Maryland continued to pass such legislation well into the eighteenth century.¹⁴

The earlier stock of horses in the various Southern Colonies, as we have noted, came mainly from England, from the North, or from Southern Colonies previously settled.¹⁵ In the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, and the lower Mississippi valley, many of the horses were derived from Spanish breeds, either introduced during the Spanish occupation of Florida or brought in by the Indians of the Southwest and by the French through trade with the Spaniards in New Mexico. These stocks, mixed by the Indians with English breeds obtained from the Carolinas by means of the Indian trade, gave rise to the breed known as "Chickasaw horses," which came to be highly prized by the colonists. Late in the eighteenth century they were a recognized breed in east Tennessee, and were then believed to have been introduced by De Soto.¹⁶

As the older portions of the Southern Colonies began to emerge from the pioneer stage, there developed an intense interest in racing.¹⁷ Hunting on horseback also became a favorite sport. The principal method of travel was by horseback until in the later colonial period, when some of the grandees sought to imitate the English country gentry by riding in their own coaches. Consequently a great deal of interest developed in the improvement of horses, the principal qualities desired being fleetness, hardihood, strength, grace, and easy gait. As late as 1688 Clayton remarked that the planters in Virginia had plenty of horses "Such as they are."¹⁸ As the planters increased in wealth, however, they began importing breeding stock from abroad, and many of them boasted riding horses of the finest crosses of Arabian and Barb blood. The "importations of the progenitors of the modern thoroughbred" began about 1737-1740. Pedigrees were recorded, and the care taken of riding horses was in severe contrast to the lack of attention devoted to other classes of stock.¹⁹

¹² Parkinson, *Tour*, I, 54, 57, 67, 74, 227; *American Husbandry*, I, 265, 351; Drayton, *View of South Carolina*, 142. See p. 177.

¹³ Wise, *Ye Kingdome of Accawmacke*, 307; Bullock, *Virginia Impartially Examined*, 8; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 463; II, 128, 267, 271.

¹⁴ See p. 140.

¹⁵ See pp. 19, 28, 56.

¹⁶ Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, I, 139, 361; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, II, 403; Williams, G. C., *History of the Lost State of Franklin*, 249. See also above, pp. 7, 79, 107.

¹⁷ Wise, *Ye Kingdome of Accawmacke*, 310.

¹⁸ *Letter giving an Account of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 12), p. 35.

¹⁹ *Virginia, Journals of the Council*, Executive Sessions, 1737-1763 (*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XIV), 2 (statement by editor); Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, II, 402-404; Drayton,

The fact that draft animals were used but little in the cultivation of staple crops and the considerable use of oxen caused the improvement of draft horses to develop but slowly. During the Revolutionary War Schoepf observed that in Virginia and Maryland draft horses were small and light. Poor care was given all horses except those kept for riding. On York River he saw for the first time several mules, which were "beginning to be liked because they are so perfectly adapted for the American economy, thriving with scant attention and bad feed."²⁰ This was before the importations of Spanish jacks and jennets made by George Washington.²¹ The first inclusion of mules in South Carolina acts against misbranding occurred in 1784.²²

The various Colonies early began to develop legislation to regulate the quality of horses running in the woods. In 1682 the Maryland upper house passed an act providing that no stallion or mare over one year of age should be permitted at large unless at least fourteen hands high and forbidding any freeman from keeping a stallion or mare unless he had fifty acres of land already "seated" or to be "seated" within twelve months in the county of his residence. The lower house, however, objected to this part of the act, evidently aimed at squatters, on the ground that such persons were useful in protecting the Colony against Indian attacks.²³ Several years later a more comprehensive act offered a reward for the taking up of stallions under fourteen hands high running in the woods, requiring the owners under heavy penalty to have them castrated or keep them enclosed. A freeman not owning land in the county of his residence was allowed to keep but one horse, and that one to be a gelding. Uncastrated horses under the minimum size found wandering in the woods might be killed by anyone, a function also entrusted to the rangers. These acts, with modifications in details, were renewed from time to time.²⁴ Legislation similar to that of Maryland was passed in other Southern Colonies,²⁵ and shortly after the first settlement of Kentucky Daniel Boone was instrumental in the passage of a stallion law applicable to that territory.²⁶ It is probable, however, that great difficulty was encountered in enforcing this legislation.²⁷

CATTLE

The origins of Southern cattle from the standpoint of breeds are exceedingly obscure. In the beginnings of the Colonies, as we have noted, cattle were brought

View of South Carolina, 226; Jones, H., *Present State of Virginia*, 49; Burnaby, *Travels in North America*, 16; Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 65; *Calvert Papers*, II, 206-208; Purry, *Description of South Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 133; Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, II, 303; Parkinson, *Tour*, I, 249, 307; Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, I, 20-21; Scotus Americanus, *Informations concerning North Carolina* (North Carolina Historical Review, III), 616.

²⁰ *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 48, 65.

²¹ See below, p. 851.

²² *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), IV, 622.

²³ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), VII, 275, 292, 302.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, XIII, 549; XXVI, 309-312; XXXVIII, 11, 79, 149, 166; *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1692, ch. 80; 1694, chs. 17, 20; 1699, ch. 14.

²⁵ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), III, 35; IV, 48; VI, 119; *Laws of North Carolina* (Iredell), 45, 240; *North Carolina State Records*, XXIII (Col. Laws), 769.

²⁶ Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, I, 264.

²⁷ Clayton, *Letter giving an Account of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 12), p. 35.

from Great Britain and Ireland or from other Colonies; and in the early settlement of Louisiana, from France. Cattle were also brought to the Colonies from the Spanish West Indies. The length of the voyage from England to her Colonies, and the early custom of making it by way of the West Indies rendered it desirable to take on a cargo of livestock from the islands en route.²⁸ The herds of Florida also were of Spanish origin. The common stock of cattle in the West Indies were said to be black, having been introduced originally from Spain. They ran wild in the Spanish islands, as well as in the British and French West Indies.²⁹ The term *black cattle* is frequently employed also in contemporary accounts of the herds of the Southern Colonies, from Maryland to Georgia, as well as the herds of the Gulf coast and the lower Mississippi valley.³⁰ Indeed, I have not found any other color mentioned as applied to the common cattle except one instance of "two red cows and their calves" in lower Louisiana in 1736.³¹ It is probable that the term *black cattle* came to be used in a generic sense as a synonym for cattle, due to the widespread prevalence of black cattle derived from the importations of the early colonial period.

After cattle became numerous there was little reason to import them, since there was no essential premium on quality, and improvement was practically impossible on the open range. It is probable that in the decades just preceding the Revolutionary War relatively superior cattle from Pennsylvania were brought into Maryland, northern Virginia, and the Shenandoah valley by the southward-moving stream of settlers. Parkinson, who was in America in 1798-1800, mentions the fact that the father of a Mr. Lloyd, who lived on the Eastern Shore, had imported a bull and two cows from Bakewell,³² but how recently is not indicated. Bordley declared that about 1774 he began to cross the native cattle with a "rather small but well formed, small-boned English breed" the mixture resulting in increased gentleness and improved flow of milk.³³

The common cattle of the Southern Colonies were described by the author of *American Husbandry* as of "stunted diminutive size."³⁴ Hugh Jones asserted concerning the cattle of Virginia that their beef and veal were "small, sweet, and fat enough."³⁵ Washington declared that in northern Virginia "Good pastures and proper attention, can and does, fill our markets with beef of seven, eight & more hundredweight the four quarters; whereas from 450 to 500 (especially in the States South of this where less attention hetherto has been paid to grass) may be found

²⁸ Cf. Surface, "Geographic Influences," in Amer. Geog. Soc., *Bulletin*, XXXIX, 400.

²⁹ *Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland* (American Historical Review, XII), 327; Col. Chalmers, *Remarks on the Late War in San Domingo*, 72-73 n.

³⁰ Glen, *Description of South Carolina*, and Milligen, *Description of South Carolina* (both in Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 249, and 482; Washington, *Letters on Agriculture* (Sinclair, July 20, 1794), p. 25; Hutchins, *Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina*, 100, 108, 110, 120; Tatum, *Topographical Notes and Observations on the Alabama River*, 169; Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 109, 189; Nairne, *Letter from South Carolina*, 13; *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), June 5, 1755; Hickock, *Colonial South Carolina*, 24.

³¹ Louisiana, *Records of the Superior Council* (Louisiana Historical Quarterly, V), 383.

³² *Tour*, I, 228. See also below, p. 847.

³³ *Essays and Notes on Husbandry*, 169.

³⁴ I, 351; cf. Burnaby, *Travels in North America*, 16.

³⁵ *Present State of Virginia*, 42.

about the average weight."³⁶ A friendly account of North Carolina, written in 1773, described the cattle as "larger than that of any cows in the Highlands [of Scotland]."³⁷ The common cattle of the South must have been poor milkers. In Maryland the name "Five Pints" was bestowed on a cow, apparently as a title of honor, on account of her yield of milk. In the late colonial period a traveler asserted that in North Carolina it was a good cow that would give two quarts of milk a day, and an excellent one that would give three quarts.³⁸ Since they received little feed but grass and fodder, large yields of milk must have been rare.

With the exception of Charleston there were no towns large enough to create a considerable demand for milk, consequently there was little commercial dairying. From an early period Southern planters and farmers kept cows to supply their households with milk, butter, and cheese. Hugh Jones asserted that in Virginia "Their *Butter* is good and plentiful enough."³⁹ Methods of dairying were sometimes very crude. In 1672 Governor Calvert wrote Lord Baltimore, "The Cheeses Generally made here are soe Ranke and soe full of Eyes, that yo^r Lo^{ps} would bee angry with mee should I send such."⁴⁰ In the latter part of the seventeenth century Clayton had noted that in eastern Virginia they neither housed nor milked any of their cows in winter, having a notion that it would kill them.⁴¹

By reason of the warmth of the climate, the poor quality of pasturage, and the lack of springs where milk, butter, and cheese could be preserved, there was probably less tendency toward dairying in the coastal plain of the Carolinas than in eastern Virginia and Maryland, and less tendency to utilize milk and its products in the coastal plain than in the back country. In 1731 Purry wrote that in South Carolina butter was always very dear. In the preceding winter it brought as much as 12 shillings at Charleston.⁴² During the Revolutionary War Schoepf observed that most of the farmers in lower North Carolina, though they kept cattle in the woods, had to buy butter from the people farther inland; for there were no meadows in lower North Carolina, and the milk from cows pasturing on swamp grass was not good.⁴³ According to another account, however, planters in eastern North Carolina made a practice of fencing in the calves during the winter months so that the cows would come up at night for milking. During these months they made their year's supply of butter and cheese and marked the young cattle.⁴⁴ In 1775 Romans wrote, "In the southern colonies (that is, the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida) the people seem more and more to neglect keeping cows at home for the dairy."⁴⁵ Settlers in the piedmont region and the Great

³⁶ *Letters on Agriculture* (Sinclair, July 20, 1794), p. 26.

³⁷ Scotus Americanus, *Informations concerning North Carolina* (North Carolina Historical Review, III), 615.

³⁸ Browne, W. H., *Maryland, the History of a Palatinate*, 162; Taylor, G., *Voyage to North America*, 229.

³⁹ *Present State of Virginia*, 42.

⁴⁰ *Calvert Papers*, I, 263.

⁴¹ Clayton, *Letter giving an Account of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 12), p. 25.

⁴² *Description of South Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 132.

⁴³ *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 121.

⁴⁴ Scotus Americanus, *Informations concerning North Carolina* (North Carolina Historical Review, III), 615.

⁴⁵ *East and West Florida*, 174.

Valley, being mostly farmers, and having better pastures and meadows, were more accustomed to the thrifty practices of dairying than were the planters and farmers of the coastal plain. Before the Revolution the back-country farmers were sending butter and cheese into the coastal plain, either for consumption there or for export. From the Virginia back country butter and cheese were even hauled to Philadelphia.⁴⁶

SWINE, SHEEP, POULTRY, AND BEES

The origins of the common swine of the American Colonies were essentially from stock brought from Great Britain, with perhaps a few introduced from the West Indies and the North. Their great abundance and the prevalence of range husbandry probably discouraged attempts at improving the breed. Toward the close of the period mention is made of a Chinese hog in East Florida, and about the close of the eighteenth century of some Chinese hogs in the neighborhood of Baltimore, which were characterized as "not good at all."⁴⁷ Parkinson gave this description of the common hogs:⁴⁸

"The real American hog is what is termed the wood hog; they are long in the leg, narrow on the back, short in the body, flat on the sides, with a long snout, very rough in their hair, in make more like the fish called a perch than any thing I can describe. You may as well think of stopping a crow as those hogs. They will go to a distance from a fence, take a run, and leap through the rails three or four feet from the ground, turning themselves sidewise. These hogs suffer such hardships as no other animal could endure."

He testified that these lean hogs, living almost entirely on mast, produced pork of fine quality.⁴⁹ As early as 1649 the superiority of Virginia bacon over English bacon was recognized in England, and Bullock advised new settlers to ship bacon to England because of the high prices it commanded there.⁵⁰ Clayton described Virginia pork "as good as any in *Westphalia*, certainly far exceeding our *English*,"⁵¹ and this sentiment was confirmed by other writers. According to Burnaby, Virginia pork was said to be "superior in flavour to any in the world."⁵² Hugh Jones asserted that whole Virginia shoats were frequently barbecued in England.⁵³ Before the close of the colonial period Smithfield was a well known center for the shipment of salted hog meat.⁵⁴

Throughout the colonial period swine were the principal source of meat for all classes. Robert Beverley wrote, "Hogs swarm like Vermine upon the Earth, and are often accounted such." There was no attempt to count them in making an inventory of an estate.⁵⁵

⁴⁶ Scotus Americanus, *Informations concerning North Carolina* (North Carolina Historical Review, III), 615, 619; Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, IV, 134.

⁴⁷ Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 246; Parkinson, *Tour*, I, 77.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 290.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 291.

⁵⁰ *Virginia Impartially Examined*, 53.

⁵¹ *Letter giving an Account of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 12), p. 36; *Relation of Maryland*, 1635 (Hall, Narratives), 79.

⁵² *Travels in North America*, 16.

⁵³ *Present State of Virginia*, 42.

⁵⁴ Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 91.

⁵⁵ *History of Virginia*, 282; cf. Romans, *East and West Florida*, 174

Because of their relative helplessness under open range conditions against depredations of wild animals, sheep were rarely numerous in the pioneer stage of development.⁵⁶ Later the numerous savage dogs became a serious obstacle to the development of a sheep industry. The British policy of discouraging colonial manufactures probably also tended to restrict commercial sheep production. Thus, an act of 1699 made it illegal to load any wool or wool products from the Colonies on any ship, wagon, horse, or other means of transport for the purpose of carrying them to another point.⁵⁷ Many Southerners had a distaste for mutton and lamb, which was noted early in the eighteenth century by Hugh Jones, who asserted "Their Mutton and Lamb some Folks don't like, though others extol it."⁵⁸

The number of sheep gradually increased in areas where the passing of frontier conditions had modified some of the obstacles to the keeping of sheep. By 1649 Virginia was said to contain 3,000 sheep and 5,000 goats, but for more than a decade after this time Virginia and Maryland found it desirable to prohibit the exportation of sheep or wool.⁵⁹ By the beginning of the fourth quarter of the century sheep were becoming more numerous. In 1676 Maryland found it expedient to repeal the act against exporting wool,⁶⁰ and in 1688 Clayton asserted of Virginia, "Most Persons of Estate begin to keep Flocks," though hitherto deterred by wolves.⁶¹ In 1731 Governor Johnson, of South Carolina, reported that the Colony had "but a mean stock of sheep"⁶² and was forced to import its supply of wool. In both of the Carolinas, however, sheep had become more numerous before the close of the colonial period.⁶³ In all of the Colonies the nonintercourse agreements just before the Revolutionary War led to a great extension of the practice of raising wool for domestic manufactures.⁶⁴

The accounts of the quality of colonial sheep are somewhat conflicting. Hugh Jones wrote that in Virginia they had wool "near as good as any near *Leominster*," but that it would be much better if the planters would house their sheep at night and fodder and litter them as in England.⁶⁵ Beverley asserted that sheep "bear good Fleeces; but they generally are suffered to be Torn off their Backs by Briars and Bushes."⁶⁶ Burnaby declared that the Virginia sheep and horned cattle were "small and mean."⁶⁷

⁵⁶ Alsop, *Character of Maryland* (Hall, Narratives), 347; South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 308; Moore, F., *Voyage to Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 134; Browne, W. H., *Maryland, the History of a Palatinate*, 162; Taylor, G., *Voyage to North America*, 229; Raynal, *British Settlements and Trade in North America*, 137; Gilmer, G. R., *First Settlers of Upper Georgia*, 179.

⁵⁷ Dickerson, *American Colonial Government*, 303-305 & nn.

⁵⁸ *Present State of Virginia*, 42.

⁵⁹ *Perfect Description of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, II, No. 8), p. 3; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 463; II, 128; *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1663, ch. 17; *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), V, 105.

⁶⁰ *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1676, ch. 2.

⁶¹ *Letter giving an Account of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 12), p. 35.

⁶² *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, II, 130.

⁶³ Purry, *Description of South Carolina*, and Milligen, *Description of South Carolina* (both in Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 133, and 482; Scotus Americanus, *Informations concerning North Carolina* (North Carolina Historical Review, III), 616.

⁶⁴ See below, p. 574.

⁶⁵ *Present State of Virginia*, 41.

⁶⁶ *History of Virginia*, 281.

⁶⁷ *Travels in North America*, 16.

Even before the Revolution there had been a few attempts to improve quality by importation. In 1731 Purry declared that in South Carolina there was "a particular Sort, whose Wool is not inferior to the finest *Spanish Wool*."⁶⁸ An account of North Carolina prepared about four decades later for the purpose of encouraging immigration contained the assertion that the sheep of that Province were of an excellent kind and bore good wool.⁶⁹ In 1794 Washington wrote Sir John Sinclair that he had paid particular attention to his breed of sheep. The weight of his fleeces averaged $5\frac{1}{4}$ pounds of wool.⁷⁰ Parkinson, who visited Washington about four years later, was not greatly impressed with the General's sheep. He declared that Washington "supposed himself to have fine sheep" but that his fleeces averaged not more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ pounds, "and the carcasses forty-eight pounds each."⁷¹ In his travels in Maryland Parkinson found some superior sheep, probably imported after the Revolutionary War. A number of planters had a breed imported from the Cape of Good Hope. There were black-faced sheep, which seemed to thrive better and endure greater hardships than other kinds. He believed some of them had come from Holland. The colonists also had Spanish sheep and sheep from the West Indies which "resemble a goat, are of a red and white colour, and have no wool on them." The colonial wool in general was said to be "soft and fine," the length from 4 to 6 inches, and the fleeces averaging from 3 to 4 pounds each. There was generally but little attempt at care in breeding. Indeed, it was customary to permit butchers to pick superior animals, leaving the remainder to breed at will.⁷²

Everywhere in the Southern Colonies chickens, geese, and turkeys were in great abundance and usually very cheap. They were allowed to shift for themselves, with a little supplementary feed to keep them from becoming too wild.⁷³ The practice of cockfighting among the lower classes led to the importation and selective breeding of game fowls adapted to the sport. Other than this there was probably no attempt at the segregation of breeds or improved breeding. The native breeds were mongrels resulting from the intermixture of many English breeds. Parkinson observed a very large breed imported originally from the East Indies, and esteemed for table use.⁷⁴

In pioneer regions wild honey supplemented maple sugar and syrup as a source of "sweetening." A good many planters and farmers kept bees, and beeswax was exported in small quantities. In 1730, for instance, Virginia exported 156 quintals, and about 1743 there was a yearly shipment of about 8,000 pounds of beeswax.⁷⁵ It is possible that some of it was the product of wild honey from the woods.

⁶⁸ *Description of South Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 133.

⁶⁹ Scotus Americanus, *Informations concerning North Carolina* (North Carolina Historical Review, III), 616.

⁷⁰ *Letters on Agriculture* (Sinclair, July 20, 1794), p. 25.

⁷¹ *Tour*, I, 6.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 75, 289, 293-298.

⁷³ See pp. 20, 80, 104.

⁷⁴ *Tour*, I, 299.

⁷⁵ Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 159; London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1325, V 32 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

TRADE IN LIVESTOCK AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS

Considering the great ease with which cattle and hogs were raised, the great abundance of poultry, and the prevalence of game and fish, it is probable that rich and poor alike enjoyed an abundant supply of meat. For various reasons, however, Virginia and Maryland did not develop an important trade in livestock products during the seventeenth century. Although hogs multiplied rapidly, cattle increased but slowly. In 1633 a Virginia act prohibited the transport of female cattle "to any other parts of the government of this province now established." In 1640 it was permitted to ship to New England or other Colonies "the seventh head of neat cattle and no more." In 1642 the governor was instructed to use special care to prevent the killing of female cattle. No cattle were to be shipped out without his permission.⁷⁶ During the next decade cattle probably increased rapidly, for Bullock asserted in 1649 that there were above 30,000 head in Virginia.⁷⁷ For nearly half a century after the first settlement of Virginia there was but little available market for livestock or livestock products. With the possible exception of bacon, it was not possible to export profitably to Europe, and the West Indies did not afford an extensive market before the last half of the seventeenth century.

About the middle of that century small quantities of barrelled pork and beef were being sent to Barbados from Virginia and Maryland, and trading ships were furnished with meat.⁷⁸ About 1657 Barbados was relying largely on Virginia for live cattle (oxen) and beef. Ligon wrote, "The Virginians cannot have a better market to sell them; for an Oxe 5 l. pound price at Virginie, will yield 25 l. there."⁷⁹ In 1704, however, Oldmixon wrote that the Virginians might "drive as good a Trade with Cattle and Provision, Horses, Cows, Oxen, Beef, Pork, etc. as the People of New England and Carolina do to the Sugar Islands: But all their Thoughts run upon Tobacco, and they make nothing of those Advantages."⁸⁰ It is doubtful if the exports of livestock products from Maryland during the latter half of the seventeenth century ever amounted to more than occasional small surpluses. In the period 1674–1678, on account of shortages of provisions, exports were several times forbidden.⁸¹ According to Miss Morriss, from 1689 to 1715 the exports in any one year never exceeded 180 barrels. For the period November 12, 1752 to July 12, 1753, Maryland exported only 497 barrels of beef and pork.⁸²

Apparently the trade from Virginia attained a larger volume during the eighteenth century. In 1743/4 Governor Gooch reported that exports of pork and beef to the West Indies amounted to 20,000 barrels, and the same to Portugal and the Madeiras.⁸³ In 1755, however, Governor Dinwiddie estimated the "produce"

⁷⁶ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 218, 227; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, II, 286.

⁷⁷ *Virginia Impartially Examined*, 7. In another tract of the same year the number was placed at 20,000. *Perfect Description of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, II, No. 8), p. 3.

⁷⁸ Hammond, J., *Leah and Rachel* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 14), p. 19; Alsop, *Character of Maryland* (Hall, Narratives), 363–364; cf. Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland*, 20.

⁷⁹ *History of Barbadoes*, 113.

⁸⁰ *British Empire*, I, 319.

⁸¹ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XV, 44, 54, 194.

⁸² *Colonial Trade of Maryland*, 20; Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 302.

⁸³ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1325, V 32 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); cf. Flippin, "William Gooch: Successful Royal Governor of Virginia," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2 series, V, 238.

of Virginia (by which he apparently meant exports) at "30,000 pounds" of beef and pork. Since, however, he gives the total value as £60,000, it seems probable that 30,000 barrels is meant.⁸⁴ In the fiscal year 1768 Virginia shipped 4,573 barrels of beef and pork to the West Indies; and Maryland exported only 110 barrels. Neither Province shipped any livestock products to Great Britain. This either indicates a great decline in Virginia's exports during the intervening period, or some fault in the statistics.⁸⁵ Direct exports, however, do not tell the whole story. Large numbers of cattle and hogs were annually driven into Virginia from North Carolina.⁸⁶ As already noted, cattle from the back country of the Southern Colonies were driven to the markets of Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York.⁸⁷ As early as 1748 the Virginia Assembly passed an act to clear roads over the mountains in order to divert the trade in livestock from Philadelphia to Virginia ports.⁸⁸

In spite of the rapid development of the lumbering, rice, and indigo industries, and the increased domestic requirements of its growing population, South Carolina continued to send considerable quantities of barrelled beef and pork to the West Indies. In 1747-48 exports of livestock products amounted to 2,200 pounds of bacon, 25 jars and 26 casks of lard, 3,114 barrels of pork, 1,764 barrels of beef, 130 casks of butter, and a few head of live cattle and hogs.⁸⁹ The rapid settlement of upper South Carolina with herdsmen and farmers probably increased the export surplus. For the five years 1761 to 1765 exports of beef and pork averaged 5,214 barrels per year as compared with an average of only 718 barrels in the period 1751 to 1755.⁹⁰

The development of Georgia made available a surplus of beef and pork for export from that Colony, averaging nearly 1,000 barrels a year in the period 1768 to 1772. A few live cattle were exported from Florida during the period of British occupation.⁹¹

North Carolina became the most important among the Southern Colonies as an exporter of livestock products. In 1768 North Carolina exported to the West Indies, 2,241 barrels of beef and pork, 514 head of sheep and hogs, and a few live cattle and horses.⁹² It is probable that some of the barrelled pork and beef of the Colony was shipped by way of Charleston and included in the export statistics of South Carolina. The largest proportion of the livestock of the Colony was sent on the hoof into Virginia or other northern Colonies. In 1733 Governor Burrington asserted that well informed men had told him that in years when mast was abundant 50,000 fat hogs were driven into Virginia, "and allmost the whole number fattened Oxen in Albemarle County with many Horses, Cows & Calves." Much barrelled pork was also carried to Virginia.⁹³ According to another estimate just

⁸⁴ *Official Records*, I, 386.

⁸⁵ British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts*, 15485, pp. 5, 12 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

⁸⁶ See below, p. 583.

⁸⁷ See Chap. VI.

⁸⁸ Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, IV, 134.

⁸⁹ Glen, *Answers to Queries* (Weston, Documents), 88.

⁹⁰ British Museum, *King's Manuscripts*, 206, f. 29 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

⁹¹ Romans, *East and West Florida*, 104, 202.

⁹² British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts*, 15485, pp. 5, 12-20 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

⁹³ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, III, 621.

before the Revolutionary War "about 30000 head of black cattle, without mentioning hogs" were annually driven to Virginia.⁹⁴ During the American Revolution Schoepf estimated that 10,000 to 12,000 hogs were annually driven to Virginia and South Carolina, besides what were slaughtered and salted in the Province for home consumption or export. "Nowhere on the whole continent," he continued, "is the breeding of swine so considerable or so profitable as in North Carolina." The farmers could send their salted hog meat to market a third to a half cheaper than could those of the States to the northward, handicapped by hard winters and restricted pasturage.⁹⁵

The North Carolinians chafed under the necessity of exporting their beef and pork by way of Virginia, where they were slaughtered and sold in the West Indies as Virginia beef and pork. In 1752 Bishop Spangenberg asserted:⁹⁶

"There are also large numbers of cattle taken to Va., but the N. Carolinians do not get the profits—they are reaped by the Virginians. The stock is taken to Va and there slaughtered, & sold with a profit, while the raiser suffers loss, as he receives pay only for the meat, after it is slaughtered. For the hide, tallow &c. the butcher pays him nothing."

The fact that North Carolina pork and beef were packed in Virginia for export was probably due partly to poor methods of slaughtering and packing in North Carolina. The bacon of North Carolina had the reputation of being soft and of not keeping very well.⁹⁷ In 1772 the poor quality of North Carolina pork was attributed by Governor Martin to the inferior salt used, as its importation, except from Great Britain, had been prohibited by act of Parliament to all the Provinces "South of Delaware in Pensilvania," while the Colonies to the northward employed the superior salt which they were allowed to import from Spain and Portugal.⁹⁸ This probably referred to the act of 1663 which excepted the New England fisheries from the provision that salt and other commodities must be shipped from England in English vessels, subsequently interpreted to include New York and Pennsylvania.⁹⁹ Experience showed that English salt was too mild to preserve beef and pork, while St. Martin's salt and salt from the Isle of Man, Tortuga and Turks Islands was too strong. Consequently the packers of North Carolina were obliged to get their salt from Spain and Portugal indirectly by way of New York and Pennsylvania, paying a double freight. This compelled them to drive the greater part of their cattle and hogs to Virginia and Pennsylvania.¹⁰⁰ In 1771 the North Carolina Assembly instructed the colonial agent at

⁹⁴ *Scotus Americanus, Informations concerning North Carolina* (North Carolina Historical Review, III), 615; Franklin, "Agriculture in Colonial North Carolina," in *North Carolina Historical Review*, III, 564.

⁹⁵ *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 110.

⁹⁶ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, V, 2.

⁹⁷ Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 110; McSparran, *America Dissected* (Hazard Pamphlets, XLIII, No. 1), p. 10.

⁹⁸ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, V, 317, 322; VI, 1030; IX, 269, 309, 348.

⁹⁹ Great Britain, *Statutes at Large* (Ruffhead), III, 268 (15 Car. II, c. 7); V, 613 (13 Geo. I, c. 5); VI, 5 (3 Geo. II, c. 12).

¹⁰⁰ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, V, 317, 322; VI, 1030; IX, 269.

London to solicit permission for direct importation of salt from Portugal and Spain, and also sought to obtain the influence of Virginia to the same end.¹⁰¹

In all of the Southern Colonies there was legislation regulating the gauge of barrels for pork and beef and requiring honest packing. In Virginia and the Carolinas inspection was provided.¹⁰² In North Carolina complaint was made in 1747 that the inspection act was "grossly abused in respect to Beef and Pork in the manner of killing and packing by putting in unmerchantable Beef and Pork, killed when it is hot, not bled properly, and rolled in the sand and dirt to add to the weight, . . . by which means it is blown upon in foreign markets and sold under half price."¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, IX, 132, 208, 215, 219, 348.

¹⁰² *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XL, 228, 236; *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1745, ch. 15; 1753, ch. 3; 1757, ch. 6; 1760, ch. 11; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), III, 254-258; V, 164-168, 350-355; VI, 147-150; VIII, 143, 352; *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), II, 55, 157, 216; *North Carolina State Records*, XXIII (Col. Laws), 352-355, 380, 432, 485, 639-649, 790-801.

¹⁰³ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, V, 870.

CHAPTER X

GROWTH OF THE COLONIAL TOBACCO INDUSTRY AND CONDITIONS OF PRODUCTION AND EXPORTATION

Growth of the Industry, 213. Methods of Cultivating and Curing Tobacco, 215. Product per Acre and per Man, 218. Packing and Shipping, 219. Costs of Transport and Marketing, 223. Attempts to Regulate Quality, 224. Development of Inspection Systems, 225. Persistent Devotion to Tobacco Production, 231. Geographic Shifts in Tobacco Production, 233.

GROWTH OF THE INDUSTRY

The rapid expansion of the tobacco industry, begun during the period of the Virginia Company, continued with brief interruptions throughout the seventeenth century. In 1628, as we have noted, exports from Virginia amounted to about 500,000 pounds, but for the years 1637-1640 inclusive yearly receipts of Virginia tobacco in London averaged 1,395,063 pounds, not to speak of the quantity carried direct to Holland.¹ During the next decade and a half production increased more than fivefold, for in the year ending September 29, 1663, London imported 7,367,140 pounds. In the year ending September 29, 1669, English imports amounted to 9,026,046 pounds, practically all from Virginia and Maryland,² and considerable quantities also had been taken by the Dutch. For the quarter of a century following 1663, varying statements of exports in terms of hogsheads are available, but on account of the changing size of hogsheads, it is difficult to determine the rate of growth of the industry.³ By the close of that period, however, statistics in pounds indicate that English imports from the tobacco Colonies had increased several fold.⁴ From Christmas, 1685 to Christmas, 1688, London imports alone averaged 14,485,350 pounds, while in the six years from Christmas, 1681 to Christmas, 1688, the year 1685 being omitted, the "outports" received an annual average of 13,495,006 pounds.⁵ From this time until the close of the century production increased nearly a third. According to estimates compiled from customhouse accounts, average exports from Virginia and Maryland for 1697 to 1701 inclusive amounted to a little more than 35,000,000 pounds, of which Maryland shipped nearly 13,000,000 pounds. About this time annual imports of colonial tobacco in England were estimated at 70,000 to 80,000 hogsheads.⁶

¹ British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts*, 35865, f. 248 (Transcripts, Library of Congress). Since there are few statistics of tobacco production for the colonial period growth of the industry must be measured by trade statistics.

² Beer, G. L., *Old Colonial System*, I, 40.

³ For instance, see *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), III, 504; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 516; Virginia, *Journals of the House of Burgesses* (McIlwaine), 1659-1693, pp. 499-502; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1675-1676, p. 417; 1681-1685, p. 407.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1689-1692, p. 184.

⁵ British Museum, *Sloan Manuscripts*, 1815, f. 35 (Transcripts, Library of Congress). For London imports, 1689-1692, see *ibid.*, *Harleian Manuscripts*, 1238, f. 29.

⁶ Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland*, 31-34; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1702, p. 69.

The most serious interruption in the increase of tobacco production occurred early in the eighteenth century due to the retarding influence of the long period of war from 1702 to 1713. For the ten years ending in 1709 the average annual British imports from America amounted to 28,858,666 pounds.⁷ Annual statistics for Virginia and Maryland compiled by Miss Morriss also suggest the stagnation of the industry, which was reflected in a decrease of British customs revenues from tobacco.⁸ From the close of the war until about 1730 there appear to have been some recovery and a slow increase. In 1731 it was estimated that exports of Virginia and Maryland averaged about 60,000 hogsheads of 600 pounds each.⁹ Another estimate, made about 1736, placed the average trade of Virginia and Maryland at about 45,000 hogsheads.¹⁰ About the same time the average annual exports from Virginia alone were estimated at 32,000 hogs-

TABLE 5.—Imports and reëxports of tobacco, England and Scotland, 1761-1775*

Date	England		Scotland	
	Imported Pounds	Exported Pounds	Imported Pounds	Exported Pounds
1761	47,065,787	36,788,944	24,048,380	23,525,326
1762	44,102,491	36,445,951	27,339,433	26,694,999
1763	65,173,752	40,940,312	31,613,170	30,613,738
1764	54,433,318	54,058,336	26,310,219	25,902,170
1765	48,306,593	39,121,423	33,889,565	33,379,201
1766	43,307,453	32,986,790	32,175,223	31,723,205
1767	39,140,639	36,400,398	29,385,343	28,871,522
1768	35,545,708	30,864,536	33,261,427	32,483,543
1769	33,784,208	23,793,272	35,920,685	34,714,630
1770	39,187,037	33,238,437	39,226,354	38,498,522
1771	58,079,183	41,439,386	49,312,146	48,488,681
1772	51,493,522	49,784,009	43,748,415	42,806,548
1773	55,928,957	50,349,967	44,485,194	43,595,102
1774	56,048,393	44,829,835	40,457,589	39,533,552
1775	55,965,463	43,880,865	55,927,542	.....

* Compiled from customhouse records. Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 583.

heads.¹¹ In 1742 Sir William Gooch stated that the average annual exports of tobacco to England for the ten years preceding 1740 had amounted to 34,000 hogsheads.¹² For the three years 1744-1746 inclusive the books of the British customhouse showed an average importation of about 40,000,000 pounds, besides about 7,000,000 additional for Scotland.¹³ Apparently since the first decade of

⁷ Compiled by Anderson, *Origin of Commerce*, III, 34. For other estimates at various times during the period, see *ibid.*, 265; Oldmixon, *British Empire*, I, 316.

⁸ *Colonial Trade of Maryland*, 35; Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council*, Colonial, VI, No. 263; *idem*, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1714-1718, p. 70. No figures are included for 1705 and 1712.

⁹ Hall, F., *Importance of the British Plantations in America, etc.*, 73; (quoted by Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 163).

¹⁰ This figure is given by Fermond (*Monographie du Tabac*, 301) but he does not give the source.

¹¹ Keith, W., *British Plantations*, 174; Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 217. An estimate in 1740 that the trade of the Colonies amounted to only 30,000 hogsheads is quite out of line with other estimates. Anderson, *Origin of Commerce*, III, 226.

¹² London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1325, V 32 (Transcripts, Library of Congress). In comparing this statement with other statistics here given it should be noted that about the middle of the forties the size of the hogshead was increased on the average probably about a hundred pounds.

¹³ Anderson, *Origin of Commerce*, III, 265.

the century average annual British imports of tobacco had increased over 60 per cent. From 1745 to 1755 inclusive, according to Brock, annual exports of Virginia and Maryland averaged 47,389 hogsheads annually, but the average hogshead had increased considerably in size during the second quarter of the century. About the middle of the century the Albemarle region of North Carolina was exporting annually about 2,000 hogsheads.¹⁴

The fluctuations of the tobacco trade from 1754 to 1763 inclusive, shown by figures on gross revenue from British tobacco customs, indicate some falling off in volume of imports during the Seven Years' War.¹⁵ These figures, however, do not include the revenues from the increasing Scotch trade. From 1761 to 1775 average annual British imports increased notably, as shown in Table 5, opposite.¹⁶ For the five years 1761-1765 inclusive imports of both England and Scotland averaged a little over 80,000,000 pounds a year, an increase of about 72 per cent above the average a decade and a half earlier. Some repressive influence due to the war is suggested by the large expansion of imports in the first two years of peace, 1763 and 1764, after which total imports dropped back to about the level of 1761 and 1762. Beginning in 1771 there is a general increase in the level of imports, which averaged about 102,000,000 pounds for the five years 1771-1775, about 40 per cent above the previous five years. The change in the trend of the curve, however, is so sudden as to suggest either a fault in the statistics or some change in trade methods.

The great expansion of the Scotch trade from about 7,000,000 pounds a year in 1744-1746 to about 47,000,000 in the period 1771-1775 indicates that the greater part of the increase in the British tobacco trade after 1745 had been absorbed by Scotch merchants.

METHODS OF CULTIVATING AND CURING TOBACCO

It is probable that in the early years of tobacco cultivation such practices as hill cultivation, transplanting, suckering, and air curing were adopted.¹⁷ The years following the dissolution of the Company must have constituted a period of active experimentation. The earliest full account of production methods which has been available is that of Thomas Glover, who wrote in 1671 as follows:¹⁸

"The Manner of Planting and Ordering Tobacco is thus: In the twelve Days they began to sow their Seed in Beds of find Mould, and when the Plants be grown to the Breadth of a Shilling, they are fit to replant into the Hills; for in their Plantations they make small Hills about 4 Foot distant from each other, somewhat after the Manner

¹⁴ *Succinct Account of Tobacco in Virginia* (U. S. Census, 1880, III, Agriculture), 222; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, V, 317.

¹⁵ British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts*, 8133B, f. 355 (Transcripts, Library of Congress). For various individual estimates in the period from 1759 to 1765, see Burnaby, *Travels in North America*, 12, 39; Gordon, A., *Journal* (Mereness, Travels), 402.

¹⁶ See Table 5.

¹⁷ See above, p. 21.

¹⁸ *Account of Virginia* (Lowthorp, Philosophical Transactions and Collections, II), 574; George Alsop also gave a general account of the cultivation of tobacco. *Character of Maryland* (Hall, Narratives), 363. However, it is much less detailed and satisfactory than Glover's and contains no items not included in Glover's account.

of our Hop-yards. These Hills being prepared against the Plants be grown to the forementioned Bigness (which is about the Beginning of May) they then in moist Weather draw the Plants out of their Beds, and replant them in the Hills, which afterward they keep with diligent Weedings. When the Plant hath put out so many Leaves as the Ground will nourish to a Substance and Largeness that will render them Merchantable, then they take off the Top of the Plant: If the Ground be very rich, they let a Plant put out 12 or 16 Leaves before they top it; if mean, then not above 9 or 10, and so according to the Strength of their Soil. The Top being Taken off, the Plant grows no higher, but afterwards it will put out Suckers between their Leaves, which they pluck away once a Week, till the Plant comes to Perfection, which it doth in August. Then in dry Weather, when there is a little Breeze of Wind, they cut down what is ripe, letting it lie about 4 Hours on the Ground, till such time as the Leaves, that stood strutting out, fall down to the Stalk: Then they carry it on their Shoulders into their Tobacco Houses, where other Servants taking of it drive into the Stalk of each Plant a Peg, and as fast as they are pegg'd, they hang them up by the Pegs on Tobacco-Sticks, so nigh each other, that they just touch, much after the Manner they hang Herrings in Yarmouth: Thus they let them hang 5 or 6 Weeks, till such time as the Stem in the Middle of the Leaf will snap in the Bending of it: Then when the Air hath so moistened the Leaf, as that it may be handled without breaking, they strike it down, strip it off the Stalk, bind it up in Bundles, and pack it into Hogsheads for Use."

The delicate handling required for properly curing tobacco was early recognized as one of the largest factors in determining its quality. In 1657 an English merchant wrote to his client in Virginia, "Give it but substance & cure it green & whatever you doe pack it true; let it be all in one cise [size] as neare as you can & in small bundles."¹⁹ In 1690 some adventurer who had observed the methods of curing tobacco in Brazil, which commanded a premium, came forward with a scheme for the formation of a monopolistic company to engage in purchasing sweet-scented tobacco and curing it by Brazilian methods. The scheme received scant encouragement by Virginia authorities.²⁰ About 1704 the methods of curing tobacco in vogue in Virginia were described as follows:²¹

"As fast as the plants ripen, you must cut 'em down, leave 'em in the Field for half a Day, then heap them up, let 'em lye and sweat a night, and the next day carry them to the Tobacco-House where every Plant is hang'd one by another, at a convenient distance, for about a Month or 5 Weeks; at the end of which time they strike or take 'em down in moist Weather, when the Leaf gives, or else 'twill crumble to dust; after which they are laid upon Sticks, and cover'd up close in the *Tobacco-House* for a Week or a Fortnight to sweat, and then opening the Bulk in a wet day, the Servants strip them and sort them, the top-Leaves being the best, and the bottom the worst Tobacco."

Throughout the seventeenth century air curing was generally employed, but during the next century fire curing began to be used, particularly in giving proper color to Kite's-foot tobacco or in damp weather as a substitute for air curing.

¹⁹ Letter from Capt. Richard Longman to Mr. Richard Jones, of Virginia, June 15, 1659, in *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, I, 272.

²⁰ Virginia, *Calendar of State Papers*, I, 25.

²¹ Oldmixon, *British Empire*, I, 309. Hugh Jones' description of the curing of tobacco based on his visit to Virginia in 1721-1722 added nothing new to this account. *Present State of Virginia*, 40.

The pegging of tobacco was partially abandoned, and the practice of splitting the stalk and hanging on tobacco sticks came into use.²²

Plows were but little employed in preparation of the soil or cultivation of the crop until after the colonial period; but the process of cultivation had been worked out with considerable care. After the land was cleared the ground was "grubbed" with the "grubbing hoe"—a kind of small mattock. Then hilling hoes, 6 to 8 inches wide and 10 or 12 inches long in the blade, were used to prepare the hills. The laborer stood with foot advanced and threw dirt from all sides around his leg, then withdrew his foot and flattened the top of the hill. For cultivation a different kind of hoe—the broad or weeding hoe—was employed. The blade of this implement was 10 to 12 inches wide on the edge, not so deep as the blade of the hilling hoe, but much thinner. By means of a wedge it might be set at any angle to the handle. At the close of the eighteenth century cultivation consisted in alternately levelling and building up the hills.²³

Tatham mentions several kinds of insect pests. There was first the small fly that sometimes destroyed the plant in the tobacco beds. Some planters employed sulphur, and others an infusion of sassafras bark to destroy these pests. After transplanting, there was danger from groundworms, which tended to come up and cut off the plant. As the plants became large, tobacco caterpillars presented themselves in great numbers.²⁴

The importance of suitable soil and the influence of character of soil on quality of product were early appreciated and in time were recognized in trade distinctions.²⁵ The policy of limiting production to so many plants per laborer tended to encourage early abandonment of old grounds, and even when the limitations applied to number of leaves per plant or number of pounds per laborer, the tendency was to seek for lands that would produce the largest leaves or the best quality. The tendency to prefer new ground was partly due to a belief that manuring old ground produced a disagreeable rankness in the flavor of tobacco.²⁶ Furthermore, the practice of letting stock range at large was not favorable to the accumulation of manure. Nevertheless, the practice of cowpenning had developed as early as 1688. This was about the only method employed for enriching the soil, although marsh soil had been occasionally applied.²⁷ Hugh Jones remarked in 1724 that "land when hired is forced to bear *Tobacco* by penning their Cattle upon it," which suggests that tenants tended to take up the partially exhausted soil. By the close of the eighteenth century cowpenning was a general practice.²⁸ Attempts to encourage the drainage of wet lands in eastern Virginia encountered the strongly intrenched conviction that such land

²² *Randolph Manuscripts* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XV), 404; Cabell, *Early History of Agriculture in Virginia*, 18; Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, II, 134; Tatham, *Essay on Tobacco*, 24; Burke, Edm., *European Settlements in America*, II, 214; Wynne, *British Empire*, II, 244.

²³ *American Husbandry*, I, 223; Tatham, *Essay on Tobacco*, 9-14, 123.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 119-123.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

²⁶ *Virginia, Journals of the House of Burgesses* (McIlwaine), 1619-1658/9, p. 59; Jones, H., *Present State of Virginia*, 39. At the close of the century cowpenned tobacco was rated as of second quality. Tatham, *Essay on Tobacco*, 6.

²⁷ Clayton, *Letter giving an Account of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 12), pp. 24-25.

²⁸ *Present State of Virginia*, 39; Tatham, *Essay on Tobacco*, 120.

produced "nonburning" tobacco, a quality not favored by the market. Soil conditions were considered partly responsible for the differences between the two great colonial types, Oronoko and sweet-scented, which was mentioned as early as 1659.²⁹ The former grew best in rich, heavy soils of stream bottoms. The latter required sandy loams, and its production was confined for a time to the peninsula between the lower James and York rivers.³⁰ In the latter part of the seventeenth century William Fitzhugh was experimenting with sweet-scented tobacco in the Northern Neck, and considerable quantities came to be grown in that region.³¹ Nevertheless, about 1724 it was considered that the quality of the sweet-scented deteriorated as one proceeded northward from the York or southward from the James.³²

Oronoko differed from sweet-scented in having a longer and more pointed leaf. Sweet-scented was milder in flavor and was commonly stemmed, while much of the Oronoko was shipped unstemmed. The best grade of Oronoko was cured to a bright color and known as Kite's-foot. In 1724 Virginia produced 17,732 hogsheads of Oronoko and 17,252 of sweet-scented; but the former averaged 600 pounds per hogshead, and the latter 700.³³ Most of the Maryland product was Oronoko. There were several subvarieties of the main types, including Pryor, Townsend, and Long Green, and at least one coördinate type, known as Little Frederic. Toward the latter part of the eighteenth century tobacco inspectors, finding it difficult to distinguish various types, tended to class all tobacco as Oronoko.³⁴

PRODUCT PER ACRE AND PER MAN

The product of tobacco per acre does not appear to have changed greatly in the long period from the middle of the seventeenth century to the period shortly preceding the Civil War, when 1,000 pounds per acre was the standard of a good crop.³⁵ The greater use of the plow and other tillage implements probably resulted in some increase in product per man between the early seventeenth century and the latter part of the eighteenth. In 1619 the labor of one man was said to have produced £200 when tobacco was worth 3 shillings 6 pence per pound,³⁶ indicating a product of 1,143 pounds per worker. About the same time one Richard Brewster claimed that he had produced with the assistance of three men 2,800 pounds, an average of 700 pounds per worker besides 100 bushels of corn; while William Capps asserted that from the labor of three boys he received 3,000 pounds of tobacco and 110 barrels of corn.³⁷ In 1624, when tobacco

²⁹ Clayton, *Letter giving an Account of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 12), pp. 21-23; Jones, H., *Present State of Virginia*, 39; Tyler's *Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, I, 271. In 1630 the finest tobacco was spoken of as "the long sort." *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 205.

³⁰ Tatham, *Essay on Tobacco*, 5-7.

³¹ *Letters* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography), I, 268; VI, 60.

³² Jones, H., *Present State of Virginia*, 34.

³³ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1319, p. 439 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

³⁴ Clayton, *Letter giving an Account of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 12), p. 15; Byrd, *History of the Dividing Line and Other Tracts* (Wynne), II, 149; *idem*, *Writings* (Bassett), 379; Mair, "Book-Keeping Modernized," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, XIV, 88; Tatham, *Essay on Tobacco*, 4, 6.

³⁵ *Farmer and Gardener*, I, 26.

³⁶ Letter of John Pory, in Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia*, 284.

³⁷ Virginia Company of London, *Abstracts of Proceedings*, II, 262.

was worth 3 shillings a pound, a man's labor was said to amount to £50 or £60 sterling per annum,³⁸ or about 400 pounds of tobacco per man. In 1649 it was stated that one man could produce 2,000 pounds of tobacco.³⁹ In 1655 the average product of a man's labor was estimated at 1,500 pounds.⁴⁰ Toward the close of the seventeenth century two estimates gave the usual product per laborer in Maryland at 2,000 pounds.⁴¹ In 1696/7, however, the extreme coldness of the winters was given as an explanation for a usual product per hand of 2,000 pounds, instead of 4,000 as formerly. About the same time a Virginia planter estimated the usual product per man at 4,500 pounds of sweet-scented, or 3,000 of Oronoko.⁴² At the beginning of the eighteenth century Michel reported the normal product of a laborer to be 1,500 to 2,000 pounds, besides 6 or 8 barrels of corn.⁴³ In the third quarter of the eighteenth century an estimate averaging $2\frac{1}{2}$ hogsheads, besides provisions, was given as the product "per head." This would amount to about 2,200 to 2,700 pounds of tobacco. About the same time the product per worker was stated by two other writers at 1,000 pounds.⁴⁴

PACKING AND SHIPPING

In the early years tobacco was shipped in bulk, either loose or wrapped in rolls or small bundles known as hands. Very soon certain planters began to pack tobacco in "hands," shipped in casks or hogsheads. In 1625 a shipmaster spoke of opening four or five "pipes" of tobacco, and in 1629 a considerable number of hogsheads were exported.⁴⁵ By the middle of the eighteenth century hogsheads packed with stemmed leaf laid straight were preferred to those containing hands.⁴⁶ A good deal of tobacco continued to be shipped in bulk, estimated in 1665 at 10,000 to 15,000 pounds per ship.⁴⁷ The practice increased rapidly during the latter part of the seventeenth century and the first two decades of the eighteenth, due to the expansion of the industry into frontier regions lacking facilities for prizing and handling hogsheads. Shipment in bulk was also favorable to smuggling, for quantities could be concealed in the personal belongings of sailors, who even broke open hogsheads in order to evade the customs. Customs receipts were further reduced because bulk tobacco was subject to greater shrinkage than hogshead tobacco, as well as serious deterioration in quality. Numerous small heterogeneous lots constituted an obstacle in legislative regulation of quality.

³⁸ Smith, Capt. J., *Works*, 615.

³⁹ *Perfect Description of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, II, No. 8), p. 4.

⁴⁰ Hartlib, *Reformed Virginian Silkworm* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 13), p. 36.

⁴¹ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXIV, 227; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1702, p. 163.

⁴² *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XXIII, 89; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1696-1697, p. 591.

⁴³ *Journey to Virginia* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXIV), 31.

⁴⁴ *American Husbandry*, I, 227; Raynal, *British Settlements and Trade in North America*, 128; Morse, *American Geography*, 394.

⁴⁵ Neill, *Virginia Company of London*, 238; Minutes of the Council and General Court of Virginia, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXIII, 3; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 295.

⁴⁶ Letter from Edward Athawes to John and Charles Carter, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXIII, 166.

⁴⁷ British Museum, *Harleian Manuscripts*, 1238, f. 20 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

Bulk tobacco required a smaller number of ships than an equivalent quantity packed in hogsheads, a form of economy which did not appeal to the public policy of that age. It injured the market for hogshead tobacco because of poor quality, price-cutting made possible by lower cost of shipment, earlier arrival at market, and the practice of hawking it about the streets in small quantities, disturbing the established channels of trade.⁴⁸ Naturally the practice was condemned by customs officials and by the more reputable merchants and larger planters.⁴⁹

Nevertheless, shipment in bulk was not lacking in supporters. In 1688 a request from the royal authorities that the Colonies prohibit the practice was decisively rejected by the Virginia Assembly, and the same year the Governor of Maryland wrote he despaired of success. Opponents of prohibition pointed out that bulk shipments consisted mainly of dark tobacco of low quality, which could not bear the higher freight charges of hogshead tobacco.⁵⁰ Governor Nicholson, of Maryland, pointed out that prohibition of bulk tobacco would discourage the small outport ships from coming to the Colony. They were the main source of supply for backwoods stores that bought the bulk tobacco of small farmers and backwoodsmen.⁵¹

Failing to obtain action in colonial legislatures, English merchants induced Parliament to prohibit importation of bulk tobacco after September 29, 1700. Apparently this act was not completely effective, for in 1703 Robert Quarry, Virginia agent in London, complained that much tobacco was being shipped in bulk,⁵² and in 1722 instructions were sent the Earl of Orkney to procure legislation by Virginia suppressing the practice.⁵³ The first inspection law of Virginia, in 1730, and that of Maryland, in 1747, contained rigid restrictions on the exportation of bulk tobacco. Even its shipment within the Colonies was at first prohibited, but later it was found necessary to relax these provisions in the interest of small planters and farmers carrying small quantities to local stores.

The hogshead was an object of much colonial legislation, particularly its size. The fact that colonial export taxes and various handling and marketing charges were rated on the hogshead as a unit and that transport charges were based on the assumption of 4 hogsheads to the ton stimulated a steady increase in size of hogsheads, an increase not checked by laws fixing the maximum. It is probable that in 1661 hogsheads did not average above 350 pounds net weight.⁵⁴ In 1657/8 a Virginia law fixed the maximum size at 43 inches in height by 26 inches in diameter of the head, "bulge proportionable," and in 1676 Maryland increased the maximum diameter of the head to 27 inches, requiring that hogs-

⁴⁸ See list of reasons against the practice, in Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1685-1688, p. 418; 1689-1692, p. 614; Byrd, *History of the Dividing Line and Other Tracts* (Wynne), II, 153.

⁴⁹ Virginia, *Calendar of State Papers*, I, 18; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1685-1688, p. 459; *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), VIII, 45-46.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 63; (Assem. Acts), XIX, 91.

⁵¹ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1693-1696, p. 512.

⁵² *Idem*, *Statutes of the Realm*, VII, 506 (10 Wm. III, c. 10); Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland*, 97.

⁵³ *Randolph Manuscripts* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXII), 119.

⁵⁴ Jones, H., *Present State of Virginia*, 40; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 225; II, 106.

heads should not be less than 42 inches by 26 inches.⁵⁵ In 1692 Maryland found it necessary to increase maximum legal dimensions to 44 by 31 inches, and two years later to 48 by 32 inches, which was continued by various acts in 1699, 1700, and 1704.⁵⁶ In 1695 and again in 1705 Virginia provided for maximum dimensions of 48 by 30 inches.⁵⁷ The stubborn attitude of the Maryland Assembly in holding out for a larger maximum than in Virginia was attributed in part to the fact that Oronoko tobacco was not capable of being compressed in so small a space as sweet-scented.⁵⁸

Increases in size of hogsheads and lack of uniformity in regulations of the two Colonies led to much dissatisfaction on the part of merchants and the British authorities. It was urged that lack of uniformity handicapped ships trading to both Colonies in arranging cargo space, increase in size reduced income for freights, penalties on shipmasters for squeezing and defacing hogsheads to make them occupy less cargo space were much heavier than penalties on planters for exceeding the legal size, and revenues from export duties were reduced.⁵⁹ The upshot of the controversy was an order from the Queen validating the Virginia specifications, disapproving the Maryland act, and urging that Maryland requirements be made conformable with those of Virginia.⁶⁰ The disallowance of the Maryland acts did not end the disparity, nor did Maryland comply at once with the Queen's command. In 1709 Governor Seymour suggested that the difficulty be settled by Parliament.⁶¹ In 1711 a delegation of tobacco merchants appearing before the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations declared that while sweet-scented tobacco could be more compactly compressed than Oronoko, the latter was also largely grown in Virginia. If the Marylanders would take the same care in packing their tobacco as did the Virginians, a Maryland hogshead would contain nearly a quarter more. In that year the Maryland Assembly finally conformed to Her Majesty's command by fixing the gauge of hogsheads at 48 by 30 inches, but in 1716 the original diameter of 32 inches was restored, the act asserting the great hardships on account of the previous act, which had been widely evaded.⁶² The new act was vetoed by the Proprietor on account of objections to revenue provisions, but it was passed again the next year with necessary modifications and renewed from time to time until passage of the inspection law of 1747.⁶³

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 456; *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), II, 529; *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1676, ch. 9.

⁵⁶ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XIII, 552; XXII, 560; XXIV, 106; XXVI, 331.

⁵⁷ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), III, 134, 435-440.

⁵⁸ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1701, p. 631.

⁵⁹ Letter of M. Blackiston to the Governor and Council, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XIX, 16; Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1704-1709, pp. 473-476, 481; *idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1706-1708, pp. 618, 707-708; Virginia, *Calendar of State Papers*, I, 121; *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XX, 277; Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland*, 97.

⁶⁰ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XXV, 246; Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, II, No. 1056, p. 547; *idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1706-1708, p. 716.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 1708-1709, p. 195.

⁶² *Idem*, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1708-1715, p. 267; *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1711, ch. 5; *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXX, 348; XXXVIII, 199.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, XXXIII, Pref., p. xi; also pp. 27, 37, 478, 506, 588, 641; *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1717, ch. 7; 1723, ch. 2; 1726, ch. 4; 1729, ch. 5; 1732, ch. 25; 1736, ch. 9; 1740, ch. 10; 1744, ch. 7; 1747, ch. 26.

The Virginia inspection act of 1730 standardized the weight of the hogshead at not less than 800 pounds net, renewing also the dimension requirements of 48 by 30 inches.⁶⁴ In 1737 it was stated that while some hogsheads weighed 900 to 1,000 pounds, those of 700 to 800 pounds were more commonly employed. The next year it was provided that inspectors might be obliged to make tobacco hogsheads weigh as much as 850 pounds.⁶⁵ In 1745 the requirement was increased again to 950 pounds, but the dimensions of the hogshead continued unchanged.⁶⁶ The Maryland inspection acts followed the practice of the Virginia acts in fixing the minimum net weight of the hogshead. The act of 1763 specified 1,000 pounds.⁶⁷ In 1752, however, there is an account of a Maryland hogshead within the legal gauge weighing 1,829 pounds net.⁶⁸

Because of the tendency to build hogsheads out of green lumber and to make staves and heading unnecessarily thick, the structure and weight of tobacco hogsheads were also matters of legislative concern, and since payments of tobacco were largely made in the hogshead, it became necessary to standardize the tare. Thus, a Virginia act of 1691 and a Maryland act of 1694 regulated minutely materials to be used and method of constructing hogsheads, requiring the cooper to stamp his initials on each hogshead and providing an allowance of 30 pounds as tare in all payments of "tobacco and cask."⁶⁹ Coopers were also required to stamp the approximate weight of the hogshead, under heavy penalty for misstatement, subject to limits of tolerance for changes in weight due to evaporation or absorption of moisture.⁷⁰ Both Colonies specified the value of the cask to be allowed the sellers.⁷¹ There were strict prohibitions against false marking; changing marks; including sand, stones, and other foreign materials; and cropping and damaging hogsheads, especially squeezing them to make them occupy less cargo space.⁷²

The practice of pilfering was difficult to eliminate, for custom allowed the gouging of hogsheads in sampling, which gave an excuse for appropriation of considerable quantities by stevedores, sailors, and others. At the close of the eighteenth century Negro stevedores were accustomed to supply choice tobacco obtained by pilfering to discriminating patrons in England.⁷³

Various acts were passed to speed up the process of collecting tobacco by ships

⁶⁴ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), IV, 252, 258; continued in 1734, *ibid.*, 380-393.

⁶⁵ *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), Apr. 14-21, 1738; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), V, 12; continued in 1742, *ibid.*, 133.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 325; continued in inspection act of 1748, *ibid.*, VI, 164; continued in the general act of 1765, *ibid.*, VIII, 91.

⁶⁷ *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1763, ch. 18.

⁶⁸ *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), Aug. 20, 1752.

⁶⁹ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), III, 51-53; continued in substance in the act of 1705, *ibid.*, 435-440. Earlier acts regulating tare had been passed in Maryland in 1676 and 1682 and continued from time to time. *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1676, ch. 9; 1682, ch. 3; 1684, ch. 6; 1686, ch. 3; 1688, ch. 2; 1694, ch. 5.

⁷⁰ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), III, 439; *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXXVI, 87.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 67, 164, 284; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), III, 439; IV, 252.

⁷² For instances, see *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XIII, 518; XXVI, 231; XXVII, 95, 157; XXX, 260; XXXVI, 507-516; XXXVIII, 175; XLII, 143; *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1682, ch. 3; 1711, ch. 5; 1715, ch. 22; 1736, ch. 9; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), III, 496-498; VI, 49.

⁷³ *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), July 20-Aug. 5, 1737; Tatham, *Essay on Tobacco*, 93-99.

and to facilitate its early appearance on the market.⁷⁴ In 1671 a Maryland act, reciting that planters and merchants suffered serious losses by delays in the construction of tobacco hogsheads, required coopers to complete one half the supply of hogsheads by October 10 and the remainder by December 10. A similar act of 1682 regulated the time of cutting timber for hogsheads in order to insure its proper curing.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, the merchants continued to press for legislation to remedy the delays, and in 1727 an act was passed by the Maryland Assembly requiring all tobacco to be ready for shipment by the last day of May and rolled to within one mile of a convenient landing, the owner to be allowed 6 pence per hogshead for each mile travelled.⁷⁶ In 1734/5 a Maryland act prohibited shipment between August 31 and November 25 under heavy penalties both to shipper and shipmaster.⁷⁷

COSTS OF TRANSPORT AND MARKETING

In 1630 freight from Virginia cost £12 sterling per ton, and this rate continued until 1639, when the Virginia Assembly changed it to £6 per ton. In the latter half of the seventeenth century Bruce records charges varying from £5 5s. to £7 per ton. In war times freights went higher; thus, in 1690 and 1691, £14 to £16 was demanded, and in 1746 the freight charge on tobacco was doubled.⁷⁸ In order to prevent shipmasters from taking advantage of planters in war time, a Maryland act of 1704 required the former to publish their freight rates before loading.⁷⁹ At times the increasing size of hogsheads and the rigidity of customary rates appear to have borne hardly on the merchants. In 1728 a group of British merchants wrote to Maryland planters, complaining that they could not afford freight at £8 a ton on account of delays in loading; the Virginians were far more prompt in getting their tobacco ready for shipment. In 1737 freight from Virginia was still estimated at from £7 to £8 per ton, and it was £8 in 1768 on a shipment of 13 hogsheads.⁸⁰

Numerous petty charges and commissions added considerably to the costs of marketing. The shipment just mentioned sold in London for a total of £490 9s. 5d. after allowance for damage,uttle, tret, draft, and sample. Of this sum the heavy British duties exacted £358 13s., and freight £26. Virginia taxes at 2 shillings per hogshead amounted to £1 6s. The net return to the shipper was £81 17s.,⁸¹ leaving £22 13s. 5d. to be accounted for by other marketing charges and commissions, an average of nearly £1 14s. 11d. per hogshead, besides loss through shrinkage. At hearings before the British Commissioners for Trade

⁷⁴ Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 385.

⁷⁵ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), II, 288; VII, 261; cf. also *ibid.*, XXX, 29–31.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, XXXVI, 5, 86–88.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, XXXIX, 303; *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1735, ch. 20; suspended in 1736 and repealed in 1737, *ibid.*, 1736, ch. 23; 1737, ch. 15.

⁷⁸ Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 450–452; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 225; London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1326, p. 409 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

⁷⁹ *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1704, ch. 62.

⁸⁰ *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), Apr. 8–15, 1729, cited by Sioussat, *Economics and Politics in Maryland*, 32; *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), July 20–Aug. 5, 1737; results of shipment by William and Mary College in 1768, in *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, I, 35.

⁸¹ *Loc. cit.*

and Plantations, in 1720, a tobacco merchant asserted that a normal price for tobacco in Maryland was 1 penny per pound, but by the time it reached the stage of reëxportation from England the accumulated charges made the necessary selling price about 3 pence. It was customary to estimate 1 penny each for purchase, transport, and petty charges. This did not include duty. A leading merchant in the Virginia trade estimated the normal price in Virginia at $1\frac{3}{4}$ pence and the reëxport price at 4 pence.⁸² In 1737 the charges in transporting and marketing a hogshead weighing 790 pounds net at shipment from Maryland and 732 pounds at time of sale in London were estimated as follows:⁸³

	£	s.	d.
British duties.....	16	18	2
Maryland export duty.....	0	2	9
Freight.....	1	15	0
Primage and petty charges.....	0	2	1
To entry inwards, etc.....	0	1	6
To entry outwards, etc.....	0	2	0
To cooperage, etc.....	0	2	0
To portorage, etc.....	0	1	0
To warehouse rent.....	0	3	6
To brokerage.....	0	2	0
To postage of letters.....	0	1	0
To drafts (4 lbs. of tobacco).....	0	0	9
To loss of weight (allowing 14 pounds for natural loss on shipboard, 44 pounds of tobacco).....	0	8	3
To commission of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on duties and on selling price.....	0	12	0
Total.....	£20	12	0

ATTEMPTS TO REGULATE QUALITY

The importance of quality was early recognized, and attempts made to standardize the product exported. Gradually there developed a volume of legislative regulation such as was received by no other agricultural product, with the possible exception of sugar.

A number of measures had the twofold object of improving quality and reducing quantity. This was true of regulations limiting the time of transplanting. Thus, in 1657/8 Virginia prohibited the setting out of tobacco plants after July 10; and during the seventh decade various attempts were made for an inter-colonial agreement to restrict transplanting after June 20.⁸⁴ In 1686 Virginia forbade transplanting after June 30, but in 1696 this law was repealed on the ground that it had worked hardship to some parts of the Colony and had not produced the expected results. There is reason to believe that reduction of customs receipts was an important motive for repeal.⁸⁵

Another class of policy primarily intended to regulate quality but indirectly restricting quantity was the prohibition of the tending of second-growth tobacco, the curing of suckers, and the inclusion of ground leaves—the dead and withered leaves at the base of the stalks. Acts covering one or more of these points were

⁸² Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1718–1722, p. 210.

⁸³ *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), July 29–Aug. 5, 1737.

⁸⁴ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 488, 496. See below, p. 264.

⁸⁵ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), III, 34, 142; Virginia, *Journals of the House of Burgesses* (McIlwaine), 1659–1693, pp. 311, 315; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1685–1688, p. 313; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 409.

passed in Virginia in February, 1631/2, and thereafter from time to time as late as 1730.⁸⁶ In 1736, however, a new conception of good husbandry resulted in a reversal of the practice of requiring the destruction of seconds, for they had come to be regarded as excellent fertilizer. It was still unlawful to cure and pack them for sale.⁸⁷ In Maryland an act against ground leaves and seconds was passed in 1657 and 1658, and continued from time to time until repealed in 1676. Similar acts were passed in 1728 and 1736.⁸⁸ To some extent, of course, the same ends were accomplished by the various laws against packing inferior tobacco and by the inspection acts.

Another phase of the double attempt to lessen volume and improve quality was the practice of stripping before shipment. It is probable that this term referred to stemming, for the pulling of leaves from the main stalk had been customary from an early period. The practice lessened the costs of transport and customs, thereby coming in conflict with the interests of the crown and the merchants. In 1686 Virginia prohibited shipment of stalks, as this tended to increase the total quantity brought to market.⁸⁹ The opposite interest of the British authorities is reflected by Governor Nicholson, of Maryland, who urged in 1695 that tobacco ships arrive early to prevent the people from stripping and cutting their tobacco, resulting in a loss of one fourth of the customs, though benefiting shippers through enhanced prices.⁹⁰ In 1722 Parliament prohibited the importation of stripped tobacco, and instructions were given colonial authorities to prevent such shipments.⁹¹ Deeply concerned over this action, the Virginia Assembly sent Sir John Randolph to London in 1729 to urge repeal, which he succeeded in accomplishing.⁹²

DEVELOPMENT OF INSPECTION SYSTEMS

The most important policy for improving quality was the inspection system. As early as August, 1619, the Virginia Assembly provided for appointment of two persons in each corporation and two others representing the Cape Merchant to inspect tobacco and require that of poor quality to be burnt. In November "tasters" were appointed to inspect tobacco.⁹³ A similar arrangement was provided for in 1623.⁹⁴ In 1629 the governor and council wrote that to insure the high quality of exported tobacco sworn viewers had been appointed to inspect it. In March, 1629/30, an act reciting the discredit into which Virginia tobacco had fallen provided that in case a planter sold bad tobacco or tendered it in payment

⁸⁶ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 164, 190, 210, 399, 478, 487, 496, 524; II, 119, 222; III, 34, 435; IV, 87, 241-244.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, 507; VI, 51.

⁸⁸ *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1658, ch. 4; 1676, ch. 2; 1736, ch. 20; *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), I, 360, 372, 536; II, 543; XXXVI, 86-88.

⁸⁹ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), III, 35.

⁹⁰ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1693-1696, pp. 509, 512.

⁹¹ *Idem*, *Statutes at Large* (Ruffhead), V, 457 (9 Geo. I, c. 21); Instructions to Leonard Calvert, in *idem*, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, III, No. 110.

⁹² Virginia, *Journals of the House of Burgesses* (McIlwaine), 1727-1740, p. xviii; cf. Sioussat, "Virginia and the English Commercial System," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1905, I, 80.

⁹³ *Colonial Records of Virginia* (State Senate Doc., Extra, Richmond, 1874), p. 24; Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, I, 136.

⁹⁴ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 126.

of debts, the commander of the plantation, associating with himself two or three discreet persons, was authorized to burn the tobacco of low grade and to debar the delinquent party from further planting until authorized by the assembly. In 1632 the appointment of viewers was made compulsory in case of complaint.⁹⁵ The following spring a more comprehensive inspection act was passed. It provided that all tobacco must be sold at one of five centrally located stores, increased to seven the following year, where it was to be inspected and repacked by sworn viewers. The inspectors were required to burn bad and ill-conditioned tobacco and to disqualify the person offering it from further production. All debts must be paid at one of these stores, with the knowledge of the storekeeper. It is probable, however, that after a few years the policy was abandoned; it is not even certain that the warehouses were ever built.⁹⁶ An act of 1639, designed mainly to restrict quantity, divided the Colony into a number of districts, in each of which sworn commissioners were required to destroy bad tobacco and one half of the good.⁹⁷

In 1640 the Maryland Assembly enacted an inspection law along the general lines of the early Virginia laws, forbidding exportation until the tobacco had been inspected and sealed by a sworn viewer. Any interested person might demand inspection upon payment of a fee. Provision was made for arbitration in case exception was taken to the decision. If the greater part of a hogshead was found "bad," a term carefully defined, it was to be burnt; otherwise the owner must forfeit four times as much good tobacco, not to exceed the total weight of the hogshead.⁹⁸ Unfortunately, this act was allowed to lapse at the expiration of two years.

After the first early attempts to establish an effective inspection system, little further progress was made in either Colony during the seventeenth century. Although there were occasional acts with respect to seconds, ground leaves, and false packing, there was no continuity even in this legislation. A pamphlet published in 1657 declared that the majority of planters were concerned only in producing the largest possible quantity. Many were guilty of false packing, concealing trash and inferior tobacco in the center of the hogshead. A few had developed a reputation for making tobacco of unusually good quality, commanding a premium.⁹⁹ Forty years later a similar report was made by the commissioners Hartwell, Blair, and Chilton.¹⁰⁰

Expansion of the industry into the back country increased both the need and the difficulty of regulating quality. The pioneer farmers were largely ignorant of or disinclined to employ methods of improving quality, and traded their tobacco, frequently in small lots, to the outport merchants, who catered to the demand for low-grade tobacco in the northern countries of Europe. While the

⁹⁵ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 135, 152, 190.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 205, 210-212; Cabell, *Early History of Agriculture in Virginia*, 19; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 305-307.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 324; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 224. All of the acts passed after 1632 providing for inspection were formally repealed in 1641. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, IX, 56-58.

⁹⁸ *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1640, ch. 10.

⁹⁹ Gatford, *Publick Good without Private Interest*, 9.

¹⁰⁰ *Present State of Virginia and the College*, 5.

larger planters of the Tidewater continued to ship on consignment, a practice in which there was at least some reward for quality, the outport traders purchased tobacco outright in exchange for goods at backwoods stores, with little regard for quality.¹⁰¹ In 1705 an attempt was made in Virginia to standardize tobacco received for public dues or tendered in payment of debts. Besides prohibiting seconds and ground leaves, the act provided penalties against deceitful packing. In case of dispute viewers were to report the facts to a court. The act also renewed the prohibition of false marking of gross weight and tare.¹⁰² In Maryland feeble attempts to deal with the problem were comprised in acts of 1676 and 1699 requiring planters to build substantial barns for the storage of tobacco belonging to merchants or other creditors, and in an act of 1704 forbidding the changing of original marks indicating the quality of hogsheads.¹⁰³

The initial steps toward the establishment of an effective inspection system were taken by Virginia in 1712 and 1713. In the former year provision was made establishing public warehouses, or "rolling houses," at convenient places. Warehouses for commercial storage, even though privately owned, were made public utilities. Rates of storage were fixed by law, and the owner compelled to receive all goods offered up to capacity. County courts were authorized to apply eminent domain in acquiring convenient sites or compelling recalcitrant owners of warehouses to sell them to persons willing to operate under the law.¹⁰⁴ The following year an act pushed through the assembly by the vigorous Governor Spotswood provided for licensed inspectors at the various warehouses, authorized to issue negotiable receipts against inspected tobacco, thus providing a circulating medium far superior to the existing methods of using tobacco for the purpose. Unfortunately, the radical character of this law excited much opposition, partly by reason of political hostility of a certain faction against Spotswood.¹⁰⁵ Colonel William Byrd, one of the leaders of the opposition, informed the British Board of Trade that fees required by the act imposed an undue hardship on the tobacco trade, especially on those accustomed to ship on consignment and to sell according to quality, and he predicted that Maryland tobacco, not being subject to these extra charges, would have a competitive advantage.¹⁰⁶ Later events proved the picturesque Colonel a false prophet, but Byrd was supported by the conservative London merchants, interested mainly in the consignment business.¹⁰⁷ As a consequence, the act was vetoed in 1716, and the assembly was compelled to resort to less drastic methods of regulating the trade, such as prohibiting the tending and curing of seconds, suckers, and ground leaves. Fortunately, the

¹⁰¹ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1696-1697, p. 582; Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland*, 25 & n., 38; Westerfield, *Middleman in English Business*, 360; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 384; II, 338.

¹⁰² *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), III, 435-440; cf. lists of amendments proposed by the Council, in *Virginia, Calendar of State Papers*, I, 95.

¹⁰³ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), II, 519; XIII, 469; XXII, 517; *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1704, ch. 17.

¹⁰⁴ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), IV, 32-36.

¹⁰⁵ Virginia, *Journals of the House of Burgesses* (McIlwaine), 1712-1726, pp. xxi-xxii, xxxiii.

¹⁰⁶ Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1714-1718, pp. 137, 139. For a more favorable opinion of the act, see *ibid.*, 142.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 229; Spotswood, *Official Letters*, II, 48-50, 301.

act of 1712 providing for the regulation of public warehouses, slightly amended in 1720,¹⁰⁸ still remained on the statute books to serve as a nucleus for the later inspection laws.

In 1721 there began a series of extraordinary efforts to improve the quality of Maryland tobacco. In that year a strong act was passed prohibiting the tending and curing of seconds, suckers, and ground leaves, and the packing of trashy tobacco.¹⁰⁹ The merchants and larger planters represented in the council, wishing to go further, required planters to make oath that hogsheads contained no trashy tobacco and provided that on complaint that hogsheads contained inferior tobacco the fact should be determined by sworn viewers and on conviction the inferior tobacco should be destroyed and the guilty party heavily fined. The lower house agreed to these provisions somewhat reluctantly, and in 1722 voted for their repeal, which the upper house refused to accept. The law expired by limitation in 1724.¹¹⁰ An attempt at concerted action with Virginia, where similar legislation had recently failed, proved futile.¹¹¹ In 1727 another measure resembling the act of 1721 was passed by the Maryland Assembly, but it was partially repealed the following year, and expired in 1730.¹¹²

Under the stimulus of the long depression of the third decade the struggle for a comprehensive regulation of quality became successful by the passage of the Virginia inspection act of 1730, providing the framework for all similar legislation up to the Revolutionary War and the model after which the Maryland law of 1747 was patterned. Fortunately the long period of depression had changed the attitude of the more influential merchants, and although the act met the opposition of English customs officials and of small backwoods farmers, who resented the stringent regulatory provisions, it was given probationary approval.¹¹³

Building on the existing warehouse system, the act provided that no tobacco should be exported except in hogsheads, casks, or cases (thus eliminating bulk tobacco), and from designated public warehouses after examination by three licensed inspectors. These officials were required to give a large bond and were forbidden under heavy penalties to engage in trade, take rewards, or pass bad tobacco. They were required to break open and carefully examine each hogshead and with the consent of the owner to sort out "all trash, bad, unsound, and unmerchantable tobacco," burning it in the owner's presence. If the owner refused consent, the entire hogshead was to be destroyed. After sorting, the good tobacco was to be repacked, and the distinguishing mark, net weight, tare, and name of the warehouse stamped on the hogshead.

¹⁰⁸ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), IV, 87.

¹⁰⁹ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXXVIII, 290-292. An explanatory act was passed at the next session. *Ibid.*, 300.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 157, 161, 212, 217, 276, 288-290, 294-296, 312, 314, 319, 369, 415, 417, 485, 488.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, XXXV, Pref., p. x.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, XXXVI, 86-88, 284; *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1728, ch. 2.

¹¹³ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1318, p. 7 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), IV, 247-270; Sioussat, "Virginia and the English Commercial System," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1905, I, 79; Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, III, No. 239. For a significant contemporary account portraying the views and motives of the protagonists and of the opponents of the act, see pamphlet entitled *A Dialogue between Thomas Sweet-Scented, William Oronoko, Planters and Justice Love-Country*.

For each hogshead tobacco notes were issued to the owner, stating the net weight, the name of the warehouse, and whether the contents were Oronoko or sweet-scented, stemmed or leaf. Such notes were negotiable instruments and legal tender for debts within the county or adjacent counties, with certain exceptions when separated by a large river. Public taxes, fees, and rates were made payable only in tobacco notes. In the course of their circulation the notes finally came into the possession of an exporter who demanded delivery.¹¹⁴ He had the privilege of requiring the hogshead to be opened, and if dissatisfied with its quality might appeal to three justices of the peace, paying the costs in case of an unfavorable decision, but having the costs assessed to the inspector if two of the justices adjudged the tobacco unmerchantable. The assembly undertook to compensate owners for tobacco in a public warehouse destroyed by fire, flood, or other cause. The holder of the note was required to allow the inspector a certain amount for shrinkage according to the time between the date of the note and demand for delivery, the total shrinkage not to exceed 6 per cent. A small fee was payable on issue of the note and also for delivery of tobacco to the holder, but inspectors were compensated by salaries paid by the Colony. A distinction came to be recognized between "transfer" notes and "crop" notes. The former, which were in general circulation, entitled the holder to receive the quantity mentioned without regard to any specific hogshead. Crop notes were issued against specific hogsheads, and amendments of 1748 provided heavy penalties for any attempt by inspectors to substitute other hogsheads.¹¹⁵ Crop tobacco was usually designed for direct shipment to England on consignment, frequently being superior to the general average of quality represented by transfer notes. It was provided, however, that the holder of crop notes might have them exchanged at the warehouse for transfer notes. Likewise, transfer notes on presentation could be converted into crop notes, specific hogsheads of transfer tobacco being assigned and crop notes issued showing the ownership thereof.¹¹⁶

The act contributed greatly to improving the average quality of tobacco exports and to standardizing the commodity as a medium of exchange and standard of deferred payments. It improved customs administration by requiring inspectors to keep careful record of each hogshead loaded and to forward lists to the naval officers. While the system was frequently amended between 1730 and 1775, there was no change in its essential character during this period.¹¹⁷

The Virginia system operated ultimately to compel Maryland to take similar action. In 1743 Daniel Dulany wrote that Maryland factors were moving to Virginia, where they could buy better tobacco. The French, who used to buy in Maryland, were likewise turning to Virginia, finally refusing to purchase Maryland tobacco. Even the common people of Virginia, who generally opposed restrictive legislation, had become thoroughly reconciled to the law. The Mary-

¹¹⁴ Chastellux, *Travels in North America*, II, 132; Tatham, *Essay on Tobacco*, 80.

¹¹⁵ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), VI, 164. For facsimile of the two forms of notes, see Mair, "Book-Keeping Modernized," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, XIV, 91; cf. Gould, *Money and Transportation in Maryland*, 58-63; Tatham, *Essay on Tobacco*, 70-73, 76, 80-83; Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in the United States*, 438.

¹¹⁶ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), VI, 190.

¹¹⁷ For numerous changes in minor details, see *Ibid.*, IV, 329-340, 380-393, 478-482; V, 9-16, 124-160, 232-236; VI, 154-193; VII, 387-392; VIII, 69-111, 232-237, 298, 318-325.

land Council and Governor advised the Proprietor that unless Maryland took similar action her whole trade would be lost to Virginia.¹¹⁸ Although there was a group in Maryland who preferred the older policy of requiring the burning of a definite amount per laborer and prohibition of the packing of trash,¹¹⁹ the friends of the inspection policy succeeded in the passage of an act in 1747 modelled after the Virginia law, to continue for five years. In 1753 the act was revived, and after being amended from time to time was replaced in 1763 by a consolidating act.¹²⁰ In 1753 and 1773 strenuous attempts were made by foes of the system to secure its repeal.¹²¹ Its beneficent influence, however, was indicated in 1754 by Secretary Calvert, who wrote that the Virginia inspection law had "near Doubl'd their Staple of Tobacco," while the Maryland law of 1747 had "enabled those who owed Debts to discharge them, & others to live in a Comfortable and improving manner."¹²²

The provisions of the Maryland act of 1747¹²³ regulating warehouses, inspection, and issuance of tobacco notes were essentially similar to those in the Virginia law of 1730 and subsequent amendments, embodied in the consolidating act of 1748. Maryland went further than Virginia in regulating the use of tobacco notes as currency. The latter left their value to be adjusted by market competition, varying even in accordance with local character of product, distance from market, and reputation of individual inspectors for strictness or laxity.¹²⁴ The Maryland act of 1763 attempted to rate various kinds of coins in terms of their valuation in tobacco notes and in relation to taxes and fees, and to provide for scaling down previously contracted debts.¹²⁵

Attempts to regulate quality in one of the Colonies were likely to prove futile unless the importation of inferior tobacco from other Colonies was restricted. In June, 1642, an agreement was effected between Virginia and Maryland that Maryland tobacco should not be sent into Virginia.¹²⁶ The clandestine moving of tobacco out of Maryland to escape the export duty was the subject of Maryland legislation from time to time, and the passage of inspection laws in both Virginia and Maryland necessitated legislation to prevent the transport of inferior tobacco to other Colonies for shipment to Europe.¹²⁷

¹¹⁸ Sioussat, *Economics and Politics in Maryland*, 68-72; *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XXVIII, 308-310; (Assem. Acts), XLIV, 453; *Calvert Papers*, II, 95; *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), Feb. 15, 1753.

¹¹⁹ See particularly the *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), Apr. 22, 1746; cf. Sioussat, *Economics and Politics in Maryland*, 72-74.

¹²⁰ *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1747, ch. 1; 1750, ch. 28; 1753, ch. 22; 1754, chs. 1-3; 1755, ch. 7; 1757, ch. 31; 1758, chs. 7, 12; 1760, chs. 7, 14; 1762, chs. 20, 26; 1763, ch. 18. The laws mentioned should also be considered in connection with the acts against the exportation of trash and bad tobacco. *Ibid.*, 1750, ch. 1; 1751, ch. 1.

¹²¹ *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), Feb. 15, June 28, 1753; Nov. 4, Dec. 2, 9, 1773.

¹²² *Calvert Papers*, II, 176.

¹²³ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XLIV, 595-630.

¹²⁴ Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in the United States*, 438; Virginia State Agricultural Society (Special committee, N. F. Cabell, chairman), Report on history of improvements in Virginia agriculture, in *Journal of Transactions*, I, 116; Lee, W., *Letters*, I, 73-75.

¹²⁵ *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1763, ch. 18.

¹²⁶ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 276.

¹²⁷ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXVII, 145; XXXIV, 480; XXXVII, 359; XLIV, 620; *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1722, ch. 16; 1731, ch. 19; 1763, ch. 18, secs. 57-59; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), IV, 257, 391; VI, 183.

The development of tobacco production in North Carolina under the careless methods characteristic of pioneer regions compelled Virginia in 1679 to prohibit importation of tobacco brought "from without the Capes of Virginia except tobacco produced in lower Norfolk County."¹²⁸ The uncertainty of the dividing line between the two Colonies increased greatly the difficulty of exclusion, and there was probably much evasion. In his journey to survey the line, Colonel William Byrd came upon a number of shipmasters in Nansemond River who had come to obtain North Carolina tobacco "in Contempt of the Virginia Law."¹²⁹ Robert Beverley believed that instead of prohibiting North Carolina tobacco Virginia should admit it under careful regulations.¹³⁰ In 1731 the privy council ordered the repeal of the Virginia law on the ground that the citizens of the Albemarle region had no other market, apparently ignoring the active trade of the region with the New Englanders.¹³¹ The Virginia inspection act of 1730 solved the problem as Beverley had suggested, by compelling the standardization of all tobacco. In 1752 a traveller remarked that tobacco raised in North Carolina was marketed at Suffolk or Norfolk, Virginia, where it was inspected and the inferior tobacco destroyed.¹³² About this period North Carolina provided for inspection laws on her own account, which were continued from time to time until the Revolution.¹³³

PERSISTENT DEVOTION TO TOBACCO PRODUCTION

During the more protracted periods of depression tobacco planters devoted a greater proportion of their labor to production for family consumption. Since the food supply, except luxuries, was already produced at home, such attempts took the form mainly of raising flax, hemp, cotton, and wool, which were manufactured into clothing on the farm or plantation. Some interest in diversification occurred in the period 1662 to 1667, when, as already noted, Governor Berkeley attempted to promote production of flax and silk.¹³⁴ There was also talk of diversification during the low prices from 1680 to 1683, but the depression did not continue long enough to exert a marked influence. It was observed that "The moment the price of tobacco rises, other produce is laid aside. The dearness of labour is a great obstacle to the growth of new produce."¹³⁵

Actual progress in diversification is to be distinguished from official injunctions by English authorities and from experiments by colonial governors and enactments of colonial legislatures to encourage diversification. Early uncertainty

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 445. For subsequent enactments, in 1702, 1705, and 1726, see Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1702, p. 209 (this is not given in Hening's statutes); *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), III, 253; IV, 175-177.

¹²⁹ *History of the Dividing Line and Other Tracts* (Wynne), I, 50.

¹³⁰ *History of Virginia*, 78.

¹³¹ Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, III, No. 245; *idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1701, p. 91.

¹³² Spangenberg, *Extracts from Journal* (Southern History Assn., Publications, II), 110.

¹³³ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, V, Pref., p. xlii; IX, 417, 539; XXIII (Col. Laws), 402-417, 728-741; *North Carolina Laws* (Iredell), 166, 337, 496.

¹³⁴ British Museum, *Egerton Manuscripts*, 2395, f. 362 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1661-1668, p. 315; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 396.

¹³⁵ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1681-1685, p. 497.

concerning the physiological effects of tobacco consumption and the fact that exclusive devotion to tobacco did not satisfy prevailing ideals of colonization led to an official attitude favorable to diversification during the first three quarters of the seventeenth century.¹³⁶ In the second half of the century, however, official interest gradually diminished. The changing attitude is reflected in a letter written in 1661 asserting that "upon the return it [tobacco] smells well, & pays more customs to H. M. than the E. Indies 4 times over."¹³⁷ In the crisis of 1681 the Committee for Trade and Plantations recommended the sending of flax and hemp seed for distribution among the colonists, but in 1685 the usual clause urging diversification was omitted from instructions prepared for a governor setting out to assume his post in Virginia.¹³⁸ Two years later that official was apologetic in reporting the action of the assembly for restricting the planting of tobacco.¹³⁹ From this time the authorities in England tended to discourage attempts to reduce tobacco production and substitute industries that would compete with British goods. Exceptions in the case of naval stores have been noted in an earlier chapter.¹⁴⁰ In 1695, when Governor Andros, of Virginia, undertook to foster cotton production, and interest in the new industry spread to Maryland, Governor Nicholson, alarmed by the tendency, urged that steps be taken to supply the Colonies with British commodities, which had become very scarce during the war.¹⁴¹

Nevertheless, protracted depression in prices of tobacco at this period and at subsequent periods ultimately exercised a strong influence toward reduction of the emphasis on tobacco production in favor of other activities. For a time at least, the Eastern Shore had largely abandoned tobacco. By 1695 the inhabitants of Dorchester and Somerset counties, which had received a considerable Scotch-Irish immigration, were almost clothing themselves by linen and woolen manufactures. In some districts, deprived of commercial facilities, no tobacco was planted.¹⁴² With the return of peace, however, the tendency to diversification soon came to an end, and in 1697 it was reported that "tobacco swallows up all others."¹⁴³ The long war of the Spanish Succession produced the greatest tendency toward diversification that had yet occurred. By 1708 planting of tobacco had been entirely laid aside in frontier districts south of the James, in western districts, and on the Eastern Shore.¹⁴⁴ In four counties south of the

¹³⁶ For instances, see below, p. 241, and also Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, No. 154; *idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, pp. 76, 113, 117, 321; 1661-1668, p. 110; Instructions to Berkeley, 1641, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, II, 287; *ibid.*, 239.

¹³⁷ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1661-1668, p. 58.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 1681-1685, p. 160; Instructions to Lord Howard of Effingham, in *ibid.*, 1685-1688, p. 86.

¹³⁹ Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 409.

¹⁴⁰ See above, pp. 153, 179.

¹⁴¹ Beverley, R., *History of Virginia*, 90; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1693-1696, pp. 512, 518-520; 1696-1697, p. 413.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 1693-1696, pp. 518-520; Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland*, 89 & n.

¹⁴³ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1696-1697, p. 642; *cf.* p. 500. Concerning the tendency in neighboring counties of what is now Delaware, see *ibid.*, 1701, p. 91.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 1706-1708, pp. 202, 382, 760, 766; 1710-1711, pp. xxxiv, 430; Sioussat, *Economics and Politics in Maryland*, 77; London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1315, No. 11 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland*, 68, 70-72.

James, it was said, the inhabitants had succeeded in clothing themselves, and even "sold great quantities." Yet, although domestic manufactures were increasing, it was stated in 1711 that tobacco was "so rooted in the affections of the people" that they would return to it with the earliest improvement of prices.¹⁴⁵ The long depression that continued for about a decade after 1724 also resulted in a considerable tendency toward home manufactures and the production of naval stores.¹⁴⁶

GEOGRAPHIC SHIFTS IN TOBACCO PRODUCTION

The third quarter of the eighteenth century, though not including a protracted price depression, witnessed a tendency for the domination of tobacco to be broken in parts of the Tidewater, where occasional years of good prices were offset by low yields and soil exhaustion aggravated seriously the distress of the planters.¹⁴⁷

The diminution of tobacco production in the older areas was more than offset by expansion into new regions. During the seventeenth century the tidewater lands of the Rappahannock, Potomac, Chesapeake Bay, and Albemarle Sound were added to the original tobacco producing area along the lower James and York. In Spotswood's time the industry was beginning to expand beyond the fall line.¹⁴⁸ By the middle of the eighteenth century large quantities were being hauled in rolling hogsheads to Richmond from Hanover, Goochland, Albemarle, Orange, and Culpeper.¹⁴⁹ Just prior to the Revolution a rapid expansion occurred south of the James, especially to the south and west of Petersburg. A Virginia merchant wrote in 1772 that within five or six years he believed 20,000 hogsheads would be produced in that region.¹⁵⁰ The tobacco régime appears to have made little headway in the light sandy uplands of Princess Anne and Norfolk counties. An official report in 1704 indicated the production of about 3,000 barrels of tar, the ranging of large stocks of cattle and hogs, and the production of textiles for home use.¹⁵¹ Development of the territory west of the Blue Ridge added another region not previously devoted to tobacco. This is reflected in various acts permitting the inhabitants of specified counties to pay fees in money instead of tobacco.¹⁵² These acts should be distinguished from similar enactments for the benefit of various former tobacco regions that were beginning to abandon tobacco in favor of wheat and other crops.¹⁵³ Tobacco was also becoming the market crop of pioneer settlers in the back country of the Carolinas and Georgia.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁵ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1708-1709, p. 182; 1710-1711, p. 431; cf. 1706-1708, p. 760.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Sioussat, *Economics and Politics in Maryland*, 77.

¹⁴⁷ Concerning the tendency toward the permanent abandonment of the industry on the Eastern Shore and in parts of Tidewater Virginia, see above, pp. 166-168.

¹⁴⁸ Atkinson, *Letters* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XV), 346.

¹⁴⁹ Jerdone, *Letter Book* (William and Mary Quarterly, XVI), 127.

¹⁵⁰ Atkinson, *Letters* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XV), 352.

¹⁵¹ *William and Mary College Quarterly*, 2 series, III, 209.

¹⁵² Sioussat, *Economics and Politics in Maryland*, 78-82; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), V, 168; VII, 385. A similar act with reference to payment of debts was passed the same year. *Ibid.*, 240.

¹⁵³ See above, p. 167.

¹⁵⁴ See below, p. 605.

As tobacco production spread above the head of navigation, place differentials began to appear in prices, due to distance from market. Thus, in the Virginia inspection law of 1730 a discount of 30 per cent was allowed for Goochland, Brunswick, and the upper parishes of Hanover and Spotsylvania. Allowances for other counties ranged from this maximum to a minimum of 10 per cent for more accessible seaboard counties.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁵ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), IV, 254; *cf.* also the scale of rates in the fee act of 1738, *ibid.*, VII, 385.

CHAPTER XI

COLONIAL TOBACCO IN THE FOREIGN MARKET

Suppression of British Production, 235. The Problem of Foreign Competition, 237. Attempts at Monopolistic Control, 238. British Sumptuary and Fiscal Policies with Reference to Tobacco, 241. British Commercial Policies with Regard to Colonial Tobacco, 246. Continental Markets for Colonial Tobacco, 252. Influence of Foreign Fiscal and Commercial Policies, 255.

SUPPRESSION OF BRITISH PRODUCTION

Since the greater part of the product was dependent on foreign countries for a market outlet, the colonial tobacco industry was peculiarly sensitive to the influence of foreign fiscal and commercial policies, especially those of the mother country. An early step in the development of British policy was restriction of the planting of tobacco in Great Britain. If this policy had not been maintained during the early decades of the colonial industry, when the total demand was extremely small, it is probable that the new industry in the Colonies would have soon perished. The high price of foreign tobacco in the first two decades of the seventeenth century¹ so greatly stimulated its production in England that whereas formerly "the use of *forreine Tobacco* was chiefly vented, and received in Cities and great Townes, . . . it is now by the Inland plantation become promiscuous, and begun to be taken in every meane Village, even amongst the basest people."² Throughout the colonial period as a result of heavy customs duties and costs of transport and marketing, the differential between the price of tobacco in Virginia and the price in England was so large that forcible prohibition in Great Britain was necessary if the revenues enjoyed by the King and the merchants were not to be seriously reduced by domestic production. An order by the privy council forbidding the planting of tobacco within a certain distance of London was extended by royal proclamation to the whole of Great Britain and Ireland after February 2, 1619/20, and it was continued by successive proclamations.³ The policy was attributed by the King to a number of motives, including his aversion to tobacco, the injurious quality of the product grown in Great Britain, the importance of encouraging the Colonies,⁴ and (probably strongest motive of all) the desire to prevent the impairment of the King's revenues. Moreover, the Virginia Company had agreed to pay a higher duty on tobacco than required by its charter, as a condition of the repression of planting in England.

Although the liberal group in Parliament had previously protested this infringement of personal liberty in the interest of royal revenues, Parliament also pro-

¹ See below, Chap. XII.

² Recital in proclamation of Dec. 30, 1619, in Brigham, *British Royal Proclamations relating to America*, 19.

³ *Ibid.*, 28, 36, 42-52, 55-65, 69, 77, 84, 91; Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, I, 321, 328; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, James I, 1623-1625, p. 562; *idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, p. 113; *idem*, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, Nos. 40, 71, 172, 176, 183, 188, 278, 331, 337, 345, 347, 358, 361, 392, 433.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 218; Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, I, 321.

hibited the growth of tobacco in England as an essential part of the navigation policy of 1651, and this law, subsequently reenacted in 1660 in slightly amended form, was not finally repealed until 1779, when the Revolutionary War made it desirable to encourage the growing of tobacco in Great Britain. Nevertheless, the frequent orders for suppression and recitals concerning evasion indicate the serious difficulties encountered in enforcing the restriction law. By the middle of the seventeenth century the English industry had made such progress that tobacco of very fine quality was being produced and sold for Spanish tobacco in the markets of London. Commissioners appointed from time to time to destroy the tobacco beds met with strenuous resistance, in which local authorities were sometimes implicated.⁵

During the English Civil Wars the policy of prohibition was probably not actively enforced, and the growth of tobacco in England was greatly stimulated by the high excise duties and the interruptions to trade. In 1653 English tobacco merchants and representatives of the planters informed the council of state that the English tobacco crop would exceed the total amount usually imported from Virginia, and in the following year a special committee reported that preparations were being made to grow more tobacco than "is usually consumed here at home."⁶ Such determined opposition was encountered in Gloucestershire that it was necessary to employ military force.⁷ In spite of these strong measures, however, representatives of the Virginia planters complained in 1657 that they were still compelled to pay English merchants the one shilling per hogshead levied to defray the cost of destroying English tobacco plants although during the past year this activity had been suspended.⁸ In 1661 and 1662 representatives of the tobacco merchants and planters again complained to the government of "the vast quantitie's of tobacco planted in England;" whereupon the privy council issued orders to military authorities for the destruction of "great quantities" of tobacco in certain counties. Three years later much new ground had been planted in various counties, and the obstinate farmers of Gloucester created such a riot in resisting attempts to destroy their tobacco beds that they "had like to have slaine the Sheriff," sturdily asserting "they would loose their Lives rather than obey the laws."⁹ In the next two years the industry spread to new areas north of London, and local officials appear to have been either in collusion with the growers or intimidated by them. In 1671, 1673, 1676, and as late as 1689 military aid was invoked to enforce the law.¹⁰

⁵ Great Britain, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, II, 718; *idem*, *Statutes of the Realm*, V, 297 (12 Car. II, c. 34); p. 452 (15 Car. II, c. 7); p. 747 (22-23 Car. II, c. 26); Stock, *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments*, I, 27-35, 38-40, 228; Anderson, *Origin of Commerce*, II, 457, 476, 502; IV, 261; Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, V, 64; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, pp. 417, 422-423, 467; *idem*, *Statutes at Large* (Ruffhead), XIII, 389 (19 Geo. III, c. 35).

⁶ Beer, G. L., *Origins of the British Colonial System*, 403, 405; Stock, *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments*, I, 215.

⁷ Beer, G. L., *Origins of the British Colonial System*, 408 & n.

⁸ Gattford, *Public Good without Private Interest*, 13; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 363-365.

⁹ Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, Nos. 563-564, 602, 623, 670, 673, 682; *idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1661-1668, p. 11.

¹⁰ *Idem*, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, Nos. 712-715, 781, 946, 966, 1003, 1085, 1161, 1220; II, Nos. 7, 38, 81, 299.

In 1718 the old prohibition was renewed by an act which stated that doubt had arisen as to whether the former legislation was still in force.¹¹ The law was continued on the statute books until after the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. After 1690, however, we hear very little more of tobacco planting in England, although small quantities continued to be grown during the eighteenth century.¹²

Such were the difficulties under which the British market was maintained for the benefit of colonial tobacco.

THE PROBLEM OF FOREIGN COMPETITION

The exclusion of foreign tobacco from British markets was of no less concern to the planters of Maryland and Virginia during the early decades of the industry than was the restriction of British production. The Virginia Company, as well as the colonists in Virginia, early became deeply interested in the exclusion of Spanish tobacco.¹³ In 1621 Edward Bennett was made a free member of the Virginia Company as a reward for a treatise setting forth the disadvantages of importing Spanish tobacco, a treatise said to have been an influence leading the House of Commons to pass a resolution in favor of exclusion, subsequently defeated in the House of Lords.¹⁴ For several years the King was loath to take this step. He had farmed the customs on tobacco to certain patentees, and enjoyed a handsome revenue therefrom.¹⁵ In 1624 the House of Commons petitioned His Majesty urging the exclusion of the Spanish commodity. This and other considerations finally moved James to issue the desired proclamation in September, 1624, reinforced by a second proclamation in March of the next year. This policy, adopted a few weeks later by his successor, was said to have put new life into the Colony of Virginia.¹⁶ Both James and Charles, however, employed the threat of Spanish competition and of permitting renewed planting in England as a club to force the colonists to accept monopoly contracts.¹⁷ A proclamation in 1627, promulgating the Anis contract, provided that the monopolists might introduce annually not to exceed 50,000 pounds of Spanish leaf, but the following August the King prohibited the importation of any tobacco not of the growth of Virginia and the Somers Isles without royal license.¹⁸

In 1631 the prohibition of Spanish tobacco was abandoned in favor of impost and customs duties imposing a much heavier burden on Spanish tobacco than on tobacco from British Colonies. In 1638, when the Goring monopoly contract

¹¹ *Idem*, *Statutes at Large* (Ruffhead), V, 998 (5 Geo. I, c. 11).

¹² Beer, G. L., *Old Colonial System*, I, 144; Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, VI, No. 99; Rive, "Consumption of Tobacco since 1600," in *Economic Journal, Supplement*, Jan., 1926, p. 60.

¹³ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, pp. 56, 66, 76, 79, 81, 84.

¹⁴ Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, I, 446.

¹⁵ For the illuminating debate preceding passage of the resolution, see Stock, *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments*, I, 27-33, 38.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 69, 71; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, James I, 1623-1625, pp. 250, 290; *idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, pp. 63, 71; *idem*, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, Nos. 148, 197; Brigham, *British Royal Proclamations relating to America*, 35-50.

¹⁷ See below, pp. 239-241.

¹⁸ Brigham, *British Royal Proclamations relating to America*, 55-61; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, pp. 74, 76-77, 79, 81, 86, 89; *idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, Charles I, 1625-1626, p. 311; 1627-1628, pp. 58, 289.

was formulated, the King prohibited importation of Spanish tobacco except under royal license.¹⁹ With the failure of the attempt at monopoly the policy of unrestricted importation subject to discriminatory customs duties was continued. It is probable that the various proclamations excluding Spanish tobacco were rendered largely ineffective through smuggling, if we may judge from recitals of the various proclamations and numerous orders for search and seizure.

After 1630 Spanish competition became less and less significant. The heavy duties and the difficulties of obtaining and transporting tobacco to England made it a luxury product commanding prices several times higher than American tobacco, which sold at prices within reach of the poorer classes. For the three years 1685 to 1688 the average annual London imports of Spanish tobacco amounted to about 16,000 pounds a year, as compared with nearly 14,500,000 pounds of English colonial tobacco.²⁰

For several decades tobacco from the British West Indies, rather than Spanish tobacco, helped to keep prices low. In the four years 1637–1640 inclusive the tobacco received in London from Barbados and St. Christopher averaged 354,326 pounds, as compared with an average of 1,395,063 pounds from Virginia.²¹ Later the small tobacco holdings of the Islands were gradually absorbed by large sugar estates, reducing the importance of West Indian competition.²²

ATTEMPTS AT MONOPOLISTIC CONTROL

When King James found his customs revenue endangered by the threatened collapse of tobacco prices, he began to consider methods of limiting through monopoly the amount imported. As early as May, 1619, he was negotiating with one Henry Somerscales for the exclusive importation of a restricted amount of tobacco.²³ In April of the following year Sir Thomas Rowe and certain associates made a proposal to the King guaranteeing the payment of the 12 pence per pound duty and £10,000 sterling additional for the privilege of exclusive importation. In spite of vigorous protest by the Virginia Company, which found its chartered privileges of trade with its own Colony thus invaded, the contract was arranged with the proviso that the Virginia and Somers Isles companies might import not to exceed 55,000 pounds.²⁴ On July 18, 1620, the Virginia Company decided that the 55,000 pounds should be allotted exclusively to the Somers Isles, and arranged to ship Virginia tobacco to Holland.²⁵

¹⁹ *Idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574–1660, pp. 125, 128; *idem*, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, No. 291; Brigham, *British Royal Proclamations relating to America*, 85.

²⁰ See list of relative prices in Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, V, 468, quoted in Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 294; Beer, G. L., *Old Colonial System*, I, 136.

²¹ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574–1660, pp. 79, 124; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, IX, 410; British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts*, 35865, f. 248 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

²² Beer, G. L., *Old Colonial System*, II, 37.

²³ Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, I, 218–219. I have found no record that the contract was consummated.

²⁴ Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, Nos. 48–49; Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, I, 139, 141, 398, 402; II, 69. For a circumstantial account of the various monopoly contracts affecting colonial tobacco, see Rive, *History of Tobacco Trade in England* (Unpublished Manuscript), 52–62.

²⁵ Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, I, 406. See below, p. 246

In the Fall of 1621 a somewhat similar contract was granted to a Mr. Jacobs,²⁶ but in June, 1622, the King proposed that the Virginia Company itself undertake an exclusive contract for the importation of tobacco. Finding that it must submit in any case to the monopoly policy, the Company resolved to undertake the project. After protracted negotiations it was agreed that the Company should have exclusive right to import tobacco, the King undertaking to prohibit its production in England and Ireland. The Company was to import not less than 40,000 pounds nor more than 60,000 of the best grade of Spanish tobacco each year for a period of two years, and was left free to determine the amount to be imported from Virginia and the Somers Isles, which was exempted from all duties except 6 pence per pound on roll tobacco and 4 pence per pound on leaf tobacco. The Company agreed to pay His Majesty one third of all tobacco imported and to bear all freight charges. Each party was to bear his pro rata share of the other expenses, and the King undertook to satisfy the claims of the farmers of the customs.²⁷ Scarcely was the ink dry on the agreement when dissatisfaction began to develop in the Company with the contract and its execution. The opposition rapidly increased in number and influence, and although this faction was charged with trying to wreck the agreement in order to make way for a private contract (the subsequent Ditchfield contract), they were supported by the sentiment among the colonists in Virginia which steadfastly opposed monopolistic policies. The dispute was carried to the privy council, which decided in April, 1623, to revoke the contract.²⁸ The majority element in the Company, insisting that under free trade the price of tobacco would sink to practically nothing, continued their efforts to provide for the exclusive importation of Spanish tobacco, not to exceed 40,000 pounds per year. Finally the privy council granted the Virginia Company the right of sole importation on condition that all tobacco should be brought to the British market.²⁹

After the dissolution of the Company the King considered for a time the advisability of a government monopoly of tobacco. Ditchfield and his associates, the contractors, agreed to purchase 200,000 pounds a year for two years and 250,000 a year during the ensuing five years, the price in England for the first period to be 2 shillings 4 pence for first quality and 1 shilling 4 pence for second quality. During the latter period 3 shillings and 2 shillings respectively were to be paid. The King was to receive £15,000 annually in the first period and £20,000 in the second, while the colonists were to receive £6,000 a year and were authorized to transport to the Turkish market any tobacco in excess of the specified amounts, provided it was not purchased at the agreed prices by the monopolists. The

²⁶ Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, II, 68; cf. *Discourse of the Old Company* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, I), 290.

²⁷ Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, II, 35-38, 57-64, 66-72, 80-88, 97-98, 127, 138-140, 142-144, 147-149; Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, No. 95.

²⁸ Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, II, 240-243, 312, 329-333, 336-340, 371-372; Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, No. 100; *idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, p. 44; *Discourse of the Old Company* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, I), 290-294.

²⁹ Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, II, 314, 365, 388, 411, 420, 430; Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, No. 100.

colonists sent Yeardley to London to oppose the project,³⁰ and finally, in October, 1625, the privy council wrote the governor and council that they had decided not to go further with the contract. Certain merchants agreeing to carry supplies to the Colony were allowed to land tobacco in England free of impost as a temporary expedient, and the colonists were assured of ultimate freedom of trade subject to the established customs and imposts.³¹

The greed of the group of tobacco merchants, working through court intrigue on the avarice of the King, did not let the matter rest. In October, 1626, a warrant was issued to Philip Burlamachi and William Anis to import free of customs 50,000 pounds of Spanish tobacco, to be sold "as his Majesty shall hereafter appoint."³² In the following April representatives of the Colonies in London were informed of another contract in which Anis was a principal, and they vigorously rejected the terms on the ground that both quantity to be imported and price allowed were too small to maintain the people. Yeardley wrote the privy council that the colonists "cry out and complain extremely, hating all contracts," and besought their lordships "not to let them fall into the hands of avaricious and cruel men." Nevertheless, the King issued a proclamation in August, 1627, prohibiting the importation of any tobacco from Virginia or the Somers Isles except under royal license. He had likewise written the governor and council a set of instructions for limiting the amount of tobacco produced.³³

Although the colonists had again sent formal protests against monopolistic contracts without their consent, when the King's instructions arrived, they concluded that they must submit to some kind of contract. Accordingly they sent a counter proposal that the King take carefully inspected tobacco at 3 shillings 6 pence per pound clear of customs. Since the Colony had increased to nearly 3,000 persons, it appeared necessary for the King to take 500,000 pounds a year for seven years even if the colonists were to be limited to 200 pounds for each master of a family and 125 pounds for each servant, according to the King's instructions. The Virginians requested the privilege of reexporting all surplus above 500,000 to Turkey, the West Indies, or New England, after paying customs.³⁴ In the meantime, however, the Anis contract had been abandoned.³⁵

In 1634, acting on petitions from the colonists alleging that tobacco did not bring a penny per pound, the privy council appointed commissioners to inquire into the problem. They reported that tobacco could not be afforded at less than 6 pence per pound in the Colonies and 14 pence delivered in England, at which price 800,000 pounds might be marketed. Whereupon, one John Stoner was

³⁰ *Considerations Touching the New Contract for Tobacco as Propounded by Maister Ditchfield and Other Undertakers*; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, pp. 71, 73; *idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, James I, 1623-1625, pp. 305, 356; Rymer, *Foedera*, XVII, 633-635; *Discourse of the Old Company* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, I), 293; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 278-279 (quoting McDonald papers).

³¹ Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, No. 154; *idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, p. 79; Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 27.

³² Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, Charles I, 1625-1626, p. 576.

³³ *Idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, pp. 73-86, 89.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 86, 89; Virginia, *Journals of the House of Burgesses* (McIlwaine), 1619-1658/9, pp. 45-51.

³⁵ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, p. 90; Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 56.

appointed to negotiate a monopolistic contract. Stoner died on the voyage, and nothing further came of the project.³⁶

Four years later another monopoly contract was negotiated with Lord Goring and his associates, who agreed to take annually 1,600,000 pounds at a price of 6 pence delivered in the Colony or at 8 pence delivered in England. A number of influential Virginia planters then in England favored the arrangement, but the contract met with the strongest opposition from the Virginia Assembly, and Secretary Kemp wrote that he did not believe a contract "will ever come into effect, if it depends upon the yielding of an Assembly."³⁷ Failing to attain their ends by direct negotiation, the interests in England seeking to monopolize the tobacco trade proposed the reestablishment of the Virginia Company. The popular party in the Colony quickly sensed the underlying motive. In the session of 1641/2 the House of Burgesses formally declared, "We conceive by admission to a company the freedom of our trade (which is the blood and life of a commonwealth) is impeached;" and they resolved that any planter who should "advise, assist, abet, countenance, or contrive the reducing of this colony to a company or corporation or to introduce a contract or monopoly" should on conviction be deemed an enemy of the Colony and his estates be confiscated.³⁸

The rapid increase in volume of production made such a project more and more difficult of execution, and the growing sentiment in England against royal fiscal monopolies was not favorable to the continuance of such attempts.³⁹

BRITISH SUMPTUARY AND FISCAL POLICIES WITH REFERENCE TO TOBACCO

The eagerness of the British governing authorities to derive a maximum of revenue from the tobacco industry, which influenced British policy throughout the colonial period, was supplemented in the earlier part of the period by a sumptuary interest. For many years after its first introduction tobacco was considered a drug that might prove exceedingly injurious. King James' *Counter Blast* and the numerous recitals of its injurious character in his proclamations reflect a genuine alarm, which prevailed also in other European countries, concerning the probably unfortunate results of its increasing consumption.⁴⁰ Moreover, the use of tobacco was more or less identified with various forms of dissipation and vice.⁴¹ As in the case of spices and medicines, it was thought necessary that tobacco be subjected to garbelling—that is, inspection for the purpose of insuring the sale only of a commodity of good quality. Accordingly, in 1619 King James

³⁶ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574–1660, pp. 190, 195. For reply sent by Secretary Kemp in the Spring of 1635, see *ibid.*, 207.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 268, 272–274; Virginia, *Journals of the House of Burgesses* (McIlwaine), 1619–1658/9, pp. 57–65, App., 126–127; letter of Governor to Secretary Windebank, Mar. 22, 1637/8, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, IX, 410.

³⁸ Virginia, *Journals of the House of Burgesses* (McIlwaine), 1619–1658/9, p. 67.

³⁹ Price, W. H., *English Patents of Monopoly*, especially Chap. III.

⁴⁰ Concerning the various medical theories and early sumptuary policy of various countries with reference to tobacco, see Paulli, *Treatise on Tobacco, etc.*, 1–38; Venner, *Treatise concerning Tobacco*, 385–404; Penn, *Soverane Herbe*, 7–38. For a list of books, tracts, and pamphlets dealing with the subject, see Bragge, *Bibliotheca Nicotiana*, especially pp. 5–23.

⁴¹ Beer, G. L., *Origins of the British Colonial System*, 78–82.

issued a monopolistic patent for garbelling to certain favorites, who were allowed a fee of 4 pence per pound for the service.⁴²

The sumptuary distrust of tobacco, as well as the luxury price level and the desire for revenue, were responsible for the maintenance of exceedingly high customs and impost duties for nearly a score of years after the introduction of tobacco cultivation in Virginia, and it was only gradually that the governing authorities adjusted their minds to the idea of revenue duties low enough to encourage widespread consumption.

Under the English fiscal system the duties on tobacco consisted first of the tonnage and poundage duty of 5 per cent on certain arbitrary values included in the so-called Book of Rates. The rate itself was fixed by Parliament, but by revising the valuations from time to time the King was able to control the actual duty. In addition the Stuarts claimed the right to levy certain extra duties called "imposts," a claim that constituted one of the principal issues in the conflict between the royal prerogative and Parliament. Finally, during the Civil Wars, an excise duty was added, but this was abolished at the Restoration. It was the practice of the period to farm the customs; in consideration of a fixed annual payment to the King certain persons were given the privilege of collecting the customs.

By order of the privy council in May, 1615, increases were made in the customs and impost duties on imported tobacco which raised the total duty payable to 2 shillings a pound.⁴³ Under the charter of 1609, however, the Virginia Company had been granted exemption for twenty-one years from all import duties on commodities shipped to the British dominions, except the 5 per cent poundage duty, with the privilege of reexportation within thirteen months.⁴⁴ The charter of 1612 did not contain so specific a statement. Beyond the general clause confirming all privileges granted in previous charters and not specifically repealed, the only reference to the matter was a vague phrase authorizing exemption from "any subsidy, custom, or imposition, either inward or outward, or any other duty . . . for the space of seven years."⁴⁵ By 1617 the apparent conflict of the two charters was a source of much confusion in the minds of the Virginia authorities. They were not clear as to whether they were to be free from duties for another year, as under the seven-year exemption in the charter of 1612, or to be subject to the 5 per cent duty under the charter of 1609 during the remainder of the twenty-one year exemption. The privy council decided only the first point, allowing the Company complete exemption "for a yeare to come, or thereaboutes, and noe longer."⁴⁶

The issue came up again in July, 1619, when the farmers of the customs seized and held a shipload of tobacco because of failure to pay a duty of 12 pence

⁴² Brigham, *British Royal Proclamations relating to America*, 15, 18.

⁴³ Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, No. 9. For an account of the duties on tobacco before the time of the beginnings of the industry in Virginia, see Beer, G. L., *Origins of the British Colonial System*, 101-105, 108; Rive, *History of the Tobacco Trade in England* (Unpublished Manuscript), 52-62.

⁴⁴ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 93.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 105.

⁴⁶ Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, No. 16.

a pound. The Company claimed that this was double the duty in the Book of Rates, and that by charter they were exempt from all duties except 5 per cent. Since the farmers of the customs valued tobacco at 10 shillings the pound, only a 6 pence rate was justifiable. Moreover, the 10 shillings valuation was more than double the usual price of Virginia tobacco in England. Accordingly the privy council upheld the claim of the Company to exemption from all but the 5 per cent rate.⁴⁷ The following January, however, under threat of suspension of the proclamation against planting tobacco in England, the Company reluctantly consented to the 12 pence rate.⁴⁸ In 1623 slight relief was afforded through the reduction of the total duty from 12 to 9 pence.⁴⁹

Gradually the disappearance of concern with regard to injurious properties of tobacco, the necessities of the Colonies, the recognition of the greater revenue to be derived from more widespread use, and the triumph of the popular party led to lower duties. In 1631 the duty on tobacco brought in by British vessels from Virginia and the Somers Isles was lowered from 3 pence for customs and 6 pence for impost to 2 pence for customs and 2 pence for impost. Tobacco from the British West Indies was to pay at slightly higher, and Spanish tobacco at much higher, rates. Tobacco brought by foreign ships was charged additional duties of 25 per cent.⁵⁰ In 1640 Parliament specifically asserted that the tobacco of the English plantations should be charged only with the "payment of two pence in the pound and no more," and this clause was continued in subsequent acts up to and including the acts of May to July, 1642.⁵¹ The rate was high in proportion to the price of tobacco. In the House of Commons it was asserted in 1640 that it was "twice the true value to the owner," and in a petition the next year it was declared to be 80 per cent of the selling value in England.⁵²

Under the control of Parliament the burdens on the industry were destined to be greatly increased. In July, 1643, the exigencies of the treasury led to the levying of excise taxes, including 2 shillings on English colonial tobacco and 4 shillings on foreign tobacco, in addition to the customs duties.⁵³ The rates were found prohibitive, and the following September were lowered to 4 pence on English colonial tobacco and 2 shillings on foreign tobacco, but it was found necessary to allow certain abatements on tobacco already imported. In March, 1643/4, it was provided that English colonial tobacco should thereafter pay 1 penny for customs and 2 pence for excise. The duty on foreign tobacco was reduced to 6 pence for customs and 1 shilling for excise. These rates were continued until the Restoration, except that in 1657 the excise on English colonial tobacco was reduced to 1 penny.⁵⁴

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 41; Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, I, 245, 258, 275, 281-284; II, 338.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 290-291, 294.

⁴⁹ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, p. 45.

⁵⁰ Stock, *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments*, I, 89-95; Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, No. 291.

⁵¹ *Idem*, *Statutes of the Realm*, V, 105, 115, 136, 144, 176 (16 Car. I, c. 8, 12, 25, 31, 36).

⁵² Stock, *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments*, I, 97, 106.

⁵³ Great Britain, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, I, 208.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 275, 361, 394, 611, 627, 1040; II, 847, 1187. For continuing acts until 1660, see Stock, *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments*, I, 238, 240.

The first Parliament under the Restoration retained the same customs and excise rates on foreign tobacco but remitted the excise on English colonial tobacco, substituting an impost of an additional penny levied after nine months from importation, to be remitted on reëxportation. The extra penny was regarded as a specific customs duty added to the old ad valorem poundage rate.⁵⁵ Thus, the rates on English colonial tobacco consisted of 1 penny for customs, and an additional penny if the commodity was not reëxported within a certain time. No further changes occurred for a quarter of a century, although there were occasional attempts to revise the schedules.⁵⁶ In 1685 the duty on British colonial tobacco was increased by 3 pence, making a total rate of 5 pence per pound, while the duty on foreign tobacco was increased by 6 pence, making a total of 1 shilling.⁵⁷ Since two fifths of the quantity imported consisted of "stalks,"—probably meaning stems,—which at that period were usually burned, the total net duty was estimated at slightly less than 2 pence per pound of leaf.⁵⁸ However, the high taxes imposed by the act stimulated new methods of economizing tobacco. Whereas the stalks had generally been considered worthless, tobacco manufacturers invented a method of boiling them, pressing them flat, and cutting them up for mixture with leaf tobacco.⁵⁹ In 1696/7 a penny was added to the old tonnage and poundage act of the twelfth of Charles II, and in 1703 an additional poundage of $\frac{1}{3}$ penny. These additional impositions were continued from time to time until 1748.⁶⁰

Thus, between 1685 and 1703 the duties on colonial tobacco were increased from 2 to $6\frac{1}{3}$ pence per pound, an amount more than six times the price usually received by the planter. In 1733 an attempt was made by Walpole to substitute an excise for all of the existing customs duties except the 1 penny subsidy of the ninth of William III.⁶¹ Under this plan tobacco would have paid a duty of only 3 farthings, after deducting the 25 per cent discount, and a drawback for the full amount would have been allowed on reëxportation. The bill was defeated.⁶² In 1748 a new poundage duty of 5 per cent on the values in the old Book

⁵⁵ Great Britain, *Statutes of the Realm*, V, 197, 206, 207 (12 Car. II, c. 4, 5, 8); Stock, *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments*, I, 275.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 352, 362–365, 370.

⁵⁷ Great Britain, *Statutes of the Realm*, VI, 4 (1 Jac. II, c. 4). Mr. Philip A. Bruce says that in 1685 the duty on British colonial tobacco was increased to 4 pence and on foreign tobacco to 1 shilling. *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 294. Apparently Mr. Bruce was not aware of the extra penny on British colonial tobacco added to the customs duty in 1660 and also the 1 shilling excise on foreign tobacco. He cites as authority for his statement, Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, V, 468.

⁵⁸ British Museum, *Harleian Manuscripts*, 1238, f. 3 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

⁵⁹ *Idem*, *Sloane Manuscripts*, 2717, ff. 48–63 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

⁶⁰ The tonnage and poundage act of 12 Charles II was reenacted at the beginning of each reign for the lifetime of the sovereign, and the various additions and impost duties were levied for limited periods and carried forward by continuing acts. Great Britain, *Statutes of the Realm*, VI, 167 (2 W. & M., Sess. I, c. 4); p. 225 (2 W. & M., Sess. II, c. 5); p. 401 (4 W. & M., c. 15); p. 508 (6 & 7 W. & M., c. 1); VII, 69–70 (7 & 8 Wm. III, c. 10); pp. 218, 220, 222, 260 (8 & 9 Wm. III, c. 20, 24); p. 383 (9 Wm. III, c. 23); VIII, 3, 41 (1 Ann., c. 1, 7); pp. 295, 298 (2 & 3 Ann., c. 18); p. 333 (3 & 4 Ann., c. 3); pp. 613, 615, 832 (6 Ann., c. 27, 73); IX, 133 (7 Ann., c. 31); p. 234 (8 Ann., c. 14); pp. 918–920 (13 Ann., c. 8). The latter act contains a clarifying summary of the previous duties. Great Britain, *Statutes at Large* (Ruffhead), V, 185 (5 Geo. I, c. 7); p. 680 (2 Geo. II, c. 9).

⁶¹ *Idem*, *Statutes of the Realm*, VII, 383 (9 Wm. III, c. 23).

⁶² For a strong remonstrance against it, see Pulteney, *Late Excise Scheme Dissected*. The bill itself appears to have been initiated by the petition of the Virginia planters entitled *Case of the Planters of Tobacco in Virginia*, sent to England in 1732. For detailed study of this episode, see Sioussat, "Virginia and the English Commercial System," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1905, I, 71–97.

of Rates was added to existing duties, raising the total duty on tobacco for English consumption to $7\frac{1}{3}$ pence.⁶³ The rates of 1748 were continued until 1758. In that year another 5 per cent was added, raising the total duty to $8\frac{1}{3}$ pence,⁶⁴ and these duties were continued until after the outbreak of the Revolutionary War.⁶⁵

Up to 1631 tobacco reshipped to the Continent of Europe was allowed no drawback, but by that time it had become clear that England could not absorb all of the colonial product. In that year it was provided that the impost of 2 pence per pound should be remitted on reëxportation within one year, but no drawback was allowed on the 2 pence customs duty.⁶⁶ The act of tonnage and poundage passed in 1640, which eliminated the old impost, was supplemented a few months later by allowance of a drawback of one half the customs duty.⁶⁷ In the revision of rates in March, 1643/4, no drawback was allowed for the customs duty of 1 penny per pound.⁶⁸ The various excises levied on tobacco during the Civil Wars were not intended to apply to tobacco reëxported.⁶⁹ In the first year of the Restoration the so-called Old Subsidy act, which continued the former subsidy of 1 penny and added a specific duty of 1 penny to be paid within nine months, allowed the whole of the latter to be repaid in case of reëxportation within twelve months, and also one half the Old Subsidy.⁷⁰ Thus, the net burden on colonial tobacco for reëxportation continued to be only $\frac{1}{2}$ penny per pound. Subsequent legislation up to and including 1714, imposing additional specific duties, provided for their entire remission on reëxportation, but the old practice of remitting only half of the 1 penny under the Old Subsidy was continued, leaving a net duty of $\frac{1}{2}$ penny on reëxported tobacco until 1723,⁷¹ when it was provided that the entire duty on reëxported tobacco should be remitted.⁷² From this time until the Revolutionary War colonial tobacco reëxported was exempted through drawbacks from all British customs duties.

The drawback provisions resulted in a great deal of fraud. Tobacco was re-exported, the drawback collected, and then the commodity smuggled into England again. This was especially the practice in reëxports to Ireland, the Isle of Man, and Scotland.⁷³

The tobacco trade was also considerably aided by certain special privileges. Even before the Civil Wars the custom had developed of permitting importers to give bond for payment of duties, thus avoiding the necessity of tying up large

⁶³ Great Britain, *Statutes at Large* (Ruffhead), VII, 89 (21 Geo. II, c. 2).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, 384 (24 Geo. II, c. 41); p. 477 (26 Geo. II, c. 13); VIII, 324 (32 Geo. II, c. 10).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, X, 95 (5 Geo. III, c. 43). The duty was changed in 1779. *Ibid.*, XIII, 355-356 (19 Geo. III, c. 25). A British official document gives duties on colonial tobacco in 1723 at $4\frac{3}{4}$ pence per pound, and in 1757 at $6\frac{1}{2}$ pence per pound. These probably represent actual average duties paid after various allowances and discounts were deducted. Great Britain, *Customs Tariffs of the United Kingdom, etc.* (Accounts and Papers [vol. 34], 1898, vol. 85), p. 189.

⁶⁶ *Idem*, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, No. 291.

⁶⁷ *Idem*, *Statutes of the Realm*, V, 115, 137 (16 Car. I, c. 12, 25). This provision was continued from time to time in the various acts of tonnage and poundage. *Ibid.*, 140, 144, 176 (16 Car. I, c. 29, 31, 36).

⁶⁸ *Idem*, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, I, 395.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 202-214, 278.

⁷⁰ *Idem*, *Statutes of the Realm*, V, 197 (12 Car. II, c. 4).

⁷¹ See above, p. 244.

⁷² Great Britain, *Statutes at Large* (Ruffhead), V, 457 (9 Geo. I, c. 21).

⁷³ *Idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1710-1711, p. 12; *idem*, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1708-1715, pp. 250-255.

sums before the goods were sold. As a result of urgent representations by tobacco importers,⁷⁴ the customs act of 1685 made a distinction between importers who were retailers, consumers, or shopkeepers, and other importers. The former class were required to pay duty at time of importation. The latter class, presumably wholesalers, including reëxporters, were required to give bond for the entire duty, with an allowance of eighteen months to sell or reëxport the tobacco. In case of sale to another person intending to reëxport, the bond could be transferred to the purchaser.⁷⁵ Changes were subsequently made as to the period of exemption.⁷⁶

In 1713, when the tobacco market was extremely glutted, a new facility was provided in the form of certified warehouses under supervision of customs officials. By storing tobacco in the official warehouses the importer escaped the necessity of giving bond, a requirement that had become difficult by reason of the low credit of tobacco merchants.⁷⁷ Eighteen months was still allowed for the payment of duty, but after fifteen months bond must be given. In 1722 it was provided that the so-called Old Subsidy of 1 penny per pound must be paid down on importation, with allowance of 25 per cent discount for cash payment. Bond might be given for the remaining duties.⁷⁸

As early as 1660 special provision was made for abatements on account of shrinkage and damage in transit, later extended to include the period of storage and reëxportation.⁷⁹ Discounts were allowed for payment of duties before expiration of the maximum period, ranging in 1695/6 from 10 per cent for payment within three months to 2 per cent for payment within fifteen months.⁸⁰

BRITISH COMMERCIAL POLICIES WITH REGARD TO COLONIAL TOBACCO

While the colonial tobacco planters were interested in the broadest possible market, it early became British policy to prevent tobacco being sent to other countries before it was landed in England, mainly to prevent the loss of customs. Later, when reëxportation under the drawback system had become important, the restrictive policy was designed to insure the trade to English vessels and merchants.

The policy was soon tested by reason of attempts to send Virginia tobacco to Dutch markets. In November, 1620, the Virginia Company reported that Dutch authorities had agreed that Virginia tobacco should be taxed only ½ penny per

⁷⁴ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1685-1688, p. 202.

⁷⁵ *Idem*, *Statutes of the Realm*, VI, 4 (1 Jac. II, c. 4).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, VII, 70 (7 & 8 Wm. III, c. 10); VIII, 295 (2 & 3 Ann., c. 18); *idem*, *Statutes at Large* (Ruffhead), VII, 89 (21 Geo. II, c. 2).

⁷⁷ *Idem*, *Statutes of the Realm*, IX, 917 (13 Ann., c. 8).

⁷⁸ *Idem*, *Statutes at Large* (Ruffhead), V, 456 (9 Geo. I, c. 21); *idem*, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1708-1715, p. 539.

⁷⁹ *Idem*, *Statutes of the Realm*, V, 204 (12 Car. II, c. 4); VI, 4 (1 Jac. II, c. 4). This was made a flat allowance. *Ibid.*, VII, 70 (7 & 8 Wm. III, c. 10); IX, 917-920 (13 Ann., c. 8). Only 40 pounds per hogshead were allowed as damage. *Idem*, *Statutes at Large* (Ruffhead), V, 457 (9 Geo. I, c. 21).

⁸⁰ *Idem*, *Statutes of the Realm*, VII, 70 (7 & 8 Wm. III, c. 10). In case of the extra penny imposed on tobacco in 1696/7, 10 per cent discount was allowed for payment within three months. *Ibid.*, 261 (8 & 9 Wm. III, c. 24). For various subsequent modifications in details, see *ibid.*, IX, 918 (13 Ann., c. 8); *idem*, *Statutes at Large* (Ruffhead), V, 457 (9 Geo. I, c. 21); VII, 89 (21 Geo. II, c. 2); p. 384 (24 Geo. II, c. 41).

pound on importation, and the same on reëxportation. For more than a year the Company maintained a factory at Middleburgh and diverted tobacco to that point.⁸¹ In October, 1621, the privy council addressed a caustic inquiry to the Company concerning the sale of Virginia tobacco in Holland, and shortly thereafter issued a peremptory order requiring all Virginia tobacco to be brought first to England. The Company was compelled to acquiesce, although protesting strongly against the infringement of its right of free trade.⁸² The requirement was reasserted after the downfall of the Company.⁸³

It is sometimes stated that Maryland was exempted by charter from the necessity of first bringing its products to England.⁸⁴ This conclusion is based mainly on a clause that gave Lord Baltimore jurisdiction over persons sailing to the Colony "or thence returning outward bound, either to England, or *elsewhere*."⁸⁵ This, however, was part of a general clause granting legislative and police jurisdiction over persons, rather than an attempt to confer trade privileges inconsistent with colonial policy. Like its sister Province, Maryland evaded the trade restrictions and even imposed export duties in 1638/9 and 1642 on tobacco shipped to any port or country (England, Ireland, and Virginia excepted).⁸⁶ In 1649 a tax was imposed on tobacco shipped in Dutch vessels bound to other than English ports.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, English authorities apparently considered Maryland subject to restrictions on direct trade to the Continent. In 1667 a ship loaded with Maryland tobacco was seized by English customs officials because she had failed to give bond for landing her cargo in some of His Majesty's dominions.⁸⁸

From 1624 to the outbreak of the Civil Wars in England, there appears to have been no variation from the established policy, although evasions were extensive.⁸⁹ In 1626 Virginia authorities, under instructions from the privy council, instituted the policy of requiring shipmasters to give bond to transport their cargoes to London,⁹⁰ which had been designated as the sole port. In 1634 the requirement was being evaded by the simple practice of changing shipmasters off Cowes.⁹¹

⁸¹ Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, I, 422, 504.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 526-529, 531, 537; II, 305-307, 321-327; Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, Nos. 77, 96.

⁸³ Proclamations of Sept. 29, 1624, Mar. 2, 1625, and Feb. 17, 1627. Brigham, *British Royal Proclamations relating to America*, 39, 46, 58.

⁸⁴ For instance, see Scharf, *History of Maryland*, I, 61.

⁸⁵ Maryland charter, in *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), III, 3-12; *Maryland Laws* (Bacon); Scharf, *History of Maryland*, I, 55, 57.

⁸⁶ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), I, 80; Bozman, *History of Maryland*, II, 218.

⁸⁷ See p. 39, above.

⁸⁸ Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, No. 722; cf. Beer, G. L., *Origins of the British Colonial System*, 187-188 & n. Bruce asserts that the charter of Maryland required its products to be brought to England (*Economic History of Virginia*, I, 348), but there is nothing in the charter to justify so strong a conclusion.

⁸⁹ Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, Nos. 165, 211, 292, 312, 332, 334; Instructions to Berkeley, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, II, 288.

⁹⁰ Decisions of the Virginia General Court, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, IV, 379. Concerning later relaxation of the provision that tobacco be carried only to London, see Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, No. 415.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, No. 202; *idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, p. 176; Brigham, *British Royal Proclamations relating to America*, 75-78. A circumstantial account of the extensive smuggling, frauds, and adulterations in the British tobacco trade is given by Rive, "Short History of Tobacco Smuggling," in *Economic Journal, Supplement*, Jan., 1929, pp. 554-569.

The prohibition of direct trade to the Continent was resented in Virginia, partly because it involved payment of customs duties and partly because of the inconvenience in not being able to proceed direct to the foreign market. In 1636 Secretary Kemp, of Virginia, suggested that English customs be collected in Virginia and the tobacco ships then allowed to sail without restriction, but British merchants had too much at stake to permit the suggestion to be followed.⁹²

From the time of Richard II the policy of trying to confine the import trade to English ships and to protect English shipping against foreign competition had been followed. It was naturally extended to the exclusive enjoyment of colonial trade.⁹³ The evasions of the orders in council prohibiting direct trade with the Continent were attributable largely, though not solely, to Dutch ships.⁹⁴ In 1624 the privy council was urged, in view of the pending monopoly contract, to order the Governor of Virginia to prevent Hollanders from obtaining the tobacco of the Colony; accordingly the general proclamation concerning the tobacco trade contained a clause forbidding importation of tobacco in foreign ships.⁹⁵

During the early years of the reign of Charles I the policy to exclude foreign shipping in colonial trade appears to have been maintained less consistently than the policy of prohibiting direct trade with the Continent, and even when trade in foreign bottoms was officially disapproved it was largely by reason of evasion by foreign ships of the orders against direct trade.⁹⁶ As late as 1631 a tolerant attitude is implied by a provision that duties on tobacco imported in foreign vessels should be 25 per cent higher than on tobacco brought in British ships.⁹⁷ In 1633, however, the question was brought to a head by a controversy between Captain William Tucker, a merchant of Virginia, and Governor Harvey. The matter was referred to special commissioners for investigation, who recommended the exclusion of the Dutch. Instructions to that effect were promptly sent the governor and council, and similar instructions were issued a number of times between 1633 and 1651. In 1637 the British authorities appointed a register of exports in Virginia to administer the regulations.⁹⁸

It is probable that until about 1635 activity of the Dutch in Virginia trade was casual. The Dutch captain, De Vries, who visited the Colony in 1633 and 1635, found in the latter year thirty-six British ships collecting tobacco. The Dutch had no regular customers or resident factors, which was a severe handicap.⁹⁹

⁹² *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, IX, 39.

⁹³ Cf. Beer, G. L., *Origins of the British Colonial System*, 220-230, 238; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 346.

⁹⁴ For the early instances, see *ibid.*, II, 296; New York, *Documents relative to the Colonial History* (O'Callaghan), I, 25.

⁹⁵ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, James I, 1623-1625, p. 290; *idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, p. 63; Brigham, *British Royal Proclamations relating to America*, 39.

⁹⁶ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, p. 84; *idem*, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, No. 211; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 301. See *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, II, 393-396.

⁹⁷ Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, No. 291.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, Nos. 321, 334; *idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, pp. 155, 171, 239, 250, 287, 403; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, I, 428; II, 288; VIII, 149, 155, 405; IX, 35, 40-41, 176-178.

⁹⁹ *Voyages*, 32-37, 49 *et seq.*, 71-75, 83 *et seq.*; cf. Beer, G. L., *Origins of the British Colonial System*, 235-237; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, p. 216; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, I, 428; VIII, 155, 405; IX, 35.

Some years later Dutch participation became more important. In 1641 instructions to Berkeley contained the assertion that many ships laden with tobacco and other produce were proceeding direct to the Continent.¹⁰⁰ The colonial authorities, including even as devoted a royalist as Berkeley, recognized the important advantages of Dutch trade. The royal orders of 1637 had left a loophole by making an exception in favor of Dutch ships when the Colony was sorely in need of supplies, which was a chronic condition in that early period.¹⁰¹ Records of the council and general court from 1641 to 1682 reveal no instance of seizure of Dutch ships before 1670, when two orders for the purpose were issued.¹⁰² In 1642/3 the Virginia House of Burgesses, taking advantage of disturbed conditions in England, passed an act legalizing Dutch trade and exempting Dutch ships from giving bond on condition that the owners procure letters of credit from reputable English merchants guaranteeing the payment of customs.¹⁰³ In 1647 the governor, council, and burgesses issued a formal statement, asserting the ancient right of free trade contained in the colonial charters, and the assembly further declared, "Wee doe againe invite the *Dutch Nation* & againe publish & declare all freedome & libertie to them to trade within the Collony." The assembly pledged itself to defend the Dutch in the enjoyment of their trade relations.¹⁰⁴ During the decade 1640-1650 the Dutch acquired a large share of the trade. In 1647 a petition in Parliament asserted that 25 Dutch ships were fitting out that year for trade to Virginia. At Christmas, 1648, there were 12 English ships, 12 Dutch ships, and 7 New England ships trading in Virginia.¹⁰⁵

Virginia also evaded part of the customs duties by shipping tobacco to Great Britain via New England, under the Parliamentary ordinance of 1644 exempting New England exports from English customs. To correct this an act of 1650 imposed duties on tobacco shipped from New England.¹⁰⁶

About the middle of the seventeenth century England found herself facing Dutch commercial supremacy. So much cheaper were transport rates in Dutch bottoms that English merchants chartered Dutch vessels, leaving English ships to rot at the wharves. It was alleged by the Colonies that the Dutch sold goods for half the prices charged by their English rivals and paid more than twice as much for tobacco. On consignment tobacco their freight charges were about half those charged by the British.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 288.

¹⁰¹ Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 306.

¹⁰² Robinson, "Notes and Transcripts of Virginia Records," in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, VII-IX, XI, XIII-XIV, *passim*, especially XI, 44.

¹⁰³ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 258.

¹⁰⁴ Virginia, *Journals of the House of Burgesses* (McIlwaine), 1619-1658/9, p. 74.

¹⁰⁵ Stock, *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments*, I, 205; *Perfect Description of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, II, No. 8), p. 14. For evidence of extent of Dutch trade during this period based largely on examination of county records, see Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 307-311. Concerning Dutch trade with Maryland, see p. 39, above.

¹⁰⁶ Stock, *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments*, I, 215 n; Beer, G. L., *Origins of the British Colonial System*, 344, 409. For a summary of the evidence of the extent of the trade between New England and Virginia, and particularly of its employment as a means of evading trade regulations, see Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 317-324.

¹⁰⁷ Anderson, *Origin of Commerce*, II, 415; Speech by Sir William Berkeley and Declaration of the Assembly, Mar., 1651, and Bland, J., *Humble Remonstrance* (both in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, I), 75, and 141-155; Gatford, *Publick Good without Private Interest*, 13; D'Avenant, *Works*, I, 427; Decker, *Causes and Decline of Foreign Trade*, 10.

In 1651 Parliament passed the first Navigation Act, providing, among other things, that all products of Asia, Africa, or America should be imported into England, Ireland, or the Colonies only in vessels owned and manned by Englishmen and applying a similar restriction to the importation by the Colonies of European goods.¹⁰⁸ This policy and the restrictive influence of war with Holland were probably responsible for the serious curtailment of Dutch trade with the tobacco Colonies. During the war colonial authorities seized and confiscated at least one Dutch ship, required licenses of others, and declined overtures by Governor Stuyvesant, of New Amsterdam, for intercolonial trade.¹⁰⁹

Nevertheless, the colonists had taken literally a promise of freedom of trade on occasion of their surrender to the Commonwealth, and from time to time asserted this right. In 1658 the Dutch trade was recognized by provision for an export duty of 10 shillings per hogshead on tobacco purchased by goods brought in by foreign vessels and shipped in such vessels. English ships proceeding directly to England were exempted, but presumably the duty was imposed on English ships bound to other than English ports.¹¹⁰ This was in direct violation of the Navigation Act of 1651, and shortly afterwards when masters of English merchant vessels undertook by authority of the Navigation Act to seize foreign-owned ships, the Virginia Assembly forbade them and required masters to give bond not to molest other persons trading in the Colony. In the same year the export duty of 1658 was renewed in substance, exception being made of vessels owned in the Colony in order to give special encouragement to colonial shipping.¹¹¹ In 1660 Virginia passed a resolution that "the Dutch and all strangers of what Xpian nation soever in amity with the people of England shall have free liberty to trade with us, for all allowable commodities, And receive protection from us to our utmost powers while they are in our jurisdiction."¹¹²

Baltimore's cautious and tactful attitude toward the Commonwealth Government and the strained relation between the Maryland colonists and the settlers on Delaware Bay probably were largely responsible for preventing Maryland from openly encouraging Dutch trade.¹¹³ That some trade with the Dutch continued after 1649 is indicated by the accounts of the Maryland attorney general in 1654, who was charged with the collection of duties on tobacco shipped in Dutch ships to countries other than England.¹¹⁴

The second Navigation Act, passed in 1660, confined both the import trade and the export trade to British vessels—that is, the vessel must be owned in England or Ireland or in the British Colonies, and the master and at least three fourths of the crew must be British subjects. After 1662 foreign-built ships, however owned or manned, were excluded from the trade.¹¹⁵ All aliens were forbidden to

¹⁰⁸ Beer, G. L., *Origins of the British Colonial System*, 384–387.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 395–397; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 350.

¹¹⁰ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 469.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 535–537.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 540.

¹¹³ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), III, 367–378; Beer, G. L., *Origins of the British Colonial System*, 396. Mr. Bernard C. Steiner has stated that Parliament cut off Dutch trade by the Act of 1651 (*Maryland under the Commonwealth*, 70), but this was true only in a legal sense.

¹¹⁴ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), III, 302, 360.

¹¹⁵ Beer, G. L., *Old Colonial System*, I, 65.

act as merchants or factors in the Colonies. The old regulation of the Stuart period requiring tobacco to be carried first to England, which had largely fallen into disuse, was revived, although changed to provide for the inclusion of Ireland and other British Colonies as legal regions of destination and to extend the provisions to certain other "enumerated" articles in addition to tobacco.¹¹⁶ The act required bonds of ships setting out from Great Britain for the Colonies and of vessels arriving in the Colonies from other countries.¹¹⁷

The provision which included other Colonies, as well as England and Ireland, among the regions of legitimate destination provided an opportunity for evading British customs by shipping tobacco to New England and thence direct to European markets. This breach was repaired by an act of 1673 laying export duties on enumerated articles shipped to other Colonies, equivalent to English import duties.¹¹⁸ For some reason, however, the extra penny added by the twelfth of Charles II appears to have been overlooked, so that tobacco shipped to England by way of New England enjoyed a differential advantage of a penny.¹¹⁹

Under this legislation Scotland was considered as a foreign country with reference to colonial trade. The Scotch Parliament passed an act paralleling the English Navigation policy with provisions for reciprocity, but after thorough consideration a special committee of the British Privy Council recommended against extending to Scotland the special privileges of the Acts.¹²⁰ The enforcement of the Scotch acts against English trade and shipping and subsequent negotiations failed to break down the English trade barriers. During the first three quarters of the seventeenth century there was practically no Scotch trade to the tobacco Colonies, even during the temporary union with England from 1650 to 1660. During the last quarter Scotch illicit trade gradually increased until it was legalized by the Union of 1707.¹²¹

The Navigation Act of 1660 placed Ireland on the same footing as England with respect to the tobacco trade, but the resulting loss of profits to English merchants led to the enactment of an act in 1671 again excluding Ireland. The act, largely evaded with the connivance of the farmers of the customs, expired by limitation in 1680, but was revived in 1685.¹²² From the Irish rebellion of 1689 until the American Revolution Ireland was compelled to obtain the enumerated commodities either by smuggling or by paying tribute to English merchants.¹²³

The Navigation Act of 1660 and supplementary legislation effected a marked change in the character of the tobacco trade, less through new principles of commercial policy than through more effective application and administration of existing policies long dormant. The elimination of the Dutch by the successful

¹¹⁶ Sugar, tobacco, cotton-wool, indigo, ginger, and fustic or other dye woods. Cf. Beer, G. L., *Old Colonial System*, I, 71-73 & n.

¹¹⁷ On some of the complexities which developed as a result of these requirements, see *ibid.*, 73-74 & n.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 81-84.

¹¹⁹ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1675-1676, pp. 366, 381.

¹²⁰ Beer, G. L., *Old Colonial System*, I, 85-91; Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, No. 537.

¹²¹ Keith, T., *Commercial Relations of England and Scotland*, 45, 65, 113-128, 174; Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland*, 117-119.

¹²² Beer, G. L., *Old Colonial System*, I, 91-104.

¹²³ Murray, A. E., *Commercial and Financial Relations between England and Ireland*, Chaps. III-V.

wars that broke the power of England's commercial rival intensified the change, and the new rival, France, menaced British trade supremacy in the West Indies and the East Indies rather than in the tobacco Colonies. It is true, for some years after the Restoration there was considerable evasion and even some trade with the Dutch during the first decade,¹²⁴ but gradually, as already noted, Scotch merchants became the principal interlopers until their trade became legitimate. Through gradual improvement of administrative machinery the tobacco Colonies had become by the middle of the eighteenth century comparatively free from evasions of commercial regulations.¹²⁵

CONTINENTAL MARKETS FOR COLONIAL TOBACCO

The rigor of the provision requiring all tobacco to be shipped first to England was considerably tempered by the development of the drawback system. Indeed, the initiation of the drawback provisions of 1631 was in recognition of a considerable tobacco trade already developed with continental Europe.¹²⁶ During the Civil Wars and the Commonwealth there was undoubtedly a large increase in direct shipments to the Continent from the Colonies, promoted by lax enforcement of commercial regulations. Better enforcement after the Restoration was said to have stimulated the production of tobacco on the Continent, especially in Holland, although of inferior quality.¹²⁷ In 1670 it was asserted that "by wrapping it up in our leaf, they [the Dutch] sell it for Spanish, and their own for Virginia. The common people love tobacco, as they do ale, which is the headiest. They send it to Muscovy, and northwards, wrapping it up in our Virginia leaves."¹²⁸ By 1685 reëxports were estimated at one half of the total imports.¹²⁹ By the closing years of the seventeenth century the foreign market was considerably more important than that of Great Britain. In 1693 and again in 1698 it was estimated that two thirds of the tobacco imported was reëxported. An examination of trade records made by D'Avenant showed that for ten years ending in 1709 legal imports averaged 28,856,666 pounds a year, of which 17,598,007 were reëxported.¹³⁰ The proportion of reëxports had considerably decreased by reason of the war that had been raging for the past six years.¹³¹

While the once dreaded Spanish exports to England had dwindled to less than in the early part of the seventeenth century, Spain herself was importing more

¹²⁴ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1661-1668, pp. 106, 172, 377, 382; 1689-1692, pp. 657, 662; *idem*, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, Nos. 601, 823; II, Nos. 1063, 1134; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, IV, 52; Potter, *Journal of a Journey from Virginia to New England* (Mereness, Travels), 4; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), II, 297; III, 53-69; Beer, G. L., *Old Colonial System*, I, 289; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 356-359, 362 & n.

¹²⁵ Beer, G. L., *Old Colonial System*, I, Chap. IV; *idem*, *Origins of the British Colonial System*, 236; Schlesinger, *Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution*, 40; Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland*, 115-129.

¹²⁶ Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, No. 346.

¹²⁷ Bland, J., *Humble Remonstrance* (*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, I), 147.

¹²⁸ Stock, *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments*, I, 365.

¹²⁹ British Museum, *Harleian Manuscripts*, 1238, f. 2 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 29; *ibid.*, *Sloane Manuscripts*, 2717, ff. 48-63; Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 8; cf. Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland*, 100.

¹³¹ Oldmixon, *British Empire*, I, 316.

than 2,000,000 pounds of Virginia and Maryland tobacco by way of England,¹³² not to speak of illicit importations. Spain and France together annually imported 20,000 hogsheads, the shipments from England to France having developed largely in the interval of peace preceding the outbreak of war in 1702.¹³³ Holland required large quantities, a considerable proportion for manufacture and reexportation to the Baltic countries and Russia. Whereas Virginia sweet-scented tobacco was preferred in England, the northern and eastern countries demanded the stronger and harsher flavor of Oronoko, which comprised practically all of the product of Maryland, as well as parts of Virginia.¹³⁴

As early as 1680 the Virginia Assembly petitioned the King to negotiate free trade in Virginia tobacco to Russia, where its use was forbidden by secular and by ecclesiastical authorities, and the request was seconded by Governor Culpeper.¹³⁵ The project was also favored by the Muscovy Company, and in the following year the British Lords of Trade and Plantations recommended that the King dispatch a special ambassador to Russia to persuade the Czar and the Patriarch to remove the ban on tobacco.¹³⁶ During the severe depression in the tobacco trade resulting from the war of 1702–1713, the Russian trade again became an object of solicitude. In 1705 representatives of colonial merchants and planters presented grievances with reference to Russian trade. One Nathaniel Gold and associates had made a contract with the Czar in 1698 to import into Russia certain quantities of tobacco. Finding sales proceeding slowly, the concessionaires dispatched to Russia persons skilled in tobacco manufacture. Shortly afterward another group of English merchants obtained a new concession, to manufacture not only tobacco imported from England but also that being produced in Circassia. They agreed to teach the mystery of tobacco manufacture to the Czar's subjects and to import "the instruments, Engines, Materials, and Liquors" commonly used in that work. The prospect that the fulfillment of this contract would ultimately reduce greatly the trade in colonial tobacco to Russia was the occasion of the complaint to the privy council. After hearing the testimony of both sides, that body ordered that the artisans be immediately recalled and their implements of manufacture destroyed. The British ambassador was instructed to renew the former efforts to induce the Czar to grant the privilege of free trade.¹³⁷

In 1708 a new attempt to obtain a Russian monopolistic concession became the occasion for strong protest from colonial tobacco interests. Again the Government was urged to try to induce the Czar to permit free trade under moderate customs duties.¹³⁸ The privy council ordered the Secretary of State for Foreign

¹³² Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland*, 100.

¹³³ Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1708–1715, p. 36; *idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1708–1709, p. 182.

¹³⁴ Oldmixon, *British Empire*, I, 203, 316.

¹³⁵ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1681–1685, pp. 127, 156, 160, 166.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 160.

¹³⁷ *Idem*, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, II, No. 971; *idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1704–1705, p. 516; *idem*, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1704–1709, pp. 133–136, 233, 372.

¹³⁸ *Idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1706–1708, p. 58.

Affairs to instruct the ministers to Spain, Portugal, Sweden, and Russia to enter into negotiations for a more liberal attitude toward the tobacco trade.¹³⁹

The long war of 1702-1713 seriously affected the foreign markets for colonial tobacco. By 1706, it was stated, no British tobacco was being shipped to Portugal and but little to Spain, and that by stealth.¹⁴⁰ Previously French merchants had purchased tobacco in England, and English merchants had enjoyed a large trade with Baltic countries. As a result of the war most of this trade went to the Dutch, who became almost the exclusive purchasers of English colonial tobacco, which they mixed with their own product in various combinations before reexportation. Before the war the English had sold large quantities of the lower grades of Oronoko, which comprised much the larger proportion of the total; whereas afterward the Dutch purchased mainly the better grade, which they mixed with the poor tobacco produced in Holland. The English market became desperately glutted with these lower grades, while the production of tobacco in Holland increased from approximately 10,000,000 pounds a year about 1700 to more than 27,000,000 pounds in 1706. The French were now taking roll tobacco made up of about one half Dutch and one half English colonial tobacco. The Dutch had also developed a large manufacturing business in cutting the leaf into smoking mixtures. They had learned to mix from one half to two thirds ground stems with English or Dutch leaf. The hot, dry flavor of the Dutch mixtures pleased the palates of smokers in Germany and the Baltic countries, and its greater cheapness added to the appeal. A great development of the tobacco industry had occurred also in Pomerania and Brandenburg, which produced about 20,000,000 pounds in 1706. Around Strassburg, Frankfurt a/M, and in Hungary another 20,000,000 pounds were produced, and the growth in Circassia had been greatly stimulated. Even the pursers of English naval ships were making enormous personal profits by purchasing Dutch tobacco and reexporting it under the drawback, reducing English customs revenue more than £45,000 a year.¹⁴¹ Large quantities of tobacco from the Continent were brought back into England in the form of snuff, thus evading the customs. Even after a heavy duty was imposed on this commodity in 1709 there continued to be a large clandestine importation.¹⁴²

In order to relieve the acute distress of the British and colonial industry, neutral vessels were allowed to transport tobacco direct to France, the Lord Admiral of the Navy was directed to require pursers to purchase tobacco for the fleet only in England, and, as already noted, efforts were made to obtain the removal of foreign trade restrictions.¹⁴³

In spite of the disturbing effect of war and the development of Continental production, the British tobacco trade was not permanently impaired. After the war the French again began to import tobacco direct from England through the Farmers General, who enjoyed a fiscal monopoly of importation, commonly

¹³⁹ Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, II, No. 1044.

¹⁴⁰ *Idem.*, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1704-1709, p. 251.

¹⁴¹ *Idem.*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1706-1708, pp. 58, 88, 98, 105, 121-123, 342; Report of the Council of Trade and Plantations to the Queen (1707), in *ibid.*, 429-498.

¹⁴² *Idem.*, *Statutes at Large* (Ruffhead), IV, 382 (8 Ann., c. 7); V, 582 (12 Geo. I, c. 26).

¹⁴³ *Idem.*, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, II, No. 1044.

known as the *regie*,—a policy continued to the present day. The French customarily purchased annually from 12,000 to 15,000 hogsheads of the lower grades of Oronoko tobacco, the so-called “dull leaf,” and they pursued the shrewd policy of buying a little at a time, taking advantage of temporary depressions.¹⁴⁴ Shortly after the middle of the eighteenth century the French monopoly was purchasing 20,000 hogsheads a year from English merchants. So important was the trade that during the War of the Austrian Succession and again during the Seven Years’ War the belligerents agreed to issue special passes to British or neutral vessels exempting from capture ships engaged in transporting tobacco from England to France,¹⁴⁵ a curious instance of a continuance of trade relations between two warring countries. The arrangement probably helped to prevent the colonial industry from being as seriously disturbed as it had been during the War of the Spanish Succession.¹⁴⁶

Within three decades from the close of the War of the Spanish Succession the amount of tobacco reexported had approximately doubled as compared with average exports of the decade ending in 1709. For the three years 1744–1746 British imports averaged annually about 40,000,000 pounds, of which 33,000,000 were reexported. This was in addition to about 7,000,000 pounds imported by Scotland, of which a large part was reexported.¹⁴⁷ Clearly reexports had increased much more rapidly than consumption in Great Britain. In the five years ending in 1775, approximately 83 per cent of the tobacco imported was reexported. Only about 9,500,000 pounds were retained for domestic consumption, as compared with 7,000,000 pounds for the three years ending in 1746. Other large quantities, however, were added to the supply for domestic consumption through extensive smuggling, stimulated by increased duties on tobacco. Nearly all of the tobacco legally imported by Scotland was reexported. In the five years 1770–1774 Scotland imported an average of 43,500,000 pounds and reexported 42,600,000. Thus, approximately 90 per cent of the total imports of the United Kingdom were reexported. At this period France took nearly one third of the total reexports of England and Scotland, but the Scotch had captured more than three fourths of the trade to France. Holland was taking slightly less tobacco than France, the trade being about equally divided between England and Scotland. Germany was the next largest customer, taking about 14,000,000 pounds, nearly all of it from England. Most of the remaining reexports, about 23 per cent of the total, went to Flanders, Ireland, and the Baltic countries. The trade to Spain and Russia had virtually disappeared.¹⁴⁸

INFLUENCE OF FOREIGN FISCAL AND COMMERCIAL POLICIES

It has been customary of late years to emphasize the reciprocal character of the advantages enjoyed by Great Britain and the Colonies under the fiscal and

¹⁴⁴ *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), July 29–Aug. 5, 1737; Apr. 7–14 & 14–21, 1738. This practice became the basis for an interesting proposal for direct purchase in the Colonies. See below, p. 425.

¹⁴⁵ Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, IV, 328–338.

¹⁴⁶ Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 338, 351, 365, 384, 409, 434.

¹⁴⁷ Compilation from customhouse records, in Anderson, *Origin of Commerce*, III, 265.

¹⁴⁸ Based on statistics compiled from the customhouse records and published in *ibid.*, IV, 447; Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 582.

trade policies developed by the mother country. Mr. George Louis Beer has been one of the strongest exponents of this point of view, which was also more or less developed by the Mercantilist writers, and again strongly asserted in the controversial period just preceding the revolt of the Colonies.¹⁴⁹ A consideration of the economic influence of the various policies already described will indicate the correctness of the point of view which emphasizes the mutual advantages enjoyed by both parties when the group of policies is considered as a whole.

In the early years of the colonial tobacco industry the rate of taxation was exceedingly high, 1 shilling per pound until 1623 and 9 pence from 1623 to 1631. Moreover, during this period all tobacco, whether consumed in England or re-exported, must pay the entire duty. Nevertheless, during the most of this period the proportion of the tax to the price of tobacco was relatively less than for the lower duties of a later period. It was the collapse of prices after 1625 that forced a lowering of the duty. Thus, although 1631-1641 and 1660-1685 were periods of low duties, they ranged from two thirds of the price of tobacco in the Colonies to double that price. In some years, as in the early sixties and early eighties of the seventeenth century, the duty was as much as four times the price. The comparative freedom of trade during the Civil Wars and the Commonwealth enabled the colonists to ship their tobacco directly to the Continent, thereby escaping in a measure the high excise duties and facilitating the shifting of the tax burden to the English consumer. During the remainder of the Interregnum the Colonies benefited by the gradual lowering of the tax burden on the industry. The enormous increase in taxes from 1685 to 1703 inclusive resulted in duties on tobacco consumed in England from four to more than six times the usual prices in the Colonies. The acts of 1748 and 1758 resulted in a ratio of duties on tobacco consumed in England to prices in the Colonies of from four to one to fifteen to one.¹⁵⁰ On the other hand, allowance must be made for the decreasing relative importance of tobacco consumed in England, inasmuch as after 1631 it was customary to remit all but a small part of the duty on reexportation, and after 1723, all of it. Consequently, after 1723 most of the colonial product contributed virtually nothing to British revenues.

Reexported tobacco, of course, was compelled to satisfy the import and excise duties of the importing countries. In France, for instance, the first customs duties on tobacco were imposed in 1629. In 1664 they were largely increased, stimulating a considerable development of domestic production. In 1674 the tobacco trade and domestic production under special licenses were made an exclusive privilege granted to concessionaires, subject to fixed sale prices. Until 1691 the concession was included in the general arrangements for farming the collection of revenues, but in 1697 the farming of tobacco duties became a particular concession. The monopoly was suspended in 1719, but reestablished in 1721. During the interval heavy customs duties were imposed. In 1721 the culture of tobacco in France was forbidden except in Alsace, Flanders, and

¹⁴⁹ See especially *Old Colonial System*, I, 106-127, 134-146; Postlethwayt, *Britain's Commercial Interest*, especially I, Chap. XVIII.

¹⁵⁰ For a discussion of the effects of these large ratios, see p. 275.

Franche-Comté. The farmers of tobacco revenues supplied the product in manufactured form from eight factories which they controlled. The ownership of the concession was changed a number of times until 1748, when the King reunited the tobacco privilege to his other prerogatives.¹⁵¹

In spite of the large proportion reexported under the drawback system the tobacco industry contributed heavily to British revenues. The comparatively high rates of 1656 produced a revenue of £190,000. In 1670 revenues from tobacco were about £140,000, and it was estimated that "the King gains £5 per head for every man that goes to the plantations." Others, however, estimated the total revenue from tobacco at only £100,000.¹⁵² From 1692 to 1715 inclusive the gross average annual revenue was £350,000, but the net proceeds were only about £100,000.¹⁵³ From 1761 to 1765 inclusive the gross duties averaged £2,183,000 a year, and the net duties £287,000. In the last five years the gross duties averaged £2,807,000 and the net duties for the four years 1771-1774, £204,000.¹⁵⁴

Because of the inelasticity of the colonial industry¹⁵⁵ it is probable that the immediate effects of a moderate increase of duties were to reduce the returns to colonial producers and to injure the merchants through the lessened volume of trade.¹⁵⁶ It is significant that both the colonists and the merchants were usually united in opposition to increases of duties.¹⁵⁷ The immediate effect of so large an increase as that of 1685 must have been felt severely by both classes. Since the colonists were not compelled to continue indefinitely the production of tobacco at less than cost, and since the land of good quality available for its production had not become seriously limited, it would appear theoretically that the ultimate burden of taxation probably fell mainly on the consumers and, in so far as their demand was reduced, exerted some restraint on the expansion of tobacco production. If the industry had been one of increasing costs, compelled to employ land of lower grade or less accessible to market for each increment of supply, the tendency would have been for the burden to be divided between producers and consumers.¹⁵⁸ Account should be taken, however, of the peculiarities of colonial productive organization, particularly the extent to which tobacco was produced by small farmers in connection with a type of economy largely self-sufficing, as well as by commercial planters.¹⁵⁹ All in all, while sudden increases of duties exerted a depressing effect on the industry, it seems probable that a

¹⁵¹ For above details, see Gayvallet, *Le Monopole du Tabac en France*, 385-405; Fermond, *Monographie du Tabac*, 273-275; Tiedemann, *Geschichte des Tabaks*, 164.

¹⁵² Stock, *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments*, I, 362-365. For other estimates about this period, see Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1669-1674, p. 530; 1675-1676, p. 482; 1677-1680, p. 106.

¹⁵³ Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland*, 45.

¹⁵⁴ Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 582.

¹⁵⁵ See below, p. 275.

¹⁵⁶ Cf., G. L. Beer's conclusions, *Old Colonial System*, I, 137; *idem*, *Origins of the British Colonial System*, 216.

¹⁵⁷ Stock, *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments*, I, 373, 381 & n., 425-428 & nn.; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1685-1688, pp. 116-117; North, *Lives of the Norths*, II, 121-123, III, 161-164.

¹⁵⁸ Hobson, *International Trade*, 75-79; Marshall, A., *Principles of Economics*, 433.

¹⁵⁹ See p. 276.

large proportion of the revenue from tobacco was contributed by the British consumer.

The restrictive provisions of the Navigation Acts also tended to limit somewhat the scope of the industry. The tightening up of these restrictions in the two decades following the Restoration undoubtedly imposed severe hardships on the industry and tended to promote price depression. It also tended to stimulate the production of tobacco in various European countries, a tendency further intensified by the fiscal policies of Continental countries.¹⁶⁰ After the industry had become thoroughly adjusted to these restrictions it is doubtful if they bore severely on colonial producers, and, with the exception of the protests of Bland and Berkeley, there was little official opposition by the tobacco Colonies to the Navigation Acts.¹⁶¹

The practical monopoly of the British market afforded by the prohibition of Spanish tobacco and later by discriminatory duties, together with restrictions on production in England, although undertaken largely as necessary expedients in obtaining revenue from the industry, were undoubtedly a boon to the plantations during the Stuart period. After the American industry was fully established it appears to have been entirely capable of more than holding its own against West Indian competition.

In short, while British policy was formulated with a view to appropriating the golden egg made available by the peculiar susceptibility of the tobacco trade to contribute to public revenues, it was careful to nourish and sustain the colonial goose. Consequently for approximately a century the tobacco industry constituted almost the sole prop of commercial agriculture and the plantation system in the South, and during the remainder of the colonial period shared this significant position only with rice, indigo, and naval stores.

¹⁶⁰ Bland, J., *Humble Remonstrance* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, I), 141 *et seq.* For Berkeley's protest in 1662 and 1671, see Beer, G. L., *Old Colonial System*, II, 112-114; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), II, 515; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 359; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1661-1668, p. 283.

¹⁶¹ Beer, G. L., *Old Colonial System*, II, 115; Sioussat, *Virginia and the English Commercial System*, 76.

CHAPTER XII

THE TOBACCO INDUSTRY—PRICE FLUCTUATIONS AND VARIATIONS IN PROSPERITY

Luxury Prices Decline to Prices Permitting Popular Consumption, 259. Colonial Attempts to Maintain the Luxury Price Level, 260. Depression in 1638-39 and Subsequent Prices until the Restoration, 262. The Serious Depression from about 1662 to 1667, 264. Prices from 1668 until the Close of the Third Great Depression in 1683, 265. Course of Prices from 1684 to 1703, 267. Acute Depression from 1703 to 1713, 268. Fluctuating Prosperity, 1714-1724, Followed by a Decade of Depression, 269. Absence of Protracted Depression until the French and Indian War, 271. Price Conditions, 1754 to 1774, 272. Conditions Influencing Volume of Production in Relation to Prices, 275.

LUXURY PRICES DECLINE TO PRICES PERMITTING POPULAR CONSUMPTION

The rapid rise of the tobacco industry to a preëminent position in colonial economy reflected extraordinary conditions in the English market. Before Virginia tobacco began seriously to influence the market, Spanish tobacco, of which England imported an annual average of 60,000 pounds during the seven years preceding 1622, had been a luxury product. About the beginning of the seventeenth century tobacco sold at retail in England as high as 90 shillings a pound, and recorded transactions from 1600 to 1613 averaged about 40 shillings.¹ About 1619 Spanish tobacco ordinarily brought 18 shillings and sometimes more. It is not strange that tobacco was customarily sold at retail by the pipeful.² Virginia tobacco sold at a lower rate than the Spanish. Prior to 1619 it had brought not more than 5 shillings per pound when the Spanish brought 18 shillings, but in February, 1620/21, Sir Edwin Sandys stated in the House of Commons that, whereas two years previously Virginia tobacco had sold for only 4 shillings the pound in England, by reason of its improvement in quality it had sold last year for 8 shillings.³

On the basis of these high rates the Company sent instructions in the Fall of 1618 that the price of the best grade of tobacco should be 3 shillings per pound at the Company's Virginia magazine, and 18 pence for second quality.⁴ Unfortunately, the Company had not reckoned with the effect of the rapidly expanding supply of Virginia tobacco, nor with increasing competition from the new British settlements in Barbados and St. Christopher. Consequently during 1620 and 1621 the adventurers who had underwritten the purchase of the product had been compelled to sell much of it at less than they had paid in Virginia.⁵ In sending out the magazine of 1621, the Company resolved that tobacco be taken at the

¹ From accounts in Duke of Richland Manuscripts, quoted by Alfred Rive, *History of the Tobacco Trade in England* (Unpublished Manuscript), 235-236.

² Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, I, 282; II, 57-64, 66-72.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 291; Stock, *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments*, I, 28.

⁴ Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, I, 282; Virginia, *Proceedings of Assembly*, 1619, in *Colonial Records of Virginia* (State Senate Doc., Extra, Richmond, 1874), pp. 17, 22-23.

⁵ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, pp. 79, 124; Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, I, 289, 342; Neill, *Virginia Company of London*, 247.

former fixed price, but "according to the goodness." The planters, however, insisted on retaining the established level, since tobacco had come to be employed as currency. At a meeting of the general court of the Company in July, 1621, Mr. Wrote proposed a resolution "to decry the price of tobacco in Virginia" since "itt hath not been possible hetherto to awake them out of this straunge dreame." He further advised that "some course be taken that some other Comoditie may be made their Coyne and that Tobacco might be vented as merchandize onely."⁶ It is probable, however, that the "straunge dreame" continued several years, for in the instructions given to Yeardley April 19, 1626, the privy council thought it necessary to prohibit the practice of constraining merchants to take tobacco at 3 shillings per pound in exchange for commodities.⁷ The various negotiations for monopolies up to and including 1627 also indicate that a level of prices ranging from 2 to 4 shillings was still thought possible.

Meanwhile the actual price was falling rapidly. In 1622 an agreement was made by the Virginia authorities to pay William Claiborne £13 sterling per annum. This was rated at 200 pounds of tobacco, or nearly 1½ shillings per pound, but in the two following years it was agreed that 400 pounds should be allowed each year, indicating that tobacco in the Colony was worth little more than 6 pence per pound.⁸ In 1623 it was stated that the price in England was "at as low a stand as ever was, and like to come lower," and the following year that "tobacco will yield now no price, the markets are overlaid, and till winter [it] is not consumed."⁹ In 1625 tobacco was officially rated in Virginia at 1 shilling a pound. In 1626 it was declared, "Tobacco falleth every day more and more to a baser price," and in 1629 that it was not worth bringing to England. In 1630 Governor Harvey complained that merchants were buying tobacco for less than 1 penny per pound.¹⁰

In 1631/2 tobacco was officially rated in barter at 6 pence the pound and in 1633 at 9 pence, but this was probably a gross overvaluation, if we may judge from the heavy penalties attached. In 1634 petitions sent from the Colony to England stated that tobacco would not bring 1 penny per pound. Two years later the privy council wrote, "Your tobacco falleth everie day more and more to a baser price."¹¹

COLONIAL ATTEMPTS TO MAINTAIN THE LUXURY PRICE LEVEL

Tobacco at 3 shillings a pound was so profitable that the repeated appeals to the colonists to diversify their industry and attempts to develop other sources of income proved futile. The spirit of the Colony resembled that of a mining camp in the feverish desire of the settlers to acquire wealth quickly and return to the

⁶ Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, I, 481, 519.

⁷ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, p. 80.

⁸ Minutes of the Council and General Court of Virginia, 1622-1629, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXIII, 276.

⁹ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1675-1676, Addenda, 1574-1674, pp. 63-64.

¹⁰ Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 205; Instructions to Yeardley, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, II, 395; Smith, Capt. J., *Works*, 888; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, p. 117.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 190; *idem*, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, No. 211; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 162, 210.

mother country to enjoy it.¹² When this price level showed signs of collapsing under the rising tide of supply, the colonists, as well as the official classes in England interested in exploiting the tobacco trade, turned to various expedients for upholding the earlier level, ignoring the fact that it was abnormally high.

In 1621 by order of Governor Wyatt, acting on instructions from England, the production of tobacco was stinted to 1,000 plants of 9 leaves each per head of a family or per laborer, estimated to produce 112 pounds per man.¹³ At a meeting of the assembly in October, 1629, an act was passed stinting tobacco production to 3,000 plants per tithable. The following March the quantity allowed was increased to 2,000 plants per capita, women and children being included. In February, 1631/2, the quantity was again restricted to 2,000 plants per poll, and no person not engaged in producing tobacco was permitted to transfer his rights. Another act of the same session forbade the tending of more than 14 leaves per plant or the harvesting of more than 9 per plant. The act was renewed in substance the next year, with additional provisions against the tending of second-growth plants. In August, 1633, the quantity was reduced to 1,500 plants per poll.¹⁴ The regulations in the earlier decades of settlement requiring the tending of two acres of provision crops per laborer, though designed primarily to ensure the food supply, were probably favored in part because they tended to limit the production of tobacco.

The provisions for stinting production were at times associated also with price-fixing legislation.¹⁵ In February, 1631/2, it was provided that no contract for exchange of tobacco for English goods should be made at a lower rate than 6 pence per pound for tobacco, under penalty of imprisonment. Goods produced in the Colony were exempt from these provisions. The rate was continued from time to time until August, 1633, when the price of tobacco in exchange for English goods was increased to 9 pence.¹⁶

By 1639 production had become so excessive that an agreement for curtailment was entered into between the principal merchants and the colonial authorities. It provided that on condition that the crops of 1639, 1640, and 1641 should be limited to 1,200,000 pounds of good quality properly stripped and smoothed, the merchants would receive 40 pounds in satisfaction of each 100 pounds of indebtedness due them. In case the arrangement should be perfected too late in the year 1639 to permit reduction below 1,500,000 pounds, the merchants would receive tobacco at the rate of 50 pounds per 100 of indebtedness. In order to promote the carrying out of the agreement, the assembly appointed viewers in each county to inspect and put their seal on each hogshead. In addition to destroying inferior tobacco, they were instructed to burn one half of each planter's crop. Elaborate precautions were taken to prevent concealment and fraudulent shipment. Outright sale of tobacco was prohibited, and it was required that merchants

¹² Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia*, 284; Hammond, J., *Leah and Rachel* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 14), p. 8.

¹³ Smith, Capt. J., *Works*, 565; Neill, *Virginia Vetusta*, 118.

¹⁴ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 142, 152, 164, 189, 212.

¹⁵ For price-fixing in the period of the Virginia Company, see above, pp. 22, 30, 259.

¹⁶ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 162, 188, 203-207, 209; Virginia, *Journals of the House of Burgesses* (McIlwaine), 1619-1658/9, p. 124.

should exchange goods for tobacco by rating the latter at not less than 3 pence per pound, while English goods must be rated at first cost in England, plus petty charges and a profit of 30 per cent.¹⁷ In view of the provisions for stinting the crops of the two following years, the assembly resolved in January, 1639/40, that the minimum price for the crop of 1640 should be 12 pence per pound and for the following year 2 shillings.¹⁸ This legislation did not meet the approval of the English authorities, who issued an order in 1641 that no merchant should be forced to accept tobacco at a fixed price.¹⁹

These attempts at price-fixing were probably partly justified by reason of the uncertain conditions of marketing in a new country where ships arrived at long intervals and trading was largely the result of individual bargains. Such conditions, providing favorable circumstances for monopoly and for exploitation of planters by designing merchants, led also to laws against engrossing, forestalling, and regrating, which were a feature not only of colonial but also of English legislation in this period.²⁰ The fact that tobacco served as the principal medium of exchange and standard of deferred payments necessitated also a great deal of legislation defining its value in terms of English currency or of other commodities. Legislation of this character was especially necessary in regard to public charges, as well as rates for inns, ferries, and other quasi public services.²¹ To attempt to chronicle all of the numerous legislative acts regulating the use of tobacco for purposes of exchange, repayment of indebtedness, and public payments would be to undertake to write a history of colonial currency.

DEPRESSION IN 1638-39 AND SUBSEQUENT PRICES UNTIL THE RESTORATION

To construct a reliable table of prices for tobacco throughout the colonial period is virtually impossible. During much of the period there was no centralized and authoritative mechanism for price determination, and few price quotations are to be found in colonial newspapers. Much of the trade consisted of consignment business. Although in the eighteenth century the practice of outright purchase increased, a large proportion of the purchases were made scatteringly at backwoods stores or as various ships proceeded from plantation to plantation. Toward the latter part of the colonial period there are evidences of greater uniformity of action among the merchants, both in England and America, and the development of approximately general levels of prices, but for most of the period available data consist of scattering pieces of information. It is easier, therefore, to determine variations in general prosperity than to determine the exact level of prices.

¹⁷ For full details, see *Virginia, Acts of the General Assembly, 1639-40* (William and Mary Quarterly, 2 series, IV), 18-35; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 225.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 226.

¹⁹ Instructions to Berkeley, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, II, 287.

²⁰ See below, p. 419.

²¹ Such ratings are frequently mentioned in the discussion of prices below. See also p. 230. Cf. also Gould, *Money and Transportation in Maryland*, Chaps. III-VI; Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland*, 102-107; Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province*, Pt. I, Chap. II, and pp. 373-399; Sioussat, *Economics and Politics in Maryland*, 28-46; Ripley, *Financial History of Virginia*, *passim*; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, Chap. XIX.

After prices had been reduced from the earlier excessive level, during the remainder of the seventeenth century they exhibited a tendency to fall periodically below normal costs. The first major crisis developed as a result of the crop brought to the London market in 1638, which was a little over twice as large as the average for the other years from 1637 to 1640 inclusive.²² The price in 1638–39 was so low that the planters could not subsist by it, and in desperation the Virginia Assembly provided the drastic measures for restriction and price-fixing already mentioned.²³ In reporting these measures to the privy council Governor Wyatt explained that they seemed the only means of maintaining adequate prices “and though the physic be sharp I hope it will bring the colony to a sounder constitution of health than ever it enjoyed before.”²⁴ In 1640 tobacco was officially rated in Maryland at 3 pence per pound in payment of quitrents, probably reflecting the Virginia attempt to fix prices. Indirect evidence indicates that tobacco in Maryland was worth about 1.2 pence per pound. In 1642 tobacco was officially rated in Virginia at only 1.2 pence per pound, and the following year in Maryland at only $\frac{3}{8}$ penny per pound.²⁵

Scattering information on prices and rates appears to indicate that following the crisis which began in 1638 and probably continued for several years, reasonably profitable prices, ranging from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 pence per pound, prevailed until after the middle of the seventh decade. In 1644 tobacco was scarce in Virginia by reason of a short crop, and prices increased to such an extent that it became necessary to lower tavern rates.²⁶ In 1645 and 1647 certain court fees were fixed at rates indicating a price level of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ pence per pound; this price is also indicated by a bill passed in 1645 providing for the purchase of copper for subsidiary coins and by sale in 1646 of a consignment of tobacco in York County.²⁷ A provision in 1645/6 rating quitrents at 3 pence per pound of tobacco was probably an attempt to overvalue tobacco. In 1649 tobacco was selling in Virginia at 3 pence per pound.²⁸ About 1655 Hartlib speaks of tobacco as worth 2 pence per pound. In March, 1656, a new act respecting court fees changed the former ratio from $1\frac{1}{2}$ pence to $2\frac{2}{3}$ pence.²⁹ A pamphlet published in 1657 contained the statement that before their exclusion from the trade of Virginia the Dutch had been accustomed to give 3 pence per pound, while at present tobacco brought not more than $\frac{1}{2}$ penny.³⁰ The last statement was inconsistent, however, with legal ratings during the year 1657–58, which ranged, with one exception, between $2\frac{2}{3}$ and 3 pence per pound.³¹

²² British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts*, 35865, f. 248 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

²³ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 225.

²⁴ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574–1660, p. 310.

²⁵ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), III, 95; (Prov. Ct.), IV, 214; Bozman, *History of Maryland*, II, 173 n.; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 273.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 286–287.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 305, 308, 345; Notes from the Records of York County, in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XXIII, 13.

²⁸ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 316; *Perfect Description of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, II, No. 8), p. 4.

²⁹ *Reformed Virginian Silkworm* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 13), p. 36; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 398.

³⁰ Gatford, *Publick Good without Private Interest*, 13.

³¹ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 418, 455, 462, 490, 520.

THE SERIOUS DEPRESSION FROM ABOUT 1662 TO 1667

Shortly afterward a second crisis developed, which continued until 1667. As a result of heavy immigration to the Colonies between the outbreak of the Civil Wars and the Restoration, restrictions on trade with the Dutch, and reduction of demand due to the plague in England and war with Holland, the tobacco market began to be glutted shortly after the Restoration, and the price of tobacco sagged to $1\frac{1}{5}$ pence or less per pound.³² In 1663 there was a slight improvement compared with the preceding year, an improvement that Governor Berkeley attributed to the merchants' apprehension concerning efforts of the colonists to diversify their industry. In 1664 the average hogshead in Virginia and Maryland was valued at £3 sterling, or about $1\frac{1}{2}$ pence per pound. In 1665 a Virginia act provided that after September, 1666, tobacco debts might be paid in money at $1\frac{1}{5}$ pence sterling per pound.³³ In 1665, on account of the plague in London, the tobacco fleet did not go to the Colonies. Tobacco sold in Virginia for $\frac{1}{2}$ penny per pound, although a memorial issued six years afterward by the tobacco merchants declared that tobacco could not be produced for less than 1 penny per pound. In 1667 the price was still only $\frac{1}{2}$ penny, but the great storm of that year, which destroyed from two thirds to four fifths of the crops in Virginia, and the destruction of twenty tobacco ships by the Dutch greatly relieved the market;³⁴ consequently prosperous conditions prevailed the next year.

The long period of depression stimulated a renewal of attempts to control the supply. By this time, however, expansion of the industry into Maryland and North Carolina had made the problem one of intercolonial relations. As early as 1640 Virginia authorities had urged the privy council to require that Maryland planters observe provisions for limiting production, as in Virginia. A subcommittee of the privy council recommended that the request be granted, but the council as a whole decided that in view of Lord Baltimore's opposition Maryland should not be compelled to adopt the policy during the next two years. By that time improvement in prices was probably responsible for the fact that the dispute was dropped.³⁵ In 1662 the Virginia Assembly prohibited planting tobacco after the last of June, provided Maryland would consent to adopt the same policy. A petition from Virginia merchants and planters to the privy council urged that a total cessation of tobacco planting in Virginia and Maryland be required after June 10, 1663. The petition was summarily rejected, but later the council authorized a conference of representatives of the two Colonies. The conferees agreed on a prohibition of planting after June 20 subject to confirmation by the respective legislatures. The agreement was approved by the

³² Schoenfeld, *Maryland*, 59. For an interesting discussion of the influence of the exclusion of the Dutch merchants in producing the depression and as a factor in the discontent which led to Bacon's Rebellion, see Wertenbaker, *Virginia under the Stuarts*, 115-145.

³³ British Museum, *Egerton Manuscripts*, 2395, f. 362 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), III, 504; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), II, 222.

³⁴ British Museum, *Harleian Manuscripts*, 1238, f. 20 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 394; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1661-1668, pp. 515-516.

³⁵ *Idem*, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, No. 473.

Virginia Assembly, but rejected by that of Maryland.³⁶ In 1664 the Virginians again petitioned that Maryland be compelled to comply with the privy council's order of 1662. The matter was referred to Lord Baltimore, who advised the council that he opposed the plan, and his position was upheld by the council.³⁷

In 1666 the depression had become so acute that the merchants refused to accept tobacco.³⁸ On the initiative of Virginia both Colonies, as well as North Carolina, prohibited its cultivation for the period February, 1666 to February, 1667, and through commissioners formulated measures for enforcing the acts. Again, as a result of Lord Baltimore's opposition, coupled with the King's unwillingness to lose the revenues, the proposal was vetoed by the privy council.³⁹ The various attempts at cessation ended when nature intervened, accomplishing by the storm of 1667 the essential purpose of restricted production.

PRICES FROM 1668 UNTIL THE CLOSE OF THE THIRD GREAT DEPRESSION IN 1683

From the close of this depression until 1680 tobacco prices appear generally to have been somewhat more favorable than in 1667, but probably for the most part not extremely profitable. A Maryland rating act of 1669 recognized a price of 1½ pence, and a Virginia act of 1671 indicated 1½ pence. In the following year a reasonable price was said to be 1½ pence.⁴⁰ In 1671 a memorial prepared by British tobacco merchants contained the statement that in the previous year many merchants had paid more for freight and duty than they had received for the tobacco.⁴¹ In 1673 an act to promote the growing of other commodities in Virginia recites "the contemptible price we are allowed for our tobaccoes."⁴² In the same year Governor Charles Calvert wrote Lord Baltimore that he had allowed fees to certain officials at the rate of 1 penny per pound. Probably this was liberal, for the Governor explained that he did not want to "undervalue the Comodity of the Country."⁴³ A Maryland tavern act passed the next year valued tobacco at 1 penny per pound, and in March, 1678, Lord Baltimore reported to the British Lords of Trade that tobacco did not bring more than 1 penny per pound.⁴⁴

A new crisis was incubating, and conditions were destined to become worse. In 1678 Governor Calvert reported that the Virginia crop was as large as the total production of three normal years, and the Maryland crop the largest "that

³⁶ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), II, 32, 200; Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, Nos. 564, 566; *idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1661-1668, pp. 90, 132; *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), V, 5, 15-20.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 504, 508; Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, Nos. 627, 636, 639.

³⁸ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), II, 220.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 143; (Coun. Proc.), III, 561; V, 357; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), II, 224-226, 229-232, 251; Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, Nos. 729, 733; *idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1661-1668, p. 400; *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1661, ch. 21.

⁴⁰ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), II, 220; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), II, 288; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1669-1674, p. 334.

⁴¹ British Museum, *Harleian Manuscripts*, 1238, f. 20 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

⁴² *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), II, 306.

⁴³ *Calvert Papers*, I, 280.

⁴⁴ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), II, 407; (Coun. Proc.), V, 268.

I ever heard of.”⁴⁵ The effects of overproduction soon became more acutely manifested. Dissatisfaction with the continued low price was expressed in the Virginia town act of 1680, and in the same year Governor Culpeper wrote the British authorities that the low price staggered him and that the continuance of it would be the “fatal & speedy ruin of this once noble colony.”⁴⁶ The large crop of 1680, combined with a large carry-over from the preceding year, glutted the market to such an extent that tobacco became practically worthless. It was said there was enough to supply the demand for two years even if no tobacco were produced in 1681, and that there was enough in London to last five years.⁴⁷ In November, 1682, the Virginia Assembly rated tobacco in payment of debts at 1½ pence, but this was probably far above its real value. It was admitted the following year that the allowance of 2 pence for tobacco in payment of quitrents was double its real value. In 1683 tobacco was rated by the Maryland Council at only $\frac{3}{8}$ penny.⁴⁸

The acute depression resulted in renewed attempts at cessation. The Virginia House of Burgesses petitioned the English authorities, urging that consent be given to an act for cessation in planting during the following year. The petition was refused on the excuse that the cessation would stimulate foreign production and would benefit merely the large planters and merchants who had bought up large stocks. The real reason was probably unwillingness to forego the revenue. A few months later Governor Culpeper wrote the Lords of Trade that he feared another serious outbreak, expressing apprehension at the proposal to remove two companies of troops billeted in the Colony since the suppression of Bacon's Rebellion.⁴⁹ His fears were not without foundation. In the Spring of 1682 the people of several counties petitioned for a special meeting of the assembly to suspend the planting of tobacco. The assembly having adjourned without action, a series of plant-cutting riots broke out in New Kent, Gloucester, and Middlesex counties, spreading with such rapidity that they were put down with great difficulty after the equivalent of about 10,000 hogsheads of tobacco had been destroyed. The rage of the plant cutters, made up largely of the poorer classes, was directed mainly against sweet-scented tobacco, which sold at a premium and was probably largely the product of the wealthier planters.⁵⁰

The violence of the outbreak alarmed both Lord Baltimore and the British authorities sufficiently to induce a more tolerant attitude toward intercolonial agreements for restriction. As in the previous depression, however, the occasion for drastic action disappeared before action could be taken. Probably as a result of the destruction of tobacco in the riots, conditions were much improved in 1683; and Governor Culpeper wrote that although the crop of that year was

⁴⁵ *Calvert Papers*, I, 319.

⁴⁶ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), II, 471; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1677-1680, p. 568.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 569; 1681-1685, p. 156.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 497; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), II, 506; *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XVII, 139.

⁴⁹ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1677-1680, p. 569; 1681-1685, pp. 2, 130.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 226-229, 231, 237, 423-425; Beverley, R., *History of Virginia*, 81; *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), V, 355. See also account in *True Protestant Mercury* (London), June 14, 1682.

enormous, there need be little doubt "of peace and quietness here so long as tobacco bears a price, which I hope will be two years at least."⁵¹

COURSE OF PRICES FROM 1684 TO 1703

During the following decade, apparently, prices were high enough to prevent acute distress or discontent. Scattering quotations range from 1 to 1½ pence for tobacco other than sweet-scented. In 1685 tobacco was bringing such good prices at outright sale in Virginia that an astute planter preferred not to ship tobacco on consignment, as he had been able to sell in Virginia for nearly £5 per hogshead, probably equivalent to about 2½ pence per pound. Very likely this was sweet-scented, for the next year he estimated that the common price for tobacco was only 1½ pence.⁵² The Virginia crop of 1686 was too large to be carried off, but was offset by a small crop in 1687. In November, 1686, tobacco was officially rated at only 1½ pence.⁵³ According to William Byrd (II), in 1690 the merchants gave from 2 pence to 2.4 pence per pound,⁵⁴ probably for the highest quality of sweet-scented. Maryland and Virginia rating acts of 1690 and 1692 varied from about 1.2 pence to 1 penny.⁵⁵ About 1695, however, tobacco was so unprofitable that there was a strong tendency to substitute the planting of cotton.⁵⁶

The last five years of the seventeenth century and probably the first two or three years of the eighteenth were a period of somewhat higher prices, due in part to several years of low production. The latter part of the summer of 1696 was very cold in Maryland, and probably in Virginia, greatly limiting the growth of tobacco. According to Governor Nicholson, the merchants gave the planters "more per pound."⁵⁷ In 1698 tobacco was considerably injured by heavy rains, winter set in early, and heavy snows delayed its preparation for market. In October, 1699, there was a severe depression in the shipping trade of New York and New England due to a failure of sugar crops in the West Indies and of tobacco in Virginia and Maryland.⁵⁸ Several lawsuits indicated tobacco was considered worth about 1½ pence in 1695, and in 1696 it was rated at 1½ pence for payments to the clergy. The recipients claimed that this was an overvaluation, which was denied by the opposite party.⁵⁹

A somewhat similar controversy arose over the price of tobacco received for quitrents. In 1697 it was reported that the governor had acquired quitrent tobacco for about ½ penny, which was considered only half its value. In 1699 arrangements were made for farming the collection of quitrent tobacco in the

⁵¹ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1681–1685, pp. 231, 406, 410, 434, 506; cf. *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), V, 351, 370.

⁵² Fitzhugh, W., *Letters* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, I), 273, 395.

⁵³ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1685–1688, pp. 271, 313.

⁵⁴ *History of the Dividing Line and Other Tracts* (Wynne), II, 161.

⁵⁵ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1306, No. 32 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XIII, 507, 632.

⁵⁶ See above, p. 182.

⁵⁷ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1693–1696, pp. 509, 654.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 1697–1698, pp. 250, 391; 1699, p. 488.

⁵⁹ Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 457; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), III, 153. For the various claims and counter claims as to prices, see correspondence between Dr. Bray and Joseph Wyeth, in Maryland Historical Society, *Fund Publications*, No. 37, pp. 38, 189, 215.

various counties of Virginia at the rate of 1 penny. In 1698 it was declared that certain rentals received by Lord Baltimore in tobacco rated at 2 pence were worth less than $\frac{9}{10}$ penny. Allowance must be made for the tendency to deliver tobacco of inferior quality in payment of quitrents.⁶⁰

In spite of the various conflicting claims it was declared in 1697 that during the preceding year tobacco had sold for 10 to 20 shillings per hundredweight, and that the Colonies had "never been so bare of tobacco since the War began." It was bringing such good prices that the strong tendency earlier in the decade toward planting cotton was greatly discouraged.⁶¹ Some of the clergy had sold their tobacco for 16 to 20 shillings per hundred.⁶² According to customhouse valuations compiled by Miss Morriss, tobacco was at $1\frac{1}{2}$ pence in 1697, $1\frac{3}{4}$ pence in 1698, and 2 pence in 1699.⁶³

Although the industry was fairly prosperous during a considerable part of the last two decades of the seventeenth century, the policy of officially limiting production may have been continued in Virginia during all or part of the period. In 1688 there was a conference between the two houses of the Virginia Assembly in regard to restraining the planting of tobacco. In 1699 a report was made by tobacco counters on the south side of the Potomac and lower end of Overwharton Parish which indicated that the policy of counting the number of plants per tithable was in effect. A Maryland memorial in 1729 stated that limitation of the number of plants per laborer "had been in Force many years in the Province of Virginia."⁶⁴

The good prices of the last years of the seventeenth century appear to have continued until after the outbreak of war in 1702. Governor Nicholson reported in February, 1699, that partly as a result of injury from heavy rains in 1698 the price of Oronoko tobacco was 20 shillings per hundredweight and of sweet-scented 25 shillings, which he considered "very good prices." In 1702 tobacco was selling in London at 83 shillings per hundredweight. This was considered a very good price, and prices were said to have been high for several years.⁶⁵

ACUTE DEPRESSION FROM 1703 TO 1713

Probably the influence of the war was felt for the first time in 1703,⁶⁶ and the deepest depression prevailed in the industry until the close of the war in 1713, resulting in the demoralization of trade and the numerous petitions, proposals,

⁶⁰ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1696-1697, p. 645; 1697-1698, p. 379; Byrd, *Writings* (Bassett), pp. xxvi-xxvii n.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 546; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1696-1697, pp. 550, 585.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 463.

⁶³ *Colonial Trade of Maryland*, 38. A bulletin issued in 1912 by the United States Department of Agriculture gives prices per pound expressed in United States currency for the years 1684, 1695, 1697, 1698, and 1699, but without specific citations to sources. Holmes, G. K., *Tobacco Crop of the United States* (Bur. of Statistics, *Circular* 33), p. 6. A number of price quotations in Jacobstein's *Tobacco Industry* are also given without citations to sources.

⁶⁴ Virginia, *Calendar of State Papers*, I, 20, 68; *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXXVIII, 441.

⁶⁵ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1697-1698, p. 391; 1699, p. 49; Carter, R., *Some Letters with reference to the Wormeley Estate* (William and Mary Quarterly, XVII), 255.

⁶⁶ The *Circular* of the Department of Agriculture, quoted above, gives for this year a price equivalent to 8 shillings 4 pence per hundredweight, or about 1 penny per pound. Holmes, G. K., *Tobacco Crop of the United States* (Bur. of Statistics, *Circular* 33), p. 6.

and official enactments for the relief of the industry noted in a previous chapter.⁶⁷ The depression was also attributed to overexpansion in the period just preceding the war. In 1704 several thousand hogsheads of consignment tobacco brought the planters no return whatever. Some was left on the hands of ship captains for freight, and bills of exchange drawn by planters were returned protested. In 1706 it was reported that in the preceding year planters had been compelled to sell their tobacco for $\frac{1}{4}$ penny per pound. The low price only stimulated the desperate planters to renewed efforts, and in April, 1706, Colonel Quarry, the colonial agent, reported, "Never was so great a quantity of tobacco come from the Plantations in one year, as is expected in England this summer." Many planters were compelled to sell part of their land and Negroes; others emigrated to the Carolinas.⁶⁸

Toward the close of the war William Byrd wrote that tobacco was so low poor people could not even clothe themselves, and the larger planters were getting deeper in debt.⁶⁹ Heavy duties imposed by Virginia in 1711 on slave importations were justified as a means of lessening tobacco production and preventing further increase of indebtedness. In 1710 it was reported that the merchants would make no advances against Maryland tobacco, which was selling for only 4 shillings per hundredweight. In the same year tobacco was officially rated in Virginia in payment of quitrents at 1 penny per pound, but it was practically valueless, for "the vast quantity . . . exceeds all consumption." A collector of quitrents testified that from 1705 to 1714 he had never paid more than 6 shillings per hundred for quitrent tobacco, and another purchaser declared the highest price he himself had paid was 4 shillings 6 pence.⁷⁰

FLUCTUATING PROSPERITY, 1714-1724, FOLLOWED BY A DECADE OF DEPRESSION

The period of four years following the war was one of good prices, attributed to the reopening of Continental markets, several years of small crops due to drouth, and the development of direct trade with Scotland.⁷¹

The good times were not to continue. In 1720 tobacco was rated in Virginia at only 1 penny per pound for quitrents, and the following year a Maryland act refers to "the Extream low state to which the Staple of this Province is reduced."⁷² In 1723/4 Thomas Ludwell was complaining of the general low prices. Two hogsheads shipped to London had yielded only 40 shillings net, probably less than $\frac{1}{2}$ penny per pound, whereas, according to testimony of prominent merchants, a normal price for Maryland tobacco was 1 penny, and of Virginia tobacco $1\frac{1}{2}$

⁶⁷ Great Britain, *Representations of the Lords Commissioners . . . on the State of the British Colonies in North America*, 1721, p. 19. See above, p. 253.

⁶⁸ *Animadversions on a Paper Entitled Virginia Addresses* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXII), 413; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1704-1705, p. 142; 1706-1708, pp. 98, 121, 215; 1708-1709, p. 182; 1710-1711, p. 250.

⁶⁹ Undated letter in *History of the Dividing Line and Other Tracts* (Wynne), II, 207.

⁷⁰ Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1714-1718, p. 189; *idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1710-1711, pp. 250, 416.

⁷¹ *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXIII, 359; *Animadversions on a Paper Entitled Virginia Addresses* (*ibid.*, XXII), 413; Virginia, *Journals of the House of Burgesses* (McIlwaine), 1712-1726, pp. 98, 139.

⁷² *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), IV, 79; *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXXVIII, 290.

to 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pence.⁷³ A short crop led to high prices in 1724, and it became necessary to pass a special relief act.⁷⁴

The decade 1725–1734 was a period of unusually severe depression. Two measures considered in 1727 and 1728 by the Maryland Assembly contain the declaration that for several years producers had been entirely unable to support themselves. Even a reduced crop in 1728 due to damage by caterpillars does not appear to have resulted in much relief.⁷⁵ In the same year an interesting but unsuccessful attempt was made by London merchants in coöperation with certain colonial planters to effect concert of action in order to stabilize the market and resist the domination exercised by the buyers for the French regie.⁷⁶ Two years later the Maryland Assembly voiced the complaint that tobacco was “so low th^t the planters can’t long subsist upon the produce of their labours,” while the markets of Europe were glutted with tobacco of inferior grade. Governor Calvert wrote that tobacco was “of late visibly declining in Value.” In 1731 it was said to be worth only 6 shillings per hundredweight.⁷⁷ The merchants of London advised the Virginians to plant less tobacco, destroy trash and poor tobacco, and forbear planting entirely every fourth or fifth year.⁷⁸ The depression, which continued through the year 1733, was particularly severe in Maryland, where it was intensified by low quality and lack of standardization. Many of the inhabitants, unable to make an honest living, were leaving the Colony.⁷⁹ The better quality of the Virginia product and the effects of its standardization in 1730 are probably reflected in the fact that in 1731 Virginia tobacco brought 12 shillings 6 pence per hundredweight, while the Virginia fee act of 1732 rated tobacco at 1.2 pence per pound.⁸⁰

The acute depression brought renewed efforts to restrict production and provide for an intercolonial agreement. In Virginia an act for improving the staple of tobacco was passed, probably requiring destruction of inferior grades and stinting the quantity per laborer.⁸¹ In response to numerous petitions for relief the Maryland Assembly, called in special session in 1726, considered an act for the destruction of all tobacco in excess of 8,000 plants per taxable.⁸² Apparently it was not found practicable to reconcile divergent views for scaling down debts to correspond to the expected increase of prices. The Governor and Council of Maryland also addressed a letter to the Governor and Council of Virginia asking

⁷³ Letter to Philip Ludwell, in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, III, 198; Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1718–1722, p. 210.

⁷⁴ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXXVI, 576–578; letter from Hugh Drysdale, May 31, 1725, in London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1319, p. 446 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

⁷⁵ Virginia, *Journals of the House of Burgesses* (McIlwaine), 1727–1740, p. 116; *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XXV, 493.

⁷⁶ See below, p. 432. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), Jan. 28–Feb. 4, 1728/9; Apr. 8–15, 1729. See also, Gray, “Market Surplus Problems of Colonial Tobacco,” in *Agricultural History*, II, 25–27.

⁷⁷ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XXV, 602; (Assem. Acts), XXXVII, 441; Scharf, *History of Maryland*, II, 35.

⁷⁸ Sioussat, *Economics and Politics in Maryland*, 31.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 76; *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXXIX, 92.

⁸⁰ *Nelson Letter Book* (William and Mary Quarterly, VII), 27; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), IV, 353.

⁸¹ Virginia, *Journals of the House of Burgesses* (McIlwaine), 1712–1726, p. xlix; London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1319, p. 439 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

⁸² *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXXV, 6, 17–20, 47, 453, 485, 507, 510, 517, 533, 548, 560.

what action Virginia expected to take to remedy the "melancholy Circumstances of the Tobacco Trade," in order that means might be considered for united action. The Virginia authorities replied that a bill had been under consideration for regulating the time of shipping tobacco and "preventing that unseasonable supplying the British Markets with new Tobacco before the Old Crop can be sold of." The bill had been rejected by the Virginia House of Burgesses, partly because not applicable to Maryland. The Virginians believed that if Maryland passed such an act it would be accepted also by the Virginia Assembly.⁸³

Following this suggestion, the Maryland Assembly provided in 1727 that all tobacco must be ready for shipment by the last day of May, that certain steps be taken to improve quality, and that production be limited to 7,000 plants for each taxable adult laborer and 3,500 for each laborer twelve to sixteen years of age. A struggle between vested interests and the frontier elements over the problem of scaling down administrative and clerical fees resulted in a compromise,⁸⁴ but the provisions were so distasteful to the Proprietor that he vetoed the bill. In 1730 an act similar in general to that of 1726 was passed, with modified conditions as to fees, but it was permitted to lapse in 1731. The currency act of 1733 provided for the enforced destruction of 150 pounds per taxable in 1734, and again in 1735.⁸⁵

The failure of the efforts at restriction of production were followed by serious plant-cutting riots in 1732, in Maryland and northern Virginia, necessitating the passage of legislation providing for severe penalties.⁸⁶ That the danger probably continued is shown by the renewal of the act at various times.⁸⁷

ABSENCE OF PROTRACTED DEPRESSION UNTIL THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

From this time forward until the outbreak of the French and Indian War scattering quotations and ratings, together with the general absence of serious complaints, suggest that there was no protracted depression. A statement by the Virginia clergy that prices were generally low from 1724 to 1755 was probably exaggerated in the interest of the agitation for higher fees.⁸⁸

Some relief from the depression that had continued for a decade appeared in 1734-35 as a result of a very short crop, which necessitated the suspension of the Maryland act of 1733 for the public burning of tobacco.⁸⁹ Virginia accounts

⁸³ *Ibid.* (Coun. Proc.), XXV, 454, 458.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* (Assem. Acts), XXXVI, 86-88, 116, 130, 134, 152, 156, 163-165, 170, 231, 253, 266-274; Sioussat, *Economics and Politics in Maryland*, 12-26.

⁸⁵ Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province*, 113; *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1730, ch. 7; Sioussat, *Economics and Politics in Maryland*, 44.

⁸⁶ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXXVII, 530. Professor Sioussat quotes an article in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, of June, 1732, which stated that the tobacco on seventy plantations had been destroyed. He thinks this story refers to plant-cutting in northern Virginia reported by Governor Gooch to the Board of Trade. "Virginia and the English Commercial System," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1905, I, 77 n. However, the recital of the Maryland act above referred to indicates that the disturbance existed also in Maryland.

⁸⁷ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXXIX, 472; XLII, 598; *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1736, ch. 5; 1740, ch. 5; 1744, ch. 5; 1747, ch. 11; 1751, ch. 7.

⁸⁸ Address of Clergy to Bishop of London, 1756, in Virginia, *Journals of the House of Burgesses* (McIlwaine), 1761-1765, p. xlii.

⁸⁹ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXXIX, 284.

of sales from 1736 to 1738 indicate net prices ranging approximately from 12 to 15 shillings per hundredweight.⁹⁰ In 1736 compensation at the rate of 2 pence per pound was allowed for tobacco destroyed in a Virginia public warehouse.⁹¹ In 1737 the low grade tobacco of Maryland, known as "dull leaf," was said to be customarily purchased by the French regie buyers in London at prices that yielded the consignor a little less than a penny per pound.⁹² In 1738 tobacco in Virginia was rated at 3 pence in current money.⁹³ Various rating acts, compensation acts, and accounts of sales during the period 1739 to 1746 inclusive indicate prices of 1½ to 2 pence.⁹⁴

The War of the Austrian Succession appears to have stimulated tobacco prices, partly through rise of exchange rates in the tobacco Colonies. In December, 1744, Governor Gooch estimated the usual price of tobacco exported from Virginia and Maryland in normal times at £5 per hogshead, probably equivalent to 1.3 to 1.5 pence per pound, but he declared that the war had raised prices to from £6 to £8 per hogshead.⁹⁵ In the Maryland inspection act of 1747 tobacco was officially rated at 12 shillings 6 pence per hundred, an increase of 20 or 25 per cent over previous rates.⁹⁶

Good prices prevailed for a number of years after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. In 1748 crop tobacco in Virginia was officially rated at 16 shillings 8 pence per hundred. In 1750 planters were refusing 16 shillings 8 pence, and a few even 20 shillings. A few months later a merchant wrote that 14 and 15 shillings per hundred had lately been given, "which is a monstrous price."⁹⁷ In 1751 a Virginia merchant reported the purchase of two lots of tobacco at 15 shillings 8 pence and 16 shillings per hundred respectively; and approximately similar levels were recognized in Virginia compensation acts of the following year.⁹⁸ The crop of 1752 was very small, and in 1753 another Virginia merchant wrote, "I have never known the country so clean swept of Tobo., as it now is." He had been compelled to pay 20 shillings per hundred.⁹⁹

PRICE CONDITIONS, 1754 TO 1774

The crop of 1754 appears to have brought lower prices. In December tobacco was so low in Maryland as to affect the procurement of good bills of exchange.¹⁰⁰ In March, 1755, inspected fee tobacco was estimated by Governor Sharpe to

⁹⁰ *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXIII, 165-167.

⁹¹ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), IV, 534.

⁹² *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), July 29-Aug. 5, 1737.

⁹³ *Virginia, Journal of the Council*, Executive Sessions, 1737-1763 (*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XIV), 189.

⁹⁴ Brock, *Succinct Account of Tobacco in Virginia* (*U. S. Census*, 1880, III, *Agriculture*), 222; Chapman, R., *Letters* (William and Mary Quarterly, XXI), 91; Holmes, G. K., *Tobacco Crop of the United States* (*U. S.*, Dept. Agric., Bur. of Statistics, *Circular* 33), p. 7; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), V, 366, 469.

⁹⁵ Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, IV, 105; London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1326, p. 212 (*Transcripts*, Library of Congress).

⁹⁶ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XLIV, 569, 605.

⁹⁷ *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XVIII, 215; Jerdone, *Letter Book* (William and Mary Quarterly, XI), 155, 158.

⁹⁸ Blair, *Diary* (William and Mary Quarterly, VIII), 4; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), VI, 237.

⁹⁹ Jerdone, *Letter Book* (William and Mary Quarterly, XI), 240; *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), July 16, Aug. 6, 1752.

¹⁰⁰ *Calvert Papers*, II, 184.

have averaged during the past five years 12 shillings 6 pence per hundred without allowance for cask.¹⁰¹

In spite of the arrangement between the belligerents for continuance of the tobacco trade¹⁰² the Seven Years' War resulted in unusual fluctuations of prices, due largely to inflation in Virginia and to certain years of poor crops. The year 1755 was marked by a severe crop failure.¹⁰³ In this year was passed the notorious Two Penny Act, in which payments of the clergy were made optional with the payers in money or tobacco at a rate of 2 pence per pound. This undervalued the commodity, which was expected to sell "at 3d. if not 4d. per lb," and aroused a storm of protest on the part of the clergy, whose salaries had been fixed for many years at 16,000 pounds of tobacco per annum.¹⁰⁴ In 1756 tobacco was quoted at from 20 to 25 shillings per hundred. This must have been tobacco of high quality, for only 12 shillings 6 pence was allowed the same year for certain warehouse tobacco accidentally burned.¹⁰⁵ In 1758 thousands of persons did not succeed in making a single pound of tobacco, and a Virginia merchant estimated the entire crop at only one tenth of the usual amount.¹⁰⁶ Prices rose to as much as 50 shillings currency, and another Two Penny Act was passed. According to a petition by a Virginia clergyman to the privy council tobacco was worth nearly 6 pence per pound on May 31, 1759.¹⁰⁷ Various letters to Washington during 1758 state that prices were higher than they had been for many years, ranging from 25 to 30 shillings currency. They were still high in 1759, quotations varying during the Spring from 30 to 40 shillings per hundred.¹⁰⁸

In 1755 Virginia for the first time issued a paper currency. For several years the governor was able to prevent overissue. The additional issues of 1760 seem "to have cast the first shadow of distrust upon the paper money," and some depreciation ensued.¹⁰⁹ In spite of strong protests by British merchants the assembly stubbornly adhered to the policy of legal tender. An act passed in 1748 had made the currency exchangeable for sterling in writs of execution at 25 per cent premium, but in 1755 the assembly left the ratio to be determined by the courts. Exchange rose rapidly to a 60 per cent premium by 1762.¹¹⁰ The high rates were reflected in currency prices. In 1764 a Virginia merchant stated

¹⁰¹ Sharpe, *Correspondence* (Maryland Archives, VI), 183.

¹⁰² See above, p. 254.

¹⁰³ Clergy of Virginia to Bishop of London, in Virginia, *Journals of the House of Burgesses* (McIlwaine), 1761-1765, p. xlv. The crop failure also existed in Maryland.

¹⁰⁴ Clergy of Virginia to Bishop of London, in Virginia, *Journals of the House of Burgesses* (McIlwaine), 1761-1765, p. xlii; Tyler, "Leadership of Virginia in the Revolution; Pt. II, The Two Penny Act," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, XIX, 13; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), VI, 569.

¹⁰⁵ Jerdone, *Letter Book* (William and Mary Quarterly, XVI), 126-130; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), VII, 48.

¹⁰⁶ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1330, p. 107 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); Allason, *Letters* (Richmond College Historical Papers, II), 122.

¹⁰⁷ *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XI, 99, 103; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), VII, 240; Burnaby, *Travels in North America*, 21; cf. Brock, *Succinct Account of Tobacco in Virginia* (U. S. Census, 1880, III, Agriculture), 222-224; Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, IV, 699.

¹⁰⁸ Hamilton, S.M., *Letters to Washington*, II, 379; III, 19, 43; Gordon, J., *Journal* (William and Mary Quarterly, XI), 100.

¹⁰⁹ Ripley, *Financial History of Virginia*, 154-158; Phillips, H., *Paper Currency of the American Colonies*, I, 193-198.

¹¹⁰ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), V, 540; Allason, *Letters* (Richmond College Historical Papers, II), 124; Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, IV, 641.

that the high exchange had caused tobacco to sell for 20 shillings per hundred-weight during the past five or six years, although formerly it had never sold so high except in years of crop shortage. For cash (probably sterling) it was only 2 pence per pound. Various miscellaneous price figures for the period 1760–1765 inclusive range from 18 to 25 shillings currency per hundred.¹¹¹

In spite of the seemingly high quotations, prices apparently had been unsatisfactory for several years prior to 1765, for sterling prices were lower than the currency quotations by the full premium on exchange, and sometimes even more. High price quotations were often offset by low yields. The crop of 1762 in eastern Virginia was very poor, though better in the back country. Prices stiffened somewhat, but only for a time, for advices from England were that the French Farmers General were out of the market, having acquired sufficient tobacco. In 1763 prices fell rapidly, and in 1764 were "lower than for some years past." There were many suits for collection of debts, and the prices of Negroes fell notably. By 1765 trade was in a "deplorable Situation." Planters were far behind, and some were getting out of the industry.¹¹² In that year the merchants Edward and Samuel Athawes wrote apologetically to William Daingerfield, of Virginia, in reply to a letter from that gentleman protesting strongly against a disappointing report from a consignment of tobacco: "We sincerely lament the distressful situation of Virginia, the low price Tob^o has been for some years past . . . upon this a great scarcity of corn & a very Heavy imposition of Taxes: however as Tobacco is getting up & as the quantity will be reduced by many going on Hemp, Flax, etc., the price may constantly be maintained."¹¹³ A British officer who travelled in the Colonies in 1764–1765 attributed the condition partly to the increase in 1758 of the British import duty.¹¹⁴

The fact that prices equivalent to approximately 2 pence sterling were regarded as unsatisfactory, whereas such a price would have been considered exorbitant in the seventeenth century and early part of the eighteenth, was probably due largely to the general rise in the level of gold prices which began in the second or third decade of the eighteenth century and continued to a peak in 1800.¹¹⁵

Prices began to improve in the latter part of 1765, continuing high during the following year.¹¹⁶ In 1769 there was only about three fourths of a normal crop, and in the latter part of the year and the spring of the following year Virginia tobacco was priced at 22 to 25 shillings per hundredweight, and Maryland tobacco at 18 to 22 shillings 6 pence, with exchange rates at 12½ to 15 per cent premium; but the best grades sold higher.¹¹⁷ By 1771 prices were considered high. A Norfolk

¹¹¹ Baker, *Letter to Duncan Rose* (William and Mary Quarterly, XII), 241; Manuscript Account Book of Pettus Rayland, quoted by Brock, *Succinct Account of Tobacco in Virginia* (U. S. Census, 1880, III, Agriculture), 222; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XVIII, 288; Allason, *Letters* (Richmond College Historical Papers, II), 122, 124, 129.

¹¹² For various current reports, see Allason, *Letters* (Richmond College Historical Papers, II), 128, 132–135.

¹¹³ Virginia, *Calendar of State Papers*, I, 258–260; cf. also Schlesinger, *Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution*, 62.

¹¹⁴ Gordon, A., *Journal* (Mereness, Travels), 404.

¹¹⁵ Fisher, I, *Purchasing Power of Money*, 235.

¹¹⁶ Allason, *Letters* (Richmond College Historical Papers, II), 138.

¹¹⁷ Jett, *Letter Book* (William and Mary Quarterly, XXI), 84–88; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXIII, 364; *Nelson Letter Book* (William and Mary Quarterly, VII), 26.

merchant was informed by his factor residing near Fredericksburg that "18s. is now settled in these parts for Tob^o. and goods sold very low, and if Beelzebub was to join both Spain and France I hardly believe it would reduce the price of Tobacco or advance the Rate of goods in any degree." The previous month the same correspondent wrote that he and several other merchants had hoped to maintain a price of 16 shillings per hundred, but apparently market conditions had compelled them to agree on 18 shillings.¹¹⁸ In the same year compensation was allowed for crop tobacco destroyed in various warehouses at the rates of 18 and 20 shillings.¹¹⁹ In 1772 tobacco was bringing £10 per hogshead (roughly 20 shillings per hundredweight), and the price was still rising.¹²⁰

The industry soon entered another period of distress. In the Fall of 1773 a Virginia merchant wrote, "Times here have been most distressing." Tobacco had fallen from 20 and 25 shillings per hundred to 12 shillings 6 pence, a decline attributed partly to commercial failures in Great Britain and partly to large crops for the past two years. Merchants had been forced to restrict credits and reduce imports. This condition was somewhat relieved by the short crop that came to market in the Spring of 1774.¹²¹

CONDITIONS INFLUENCING VOLUME OF PRODUCTION IN RELATION TO PRICES

The tendency for tobacco prices from time to time to sink almost to starvation levels and remain at those levels for long periods followed by considerable periods when prices of moderate profitableness prevailed is attributable to a number of characteristics of the industry.

In part this tendency was a result of the large fixed charges, including taxes, added to the price of tobacco before it reached the consumer (probably from 75 to 90 per cent of the consumers' price),¹²² charges which varied little whether tobacco prices were high or low. Because of this condition a small percentage change in consumers' prices, when shifted back to the producer, made a comparatively large percentage difference in prices received. In the case of consignment tobacco this sometimes resulted in the consignor receiving nothing or less than nothing for his crop, a subject of frequent complaints.¹²³ Sometimes, also, the market would not absorb the quantity of tobacco produced at prices sufficient to cover fixed charges, and large quantities remaining unsold were carried over to the subsequent year, increasing the intensity of the glut.¹²⁴

The marketing of tobacco by consignment was responsible in considerable degree for the slow adjustment of volume of production to price, for it tended to increase the uncertainty of the actual price to be received for a crop, since the planter must assume in advance the heavy fixed charges. The method also

¹¹⁸ Letters from Arthur Morson, Jan. 11, and Feb. 11, 1771, in *Jamieson Papers* (Manuscripts, Library of Congress); cf. Allason, *Letters* (Richmond College Historical Papers, II), 143.

¹¹⁹ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), VIII, 495.

¹²⁰ Atkinson, *Letters* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XV), 349, 353, 359.

¹²¹ Allason, *Letters* (Richmond College Historical Papers, II), 152; Lee, R. H., *Letters*, I, 105.

¹²² See above, pp. 241-245.

¹²³ For instance, see Oldmixon, *British Empire*, I, 320; *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XXV, 602; Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland*, 37.

¹²⁴ For instance, see Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1704-1705, pp. 142-144.

prolonged the period between the planting of a crop and the ascertainment by the producer of actual results. When the outport merchants developed the practice of outright buying they assumed much of this risk.

While producers' prices were subject to great fluctuations, the production of tobacco was essentially inelastic. This was partly due to the fact that it was the sole money crop and, indeed, the standard of value and medium of exchange, although during the eighteenth century there was a steady increase in the use of money and credit instruments.¹²⁵ Practically the only alternative of the planters, therefore, was to resort to a greater degree of self-sufficiency. Inelasticity of production was partly due also to the characteristic inability of farmers to control volume of production because of seasonal fluctuations. A considerable part of the crop, moreover, was produced by backwoods farmers, employing largely their own labor and producing with little reference to conditions of prices and costs.¹²⁶ In fact, a larger proportion of the producers of tobacco belonged to this class than in the case of rice or even indigo, the other colonial staples, and it is probable that the relative importance of this kind of tobacco production increased as settlement moved into the less accessible lands of the interior. Even the commercial planters maintained an economy characterized by little elasticity. In a region where all were engaged in the same industry it was not generally practicable to sell servants or slaves in periods of depression, and the high costs of transport to other markets discouraged this form of adjustment. Practically all of the food and much of the clothing required for maintenance of the labor force were produced on the plantation. Returns from tobacco were employed to meet charges on account of capital, usually of indebtedness, or to satisfy wants of planters. Consequently it was observed that low prices, far from inducing voluntary limitation of production, actually operated for a time to spur planters, especially those deeply in debt, to extra efforts to enlarge their product.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ See above, p. 229.

¹²⁶ See below, p. 439.

¹²⁷ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1704-1705, p. 142

CHAPTER XIII

RICE AND INDIGO

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RICE

BEGINNINGS OF THE RICE INDUSTRY

Rice, as we have noted, was one of the commodities with which the early Virginia colonists experimented. In 1647 Governor Berkeley carried on further experiments in rice cultivation, and in the last decade of the century Governor Andros attempted to promote rice culture, not without some temporary success. None of these attempts, however, resulted in the establishment of a rice industry of any consequence.¹

The traditional accounts of the beginnings of the rice industry in South Carolina imply that these beginnings were the result of a more or less accidental discovery. According to one account a ship captain sailing from Madagascar was forced to touch at Charleston in 1694. Here he met Landgrave Thomas Smith, who received from the captain a bag of rice. Smith distributed the contents among various friends, who on experimenting with it found that it answered their highest expectations. Several years later one Du Bois, treasurer of the East India Company, sent a bag of seed rice to South Carolina, from which, it is supposed, there arose the distinction between red and white rice, both of which were cultivated in the Colony.²

Mr. Alexander Salley, Jr., has shown that there was little truth in the conception of the accidental discovery in the year 1694 of the adaptability of rice.³ On the contrary, as already noted, rice was one of the crops which the promoters of the Colony planned to establish, and in the first two years after settlement there had been experiments in rice cultivation.⁴ In 1677 the Proprietors wrote

¹ *Perfect Description of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, II, No. 8), p. 14; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1696-1697, p. 642.

² This is approximately the account in Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, I, 118; Carroll, *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, I, 109. These accounts are based on a pamphlet published in London in 1731. Hall, F., *Importance of British Plantations in America*, 18. However, Hall's account gives the credit to Dr. Henry Woodward, and not to Landgrave Smith, who was later made the hero of the incident by Hewatt. The names of the gentlemen among whom the seed was distributed were also an embellishment introduced by Hewatt. Later, when Dr. Ramsay wrote his *History*, he followed the first account in Hewatt's book, omitting the mention of Du Bois, and put in certain further embellishments. *History of South Carolina*, II, 200-202. The two accounts of Hewatt and Ramsay were repeated in numerous subsequent accounts. On the other hand, in an article which appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1766 (XXXVI, 278), there is a circumstantial story which ignores the claims of Landgrave Smith and gives the entire credit to Du Bois.

³ "Introduction of Rice into South Carolina," in S. C., Hist. Commission, *Bulletin*, No. 6, p. 11; cf. McCrady, *South Carolina under the Proprietary Government*, 348.

⁴ *Shaftesbury Papers* (S. C. Hist. Soc., Collections, V), 15; Salley, *Narratives of Carolina*, 69; Rivers, *Sketch of South Carolina*, 382.

that they were proceeding to obtain some rice seed for the Colony, and in 1691 a petition signed by a number of the inhabitants contained the assertion, "We are encouraged wth severall new rich Comodityes as Silck, Cotten, Rice and Indigo, w^{ch} are naturally produced here."⁵ In this same year an act of the assembly conferred an exclusive patent on Peter Jacob Guerard for the invention of a "Pendulum Engine" for husking rice, which was said to be superior to any machine previously used in the Province.⁶ Furthermore, an act of the assembly, March 6, 1695/6, included rice among the commodities that might be tendered in payment of quitrents.⁷

The development of the industry, however, appears to have begun about 1695. By 1698 sufficient rice was being produced to warrant interest in its exportation, for the lower house of the assembly petitioned the Proprietors to have the English duty on rice repealed. The same petition included also a request that the Proprietors would procure for the Colony the seed of "the Severall sorts of Rice, all of which we are in Great hopes may be Produced here," and that their lordships "would Procure and Send us, by ye first oppertunity a modell of a Rice mill."⁸ In 1700 E. Randolph, the Collector, wrote, "They have now found out the true way of raising and husking Rice there has been above 300 Tuns shipped this year to England besides about 30 Tuns more to the Islands." Rice is mentioned second in Killegrew's list of Carolina exports for 1706, and first by Oldmixon in his book published in 1708.⁹

While rice was undoubtedly cultivated in South Carolina before 1694, the various accounts point to 1694 as a significant date probably because varieties of superior quality were introduced which were better adapted to the physical conditions of the Colony than were the varieties previously employed. Marc Catesby, who belonged to the generation immediately following, ascribed the first introduction to Sir Nathaniel Johnson, about the year 1688, which probably is no more accurate than the accounts that make the beginnings of the industry occur in 1694 and 1696. Nevertheless, Catesby's assertion is significant, that in the year 1696 a ship from Madagascar, which touched in the Colony by accident, brought "half a bushel of a much fairer and larger Kind, from which small Stock it is increased as at present. . . . The first kind is bearded, in a small grain, and requires to grow wholly in water. The other is larger, and brighter, of a greater increase, and will grow both in wet and tolerable dry land."¹⁰ Additional evidence that a superior quality of seed was introduced from Madagascar is shown by the fact that in February, 1715, the lower house of the assembly voted

⁵ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1677-1680, p. 59; Rivers, *Sketch of South Carolina*, 428.

⁶ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), II, 63.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 96. Mr. A. S. Salley points out that the date (1694/5) given in the *Statutes* is wrong and should be 1695/6. "Introduction of Rice into South Carolina," in S. C., Hist. Commission, *Bulletin*, No. 6, p. 5 n.

⁸ South Carolina, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly*, Sept. 13-Oct. 8, & Nov. 9-19, 1698, p. 36; Rivers, *Sketch of South Carolina*, 442. The petition was seconded by E. Randolph, Collector of Customs. E. Randolph to Lords of Trade, Mar. 16, 1698/9, in *ibid.*, 445.

⁹ Salley, "Introduction of Rice into South Carolina," in S. C., Hist. Commission, *Bulletin*, No. 6, p. 7; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1706-1708, p. 119; Oldmixon, *British Empire*, I, 376.

¹⁰ *Natural History of Carolina, Florida, etc.*, II, p. xvii; cf. Drayton, *View of South Carolina*, 115.

a gratuity to one John Thurber "for bringing the first Madagascar Rice into this Province."¹¹ Whether this introduction occurred in 1694 or whether it is the same incident referred to in the pamphlet of 1731 and in the accounts by Hewatt and Ramsay¹² is not known, but the reward may have been paid for a later introduction about the years 1712 or 1713. This is suggested in an article in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1766, based on contemporary recollections, which also suggests other introductions of seed.¹³

From these various accounts it seems clear that the two decades from 1695 to 1715 was a period of great activity in experimentation in the planting of rice, and during this period varieties were brought in probably from many different parts of the world.

LOCATION OF THE RICE INDUSTRY IN THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

According to Hewatt, rice was first planted in the uplands, and this practice continued for many years.¹⁴ His assertion, however, is at variance with the statement of Marc Catesby, quoted above, whose book was published a generation before that of Hewatt. It is probable that very early the colonists recognized the advantage of selecting tracts of moist lowland even though irrigation had not been developed.¹⁵

The employment of irrigation, said to have begun about 1724, occurred first on inland, or fresh water, swamps in the low eastern part of the Province, but above tidewater. Cypress swamps were considered preferable. The inland swamp areas were irrigated by water from springs or stored in ponds formed by the construction of dams; after use the water was allowed to drain through ditches into the streams. In this period water was probably employed only for the purpose of supplying moisture to the plant rather than for the systematic destruction of weeds and insects, as later. Irrigation works were not so elaborate as in the post-colonial period, and consequently the industry was not characterized by so great a degree of geographic stability as in the later period.¹⁶

The industry continued mainly in the inland swamps throughout the period preceding the Revolutionary War, although there were small beginnings of the transfer of the industry to tide swamp lands.¹⁷ According to McCrady, the cultivation of the river swamp (tide swamp) lands began as early as 1758 on Winyah Bay.¹⁸ Before the close of the Revolution there was evidently considerable use of these lands in Georgia, for James Habersham asserted that tide swamp plantations had not suffered as heavily from devastating floods as had the river swamp plantations above tidewater.¹⁹ The great shift, however, came during the last

¹¹ Salley, "Introduction of Rice into South Carolina," in S. C., Hist. Commission, *Bulletin*, No. 6, p. 9.

¹² See above, p. 277 n. 2.

¹³ XXXVI, 278.

¹⁴ *South Carolina and Georgia*, I, 159.

¹⁵ Doar, *Sketch of the Agricultural Society of St. James, Santee*, 10; De Bow, *Industrial Resources*, II, 397.

¹⁶ *New Voyage to Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, II), 49; Glen, *Description of South Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 201; Elliott, *Anniversary Address of the State Agricultural Society of South Carolina*, 14; cf. Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, II, 303, 305.

¹⁷ See Chap. XXXI.

¹⁸ *South Carolina under the Royal Government*, 387.

¹⁹ Letter of June 3, 1771, in Georgia Historical Society, *Collections*, VI, 132.

decade of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth, induced partly by the grassy condition of inland swamp lands and partly by development of the very advantageous water culture.²⁰

Having begun in the neighborhood of Charleston, the rice industry expanded into the southeastern part of South Carolina after the settlement of Georgia had removed the menace of Spaniard and Indian. About the same time the industry was expanding northward into northeastern South Carolina and along the lower Cape Fear river, in North Carolina. After the cession of Florida to Great Britain had removed the danger of Spanish invasion, the industry began to make more rapid progress in Georgia, where beginnings had been made during the previous decade. During British occupation of Florida a number of experiments in rice production were made. Governor Moultrie was particularly interested and hopeful, and sought by example and through official influence to stimulate interest among his fellow planters. As we have noted, however, Florida planters found naval stores and indigo more profitable. In 1777-1778 Florida exports of rice amounted to only 1,167 whole barrels and 31 half barrels, and in 1779 the large immigration of Royalists made it necessary to import rice from Georgia.²¹

TECHNICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE RICE INDUSTRY

An early account of methods of cultivation about 1709 or 1710 stated, "Rice is sowed in Furrows about 18 Inches distant, a Peck usually sows an Acre." It was declared that the principal seeding time was from the first of April to the twentieth of May, and the harvest in September and up to the eighth of October. The practice of sowing in rows eighteen inches apart appears to have been general as late as 1775. Modification of the practice came after the Revolutionary War.²² Either Nairne was misinformed or the quantity of seed then planted per acre was much smaller than was afterwards the case, for about the middle of the nineteenth century the quantity planted per acre was said to be 3 bushels, though half that quantity had been customary when the industry was still confined to the inland swamps.²³ According to the description of rice cultivation in Catesby's book, written probably about the close of the fourth decade, the industry was evidently still in the transition stage from the early hit-or-miss methods. Rice was sown "in shallow Trenches made by the hough . . . or in little Holes made to receive it." It required several hoeings and hand weedings till it was upward of two feet high. About the middle of September it was cut and housed or made into stacks until it could be threshed with flails or trodden out by horses or cattle.²⁴ Governor Glen's account, written more than a decade

²⁰ Elliott, *Anniversary Address of the State Agricultural Society of South Carolina*, 14-17; Wightman, *William Capers*, 11; Ravenel, H. H., *William Lowndes*, 21-23; Doar, *Sketch of the Agricultural Society of St. James, Santee*, 10-11; cf. Chap. XXXI.

²¹ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/552, pp. 85, 132; vol. 553, p. 46; vol. 559, pp. 240, 465 (Transcripts, Library of Congress). See above, p. 115.

²² Nairne, *Letter from South Carolina*, 10; Romans, *East and West Florida*, 126; cf. *American Husbandry*, I, 392. See below, p. 727.

²³ Elliott, *Anniversary Address of the State Agricultural Society of South Carolina*, 16.

²⁴ *Natural History of Carolina, Florida, etc.*, II, p. xvii.

later, confirms these details except that he does not mention the crude methods of dropping in holes instead of trenching.²⁵

One of the great contrasts with the later period of the tide swamp economy and of water culture lay in the laborious methods of cultivation in the earlier period. Efforts were evidently made to introduce horse husbandry, for in 1765 one John Cuthbert petitioned the assembly for exclusive rights to manufacture certain implements that he had invented for better preparing and cultivating rice and other crops, including plows, horse hoes, hand hoes, and (grass) pickers.²⁶ Nevertheless, as we have noted, the plow was but little used in the colonial period, and cultivation consisted largely of hoeing and hand weeding. Only two flowings were employed as contrasted with the later period when systematic flowings came to be largely employed for destroying weeds, a process which is said to have doubled the average area cultivated per laborer.²⁷ Later generations attributed this important change to a planter named Gideon Du Pont, about 1783.²⁸ While Du Pont was doubtless influential in systematizing the process and adapting it to conditions of tide swamp irrigation, it is probable that water culture was employed earlier. In his book published in 1775, Romans asserted that after sowing the rice was kept very clean, "first by hoeing, and afterwards by letting water on just sufficient to destroy the weeds and not to drown the rice by covering its top."²⁹ The later introduction of water culture consisted in the development of methods making possible a greater degree of reliance than formerly on systematic raising and lowering of the water.³⁰

When the crop was ripe it was usually cut with a sickle, a practice that continued to be generally employed until the Civil War, although occasionally planters resorted to scythes or cradles. When properly dried, the straw was bound in bundles and carried to the stack or barn on the heads of slaves or on "flats" or rafts navigated in the canals of the rice fields.³¹ In some cases threshing was done by treading, but generally with the flail. The tedious process of winnowing was considerably reduced by the introduction of the wind fan some time before the middle of the eighteenth century.³² The date of this development is not certain, but in 1733 an act was passed by the assembly granting to one Peter Villeponteux the exclusive sale for four years of his "projection of a new instrument for cleaning rice," a privilege renewed in 1736 for seven years.³³

The rice grain is covered with an outer husk and an inner cuticle, and attention was early directed to devices for removing them. We have already mentioned Peter Guerard's invention of a pendulum machine for "husking rice" and a

²⁵ *Description of South Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 201.

²⁶ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), IV, 229.

²⁷ Elliott, *Anniversary Address of the State Agricultural Society of South Carolina*, 14-16; *Farmer and Planter*, I, 149. See Chap. XXXI.

²⁸ King, *History and Culture of the Olive*, 5.

²⁹ *East and West Florida*, 126.

³⁰ See Chap. XXXI.

³¹ *Farmer and Planter*, I, 149; Drayton, *View of South Carolina*, 125, inset; Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, II, 67.

³² Catesby, *Natural History of Carolina, Florida, etc.*, II, p. xvii; Glen, *Description of South Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 202; *American Husbandry*, I, 393; Doar, *Sketch of the Agricultural Society of St. James, Santee*, 11; McCrady, *South Carolina under the Royal Government*, 388.

³³ *South Carolina Laws* (Trott), Pt. II, 58.

petition sent the Proprietors in 1698 urging them to send the model of a rice mill.³⁴ When Catesby wrote his book the colonists employed hand mills for the comparatively easy process of removing the outer husk, but the inner film was removed by pounding the grain by hand in wooden blocks by means of large wooden pestles. Catesby asserted that Governor Johnson had imported a machine from Spain "which Facilitates the Work with more Expedition."³⁵ By the middle of the eighteenth century wooden mills operated by hand were generally employed to remove the outer husk. They consisted of slabs of wood about two feet in diameter revolving one on the other. The surface of these slabs frequently was corrugated with channels "diverging in an oblique direction from the centre to the circumference."³⁶ It is probable that throughout the colonial period but little progress was made in removing the inner skin beyond the method of pounding by hand. A fine sieve was used to remove dirt and dust, after which another sifting process separated the whole grain from the broken rice.³⁷ An efficient husker was said to be able to deliver 19 parts of whole rice and 1 part of rice dust or broken rice, while an "indifferent" workman would turn out equal parts of each kind.³⁸

There were not lacking attempts to improve the process of milling, and steps were taken that were premonitory of subsequent progress. In 1733 an act was passed to encourage one Francis Gracia in the projected invention of a machine for "the more expeditious beating or pounding of rice," and in the same year another act to encourage one Charles Lowndes in a similar enterprise.³⁹ An act in 1743 provided encouragement for one John Timmons in his projection of a new instrument for cleaning rice, and an act of 1756 rewarded one Pedington for a similar invention.⁴⁰ In January, 1755, a petition signed by a large number of citizens and presented to the council in behalf of Joseph Koger, who had resided in the Province for about twenty years, declared:⁴¹

"A great part of which time he had spent in contriving and inventing Machines for a more easy and Expeditious way of manufacturing Rice. First, a Wind-fan, which after many Trials, and much time spent upon it he, at last, brought to perfection, and to be of great advantage to the Public. . . . After perfecting his Wind-fan he next applied himself to the Inventing a Machine for a more easy, quick, and advantageous method of pounding Rice. . . . In which he has likewise succeeded beyond any; before attempted or seen in the Province."

In 1768 a machine for "beating rice" was invented by a Mr. Veitch, of Granville Parish, capable, with six horses, of beating out 600 barrels of rice in a season.

³⁴ See above, p. 278.

³⁵ *Natural History of Carolina, Florida, etc.*, II, p. xvii.

³⁶ Glen, *Description of South Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 202; Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, II, 67.

³⁷ Glen, *Description of South Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 202; *American Husbandry*, I, 393; Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, I, 159; Doar, *Sketch of the Agricultural Society of St. James, Santee*, 10.

³⁸ La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, II, 446.

³⁹ *South Carolina Laws* (Trott), Pt. II, 35.

⁴⁰ British Museum, *King's Manuscripts*, 206, f. 32 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

⁴¹ Quoted in Salley, "Introduction of Rice into South Carolina," in S. C., Hist. Commission, *Bulletin*, No. 6, p. 18. The act is mentioned in, British Museum, *King's Manuscripts*, 206, f. 32 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

In the same year an advertisement of a rice plantation on the Carolina side of the Savannah river contained mention of "a spacious barn 120 feet long, including a walk of 40 feet square for the cattle that work the machine, which is of the best kind and quite new."⁴² This may have been a threshing machine, a mill for removing the outer husk, or an improvement on the crude process of pounding, for we know that before the Revolutionary War a rude "pecker" machine was contrived, having several pestles moving up and down, and worked by oxen.⁴³ This may have been the Veitch machine. In 1789 Joseph Habersham wrote of a machine operated by ox or horse power which he estimated capable of beating out an average of 10 barrels per week.⁴⁴

Extensive experimentation led to the development of a variety known as the Gold Seed, which was adapted to the physical conditions. This was the preferred variety throughout the remainder of the colonial period, and until the Civil War.⁴⁵ About the beginning of the eighteenth century John Lawson asserted, "There are several sorts of Rice, some bearded, others not, besides the red and white; but the white Rice is the best." Other accounts merely indicate that the Gold Seed rice was introduced at some time prior to the Revolutionary War.⁴⁶

Carolina rice early acquired a reputation for high quality, commanding a considerable market premium.⁴⁷ Just after the Revolutionary War, however, Thomas Jefferson wrote that in the French market Piedmont rice was thought by connoisseurs to be best *au gras*; the Carolina rice best *au lait*. The superior whiteness of the latter compensated with many purchasers for its "deficiency in quality." Nevertheless, Piedmont rice commanded a small premium over Carolina rice.⁴⁸

It was the prevailing belief in the colonial period that white men could not endure the conditions of labor required by the industry—the necessity of working continually in the hot, pestilential swamps, the laborious processes of clearing land, digging and cleaning ditches, preparing and cultivating land entirely by hand labor, and harvesting, threshing, and pounding rice. Planters considered it advisable to maintain more healthful locations for their own residence, and in the colonial period the mortality even of Negroes was high.⁴⁹

The yield of rice per acre and per man was not so large in the colonial period as it later came to be as a result of improvements in cultivation and milling. About 1710 Thomas Nairne wrote that the yield per acre was "seldom less than

⁴² *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), Feb. 2, Oct. 5, 1768; British Museum, *King's Manuscripts*, 206, f. 32 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

⁴³ Doar, *Sketch of the Agricultural Society of St. James, Santee*, 11.

⁴⁴ Phillips, U. B., "Some Letters of Joseph Habersham," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, X, 161.

⁴⁵ Drayton, *View of South Carolina*, 115; cf. *Southern Agriculturist*, X, 622.

⁴⁶ *Carolina*, 75; Allston, *Essay on Sea Coast Crops*, 29; cf. Webster, C. L., "Story of Rice," in *Rice Journal and Southern Farmer*, XIV, 5.

⁴⁷ Thornburgh to Popple, July 21, 1699, in *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, II, 199; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1706–1708, p. 119; Oldmixon, *British Empire*, I, 377.

⁴⁸ Letter to David Ramsay, Oct. 27, 1786, in *Georgia State Gazette and Independent Register* (Augusta), Mar. 10, 1787.

⁴⁹ Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, I, 158–160; *American Husbandry*, I, 393; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, II, 226; cf. McCrady, *South Carolina under the Royal Government*, 387.

30 Bushels, or more than 60, but betwixt these two.”⁵⁰ Near the close of the century La Rochefoucauld reported that the yield of rice land was from 2 to 4 barrels of 625 pounds each per acre, roughly 20 to 40 bushels.⁵¹ The important improvements by way of closer planting and employment of larger quantities of seed probably had not yet been introduced. Very likely there was some progress in acreage tended and in product per man. About the middle of the eighteenth century Governor Glen asserted that “*Communibus Annis*” a good hand made $4\frac{1}{2}$ barrels of rice, each weighing about 500 pounds net, besides making provisions.⁵² Just before the Revolutionary War De Brahm stated that each slave cultivated 4 acres of rice or indigo and 1 acre of provision crops.⁵³ Another account of about the same period placed the product of each slave at about 75 bushels weighing 65 or 66 pounds each. It was said that each acre yielded about 25 bushels, thus indicating that each slave cultivated 3 acres. Just after the Revolutionary War it was reported that each Negro on William Washington’s inland swamp plantation cultivated 4 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres of rice land per hand, besides provision crops.⁵⁴

COMMERCIAL REGULATION OF THE RICE INDUSTRY

The rice industry was the subject of a considerable amount of legislation to promote its development, although far less than in the case of tobacco. In the first year of the Restoration, several decades before the industry began to develop in South Carolina, the English import duty was fixed at £1 6s. 8d. per hundred-weight containing 112 pounds, or nearly 3 pence sterling a pound. In 1692 the duty was increased by imposing a 5 per cent ad valorem rate in addition to the specific duty. This act was made “perpetual” in 1710.⁵⁵ Although the colonists very early began to seek removal of the duty,⁵⁶ many decades were to pass before this objective was realized. An act of 1767 placed colonial rice on the free list from May 4 to December 1, 1767. In the same year it was provided that on reexportation from Great Britain rice should pay a duty of 6 pence ad valorem in the pound, according to the old valuation in the Book of Rates.⁵⁷ The exemption of rice from payment of duty in Great Britain was continued until May 1, 1773.⁵⁸

The South Carolinians early began shipping rice to Portugal, and soon nearly monopolized that market. Another profitable outlet was found in the foreign West Indies.⁵⁹ This flourishing direct trade was contrary to the general policy of the English Navigation Acts, for an act passed in 1704 added rice to the list

⁵⁰ *Letter from South Carolina*, 10.

⁵¹ *Travels*, II, 431.

⁵² *Description of South Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 202.

⁵³ *Philosophico-Historico-Hydrogeography of South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida* (Weston, Documents), 197.

⁵⁴ Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, II, 68; La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, II, 445.

⁵⁵ Great Britain, *Statutes at Large* (Ruffhead), III, 158 (12 Car. II, c. 4); p. 510 (4 W. & M., c. 5); IV, 472 (9 Ann., c. 21).

⁵⁶ See above p. 278.

⁵⁷ Great Britain, *Statutes at Large* (Ruffhead), X, 374. (7 Geo. III, c. 47).

⁵⁸ *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), Feb. 24, 1768; Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 521.

⁵⁹ Yonge, *View of the Trade of South Carolina*, 9; McCrady, *South Carolina under the Proprietary Government*, 686.

of commodities required to be first brought to England and subjected to payment of duty before being reexported.⁶⁰ This action bore heavily on the colonial industry, not only by reason of the payment of duty, but also because of the long indirect haul. Considerable illicit trade developed, principally by way of New England, where it was the practice to reload the rice and proceed to Portugal as soon as the bonds given in South Carolina had been cancelled.⁶¹ An agitation was also begun in South Carolina to remove the restriction, and in 1710 Abel Kettelby was sent to London with instructions to try to obtain a relaxation of the requirements.⁶² In 1714/15 it was pointed out that by collecting the duty in South Carolina no harm would be done in permitting the direct shipment of the 6,000 barrels usually marketed in Portugal.⁶³ In 1721 it was reported to the King that the trade to Portugal had been seriously affected, and consequently Carolina rice was sold in Portuguese markets only in years when the supply from other sources was scarce and prices high.⁶⁴ Francis Yonge declared that although the crop of 1721 exceeded that of 1719 by more than 60 per cent, it actually sold for about £4,171 sterling less than the crop of 1719, which he attributed to the restrictions on the trade.⁶⁵

Various memorials on the subject continued to be forwarded to the British authorities,⁶⁶ and finally Parliament provided that after September 29, 1730 South Carolina rice might be carried direct to any part of Europe south of Cape Finisterre. One half of the regular import duty due on reexportation from Great Britain must be paid on shipment from the Colony. The commodity must be shipped in British vessels and otherwise comply with the requirements of the Navigation Acts. This provision was for a period of five years, but it was renewed by various continuing acts until September 29, 1774. The benefits of the legislation were extended to the Colony of Georgia in 1735, to North Carolina in 1737, and to East and West Florida in 1770.⁶⁷

Rice did not cease to be an "enumerated commodity," as is sometimes asserted. The relaxation in the Navigation Acts applied only to shipments to European countries south of Cape Finisterre. In an act passed in 1731 allowing non-enumerated goods to be shipped direct to Ireland from America, rice was still included in the list of enumerated articles. Furthermore, in order to cancel their bonds, vessels which carried rice from South Carolina to southern Europe were compelled to travel by way of Great Britain on returning to the Colony.⁶⁸

⁶⁰ Great Britain, *Statutes at Large* (Ruffhead), IV, 174 (3 & 4 Ann., c. 5).

⁶¹ *Idem*, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1704-1708/9, p. 522; *idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1708-1709, pp. 190, 193; *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, II, 215.

⁶² *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), II, 600.

⁶³ Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1708-1714, p. 617.

⁶⁴ *Idem*, *Representations of the Lords Commissioners . . . on the State of the British Colonies in North America*, 25.

⁶⁵ *View of the Trade of South Carolina*, 9-11.

⁶⁶ *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, II, 120, 151-154; Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1718-1722, pp. 330, 385.

⁶⁷ *Idem*, *Statutes at Large* (Ruffhead), VI, 35 (3 Geo. II, c. 28); p. 190 (8 Geo. II, c. 19); p. 475 (15 Geo. II, c. 33); VII, 75 (20 Geo. II, c. 47); p. 564 (27 Geo. II, c. 18); VIII, 445 (33 Geo. II, c. 16); X, 305 (7 Geo. III, c. 35); p. 754 (10 Geo. III, c. 31); Stokes, *Constitution of the British Colonies*, 39.

⁶⁸ Great Britain, *Statutes at Large* (Ruffhead), VI, 59 (4 Geo. II, c. 15); Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, II, 189.

The removal of the restrictions on direct trade from South Carolina to southern Europe was a great encouragement to the rice planters. Oglethorpe remarked in 1734 that it was "alone sufficient to enrich whole provinces."⁶⁹ It seems probable, however, that the importance of the change had been exaggerated. The average of annual exports to England from Carolina and other plantations from Christmas, 1712 to Christmas, 1717 was 28,073 hundredweight, of which only 2,478 hundredweight were reexported to countries south of Cape Finisterre while 20,458 hundredweight were reexported to Holland, Germany, and other countries north of Cape Finisterre.⁷⁰ Although it is possible that a larger quantity went illicitly, the south European markets appear to have been relatively less important than those of northern Europe. In the ten-year period 1730-1739 inclusive, which followed the sanctioning of direct trade to the southern countries, only about 17.6 per cent of South Carolina rice exports went to Portugal, Spain, and Gibraltar; less than 2 per cent to France; only about 6 per cent to Great Britain, Ireland, and the British West Indies; while more than 74 per cent went to Holland, Hamburg, Bremen, Sweden, and Denmark.⁷¹ A generation later the proportionate shipment to countries south of Cape Finisterre had not greatly changed. In the period October 31, 1767 to June 6, 1768, countries south of Cape Finisterre were taking only about 22.6 per cent of total exports. The West Indian trade had increased in relative importance, absorbing nearly 15.8 per cent of total exports. Most of the remainder went to Great Britain, to be reexported to the various countries of northern Europe.⁷² Thus, all except a small fraction of the crop brought to England was reexported under drawback provisions to Holland and Germany,⁷³ like tobacco, largely escaping British duties.

After the close of the Seven Years' War the legal markets were again widened. An act of 1763 provided that it might be shipped from South Carolina and Georgia to any part of America south of South Carolina and Georgia, subject to the same export duties charged on shipments to European countries south of Cape Finisterre. The object of this legislation was to enable the Colonies to retain markets gained in French and Spanish possessions in the West Indies temporarily held by the British during the war but returned to other flags under the treaty of peace.⁷⁴ According to Hewatt, it served to legitimize a trade that had been carried on illegally for some time.⁷⁵ The benefits of the act were extended to North Carolina a year later and to Florida in 1771. The legislation was continued in effect until 1774.⁷⁶

⁶⁹ *New and Accurate Account of South Carolina and Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 71.

⁷⁰ Great Britain, *Representations of the Lords Commissioners . . . on the State of the British Colonies in North America*, 25.

⁷¹ Glen, *Description of South Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 269.

⁷² McCrady, *South Carolina under the Royal Government*, 389. For other years, cf. Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 491; Savannah Rice Assn., *Report on American Rice Industry*, 4.

⁷³ Memorandum of Richard Oswald, Feb. 21, 1775, in Stevens, B. F., *Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives relating to America*, No. 2034, p. 10.

⁷⁴ Great Britain, *Statutes at Large* (Ruffhead), IX, 187 (4 Geo. III, c. 27); Schlesinger, *Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution*, 51, 57.

⁷⁵ *South Carolina and Georgia*, II, 310.

⁷⁶ Great Britain, *Statutes at Large* (Ruffhead), X, 113 (5 Geo. III, c. 45); X, 592 (9 Geo. III, c. 27); XI, 231 (11 Geo. III, c. 39).

In the early years of South Carolina rice was specified as a commodity to be taken in certain public payments, and provisions were made for determining the rate at which it would be thus received.⁷⁷ Early in the history of the industry laws were passed, subsequently renewed from time to time, to prevent deceitful packing and to standardize the quality of exports.⁷⁸

VOLUME OF PRODUCTION, EXPORTS, AND PRICES OF RICE

The most reliable indication of variations in volume of production is the statistics on exports from Charleston and Savannah. (See Appendix, Table 37.) A considerable amount of rice was also consumed in the rice producing Colonies themselves; much of the broken and inferior grain was fed to slaves, and the planting classes were fond of the better grades of the product.

As compared with a crop of 330 tons exported in 1699, exports had increased by 1711 to nearly 13,000 barrels, although the barrel at this period contained only about 400 pounds net. (See Appendix, p. 1020.) The relation of exports to total product at this period is indicated by the statement in 1715 that 3,000 tons were annually produced, of which one third were retained in the country.⁷⁹ The growth of the industry was very rapid during the decade ending with 1729, probably due in part to the stimulus of currency inflation,⁸⁰ and during this period the number of barrels exported more than doubled. Approximately the same rate of increase was continued during the next decade. Whereas exports from 1720 to 1729 inclusive totaled 264,788 barrels, in the decade 1730 to 1739 inclusive they totaled 499,525 barrels.⁸¹ Moreover, the average size of the barrel was probably at least 20 per cent larger in the later period than in the earlier.⁸² This rapid progress was facilitated by a number of favorable conditions, including the widening market for rice as a result of the relaxation of the Navigation Acts, the expanding consumption in northern Europe, the increased security of the Province, the settlement of the government by transfer to royal authority, the stabilization of the currency, the opening of the Cape Fear region, and the settlement of the southern part of South Carolina.⁸³ The confidence of the merchants in the Colony had increased, and they poured slaves and supplies into the Province. Lands rose fourfold in value in the short period of seven years, luxurious modes of living were adopted, and the Colony began to manifest an atmosphere of opulence and prosperity.⁸⁴

The rice trade was affected seriously by the European wars that began in 1739

⁷⁷ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), II, 97; Salley, "Introduction of Rice into South Carolina," in S. C., Hist. Commission, *Bulletin*, No. 6, pp. 8-10; *idem*, *Commissions and Instructions . . . to Public Officials of South Carolina*, 231, 235.

⁷⁸ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), III, 687.

⁷⁹ Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1714-1718, p. 56.

⁸⁰ See below, p. 416.

⁸¹ Glen, *Description of South Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 265.

⁸² See Appendix, p. 1020.

⁸³ Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, II, 14; Martyn, *Impartial Inquiry* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 174; Franklin, "Agriculture in Colonial North Carolina," in *North Carolina Historical Review*, III, 556; cf. also above, p. 94.

⁸⁴ Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, II, 14; Oglethorpe, *New and Accurate Account of South Carolina and Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 65.

and continued until 1748. In 1768 Lieutenant-Governor Bull wrote the Earl of Hillsborough, "The frequent captures of our shipping in the Spanish and French war in 1744, raising the insurance to and from this place 33 p. cent whereby the price of our rice which . . . was 6^{sh}-6^d sterling the hundred, sunk so low that one hundred weight of rice was often bartered for a yard or less of Welsh Plains, that cost in England 12^d or 14^d the yard." He declared that during this period "the people of Carolina were driven by this distress to the necessity of weaving coarse cloths of cotton and wool for their negroes."⁸⁵ David Macpherson asserted that before the outbreak of hostilities the industry was suffering from overproduction, the effects of which were greatly aggravated by war. Prices were especially low in 1743-1745.⁸⁶ Indeed, the industry barely escaped disaster by reason of a proposal discussed as a war measure in Parliament to prohibit the export of rice to France or Spain. The proposal was defeated by the vigorous representations made by the rice merchants.⁸⁷ Fortunately at this juncture indigo began to develop and soon became an important alternative staple.⁸⁸

In consequence of these conditions the rice industry did not grow at so rapid a rate as in the period ending in 1739. In January, 1748, it was stated, "In time of peace 200 or 300 sail vessels have cleared out from hence [Charleston] annually, principally loaded with rice for Europe . . . but owing to the small returns for that commodity for some years past, the number of shipping has become lessened."⁸⁹ Nevertheless, exports were nearly 20 per cent greater than in the decade 1730-1739.⁹⁰

Just after the close of the war there was a considerable improvement in prices. About 1749 Governor Glen wrote, "Rice last year bore a good price, being at a medium about forty-five shillings our currency per hundred; and all this year it has been fifty-five shillings and three pounds, tho as I acquainted your Lordships some years ago, it was down to ten or twelve shillings per hundred." In his list of exports for the year ending November 1, 1748, the Governor rated rice at 45 shillings per hundredweight.⁹¹ Nevertheless, in the interval between the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle and the breaking out of the Seven Years' War the expansion of the industry was by no means extraordinary. Average annual exports for the six years 1750-1755 inclusive were only about 6 per cent larger than the average for the preceding ten years. It is probable that in part at least progress was somewhat retarded by the rapid development of the indigo industry, which absorbed capital and labor that might have been employed for rice. A contemporary merchant of Charleston, Samuel Eveleigh, explained the comparatively small exports of 1761-1762 on the ground that the planters had "turned

⁸⁵ Letter of Sept. 8, 1768, in British Museum, *King's Manuscripts*, 206, f. 30 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

⁸⁶ *Annals of Commerce*, III, 260. See Appendix, Table 42.

⁸⁷ Glen, *Description of South Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 264-270; Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, II, 85-90.

⁸⁸ See below, p. 290.

⁸⁹ *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, II, 296.

⁹⁰ Appendix, p. 1021.

⁹¹ *Answers to Queries* (Weston, Documents), 70, 90.

their hands to making Indigo.”⁹² The two crops, however, were more or less complementary. Whereas rice occupied swamp lands, indigo occupied the soils not subject to overflow. A complementary relationship obtained even on the same plantation. Governor Glen wrote:⁹³

“It [indigo] proves an excellent commodity joined with rice; for by planting both, the management of the indigo being over in the summer months, the hands employed in it may help the manufacturing of rice in the ensuing part of the year, at which time it becomes most laborious; besides they have some leizure time for sawing lumber, and making staves in the winter to supply the sugar colonies.”

During the Seven Years' War the trade of the British Colonies was not affected so seriously as was that of Louisiana and other French Colonies. Especially after the naval victories of 1759 the trade of the British-American Colonies was relatively unobstructed. During the years from January, 1756 to January, 1761, annual exports averaged about the same as in the preceding six years; but although peace was not declared until 1763, the years 1761 and 1762 constituted the beginning of a notable expansion of exports, which were about 55 per cent greater for the period January, 1761 to January, 1766 than for the five years just preceding.

This rapid expansion continued until the outbreak of the struggle with the mother country. The relaxation of prohibitions against Negroes in Georgia and increased security due to British occupation of Florida resulted in a rapid growth of the rice industry in Georgia. Under the practical leadership of Governor Wright, who recognized the value of the tide swamps, annual rice exports of Georgia increased from 3,283 barrels in 1760-1761 to about 25,000 barrels at the close of the colonial period. Some of the exports from Savannah, however, consisted of rice produced in the southern part of South Carolina.⁹⁴ The rapid growth of the industry in Georgia was paralleled in South Carolina. In the year 1766 exports were prohibited both by Georgia and by South Carolina on account of heavy losses from floods that had destroyed huge quantities of rice and provision crops.⁹⁵ However, in the period January 5, 1767 to November 7, 1774 inclusive, excluding the two years 1769-70 and 1771-72 for which no data are available, average annual exports from Charleston were over 120,000 barrels a year. In the three years 1770-1773 they averaged 127,476 barrels. This was nearly 30 per cent above the average for the period 1761-1766. In the year 1770 exports of both Carolinas and Georgia together amounted to above 150,000 barrels, and by the beginning of the Revolution approximated 165,000 barrels.⁹⁶

The last fifteen years of the colonial period were characterized also by exceedingly prosperous conditions. In 1760 rice was selling in Charleston at 50 shillings currency per hundredweight, and similar prices prevailed in 1765, when there appears to have been a general rise of prices. At various times in that year rice

⁹² Quoted in an article on rice, in *Southern Agriculturist*, new series, V, 465.

⁹³ *Answers to Queries* (Weston, Documents), 71.

⁹⁴ Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, II, 266; *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), July 20, 1768. See Appendix, p. 1022.

⁹⁵ *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), June 11, 18, 1766; *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), IV, 236-238.

⁹⁶ See Appendix, Table 37 & n. 16.

was selling at from 40 to 45 shillings currency. In December, 1766, it was 7 shillings 6 pence sterling, equivalent to more than 50 shillings currency.⁹⁷ In the preceding month it had sold as high as 60 shillings currency.⁹⁸ From January to March, 1767, it sold for 7 shillings 6 pence to 8 shillings 6 pence sterling, or from about 52 shillings 6 pence to nearly 60 shillings currency. The following year it sold at 9 shillings 6 pence to 10 shillings sterling. In 1769 export prices were lower, averaging about 7 shillings sterling. In January, 1770, prices ranged from 7 shillings 6 pence to 8 shillings sterling.⁹⁹ In 1771 rice was greatly injured by floods. Prices of old rice in June ranged from 55 to 60 shillings currency, but by July of the following year, rice was selling in Charleston at 90 shillings currency. In September there was prospect of a fair crop, and by the close of the year the price had fallen to 60 shillings.¹⁰⁰

INDIGO

BEGINNINGS AND EXPANSION OF THE INDIGO INDUSTRY

Experiments with indigo, as we have noted, were carried on in the early years of South Carolina.¹⁰¹ A perennial variety grew wild in the Province, and, according to Governor Glen, was capable of being manufactured into a good quality of dye. Nevertheless, the varieties mainly cultivated in South Carolina and the methods of cultivation were introduced from the West Indies.¹⁰²

The credit for initiating the industry is due Eliza Lucas, who had recently come from the West Indies to South Carolina, where she resided on an estate belonging to her father, then governor of Antigua. This energetic and practical young woman tells in her *Journal* of the introduction of indigo. In July, 1739, she wrote her father of the pains she had taken "to bring the Indigo, Ginger, Cotton and Lucern and Casada [Cassava] to perfection and had greater hopes from the Indigo (if I could have the seed earlier next year from the West Indies) than any of ye rest of ye things I had try'd."¹⁰³ By 1742 she was so certain of the adaptability of indigo that her father sent her an overseer, named Cromwell. The next year she wrote her father that the crop had been damaged by frost, but "I make no doubt Indigo will prove a very valuable commodity in time, if we could have the seed from the east Indies [sic] time enough to plant the latter end of March." The overseer built brick vats for manufacturing indigo, but he proved very unskillful in its manufacture, and finally Miss Lucas dismissed him and conducted her own experiments, with the aid of his brother. The new overseer, however, appears to have been anxious to hinder the success of the experiment

⁹⁷ *South Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), May 3, 1760; *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), Jan. 24, 31, Feb. 7, 14, 21, 28, 1765; Dec. 10, 1766; Webster, P., *Journal of a Voyage to Charleston* (Southern History Assn., Publications, II), 135. The conversions into currency are made at the arbitrary rate of 7 to 1, which was the customary figure, although of course the rate of exchange was subject to some fluctuation.

⁹⁸ *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), Nov. 19, 1766.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 14, 28, Feb. 4, 11, Mar. 4, 11, 18, 25, 1767; Nov. 16, 23, 1768; Jan. 25, Feb. 1, 22, Mar. 1, 15, 22, 29, Dec. 6, 13, 20, 27, 1769; Jan. 10, 31, 1770; Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 491.

¹⁰⁰ Habersham, *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, VI), 132, 142, 190, 213, 216.

¹⁰¹ See above, p. 54.

¹⁰² *Answers to Queries* (Weston, Documents), 71.

¹⁰³ Lucas, E., *Journal and Letters*, 5.

in order to prevent the development of competition with his native island of Montserrat. Later Miss Lucas achieved success by the aid of an overseer, named Deveaux, sent out by her father.¹⁰⁴ Miss Lucas devoted the crop of 1744 largely to seed, which she distributed among a number of planters; but she also made a little indigo, and small quantities were made by several other planters. The Colony had offered a bounty, and the British Government offered one the following year.¹⁰⁵ From these beginnings, therefore, the industry was rapidly extended, and in the year 1747-48 exports of indigo from Charleston amounted to 138,334 pounds. (See Appendix, Table 38.)

The fact that indigo production failed to obtain a foothold in the earlier years of the Colony, in spite of considerable experimentation, but developed rapidly in the fifth decade suggests that its successful establishment was not merely the result of a fortunate discovery by an enterprising young woman. Economic conditions, in fact, were more favorable than in the earlier period. In 1716 the reasons for the discontinuance of the earlier experiments with indigo were reported by representatives of South Carolina in London as follows:¹⁰⁶

"It had been planted about twenty years ago in Carolina, but left off by reason of the war soon after, and then turning to rice, as well as the low rate of indigo in this kingdom, which is now dearer; . . . That the indigo made in that province was as good as the Jamaica, tho' they had the seed yearly from the said island, to prevent degenerating."

In his pamphlet, published in 1722, Francis Yonge asserted that the cultivation in South Carolina had been discontinued because the winters had been found too severe.¹⁰⁷

A more important explanation is found in certain changes that had occurred in the industry. For the year from Christmas, 1688 to Christmas, 1689, about the time of the early experiments with indigo in South Carolina, the principal sources of the product in the London market were as follows:¹⁰⁸

	Pounds
Jamaica.....	132,704
Montserrat.....	19,216
Nevis.....	5,954
Other West India islands, including a small amount indirectly imported through New England.....	1,625
Total.....	159,499

Between this period and the successful introduction of indigo cultivation in South Carolina the production of indigo in the British West Indies largely declined, attributed mainly to the substitution of the more profitable sugar industry and also, in Jamaica, to the handicap of a heavy export duty. Accordingly, Great Britain found itself compelled to resort to the French West Indies

¹⁰⁴ Ravenel, H. H., *Eliza Pinckney*, 7-9, 103-106; Hirsch, "French Influence on American Agriculture," in *Agricultural History*, IV, 9.

¹⁰⁵ Ravenel, H. H., *Eliza Pinckney*, 103-106.

¹⁰⁶ Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1714-1718, p. 159.

¹⁰⁷ *View of the Trade of South Carolina*, 5.

¹⁰⁸ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1689-1692, p. 759.

for its supply.¹⁰⁹ The outbreak in 1739 of the War of Jenkins Ear, soon leading to war with France that continued until 1748, probably seriously interfered with the obtaining of the usual supply from the French islands and probably largely accounts for Miss Lucas' interest in promoting production in South Carolina. Furthermore, for several years prior to 1745 there had been a serious depression in the rice industry.

The development of the industry was still further stimulated by legislation. In South Carolina legislative encouragement was provided for indigo in 1694, but apparently the act was repealed in 1696. In 1734 Parliament placed indigo on the free list.¹¹⁰ A decade later the General Assembly of South Carolina provided a bounty of 1 shilling proclamation money per pound of indigo exported, the act to continue for a period of five years, but the provision was repealed in the following year on the ground that the bounty threatened to increase greatly the burden of taxation.¹¹¹ The responsibility of encouraging the industry was assumed by Great Britain as a result of urgent petitions from the South Carolina merchants seconded by the clothiers and dyers of the Kingdom, and in 1748 a bounty was granted on all indigo of the growth of the British-American Colonies, provided it was good and merchantable and worth at least three fourths as much per pound as the best French.¹¹² This gave a tremendous impetus to the industry. It is said that while it continued the indigo planters doubled their capital every three or four years.¹¹³ The bounty was continued until March 25, 1770, and then until the end of the next session of Parliament; but it was then reduced to 4 pence per pound. This rate was continued until March 25, 1777.¹¹⁴

The restriction of the bounty to indigo valued at three fourths that from the French West Indies apparently contemplated the achievement of a level of quality higher than was attained. In 1775 British officials estimated that about seven eighths of the amount coming from South Carolina had, by reason of loose interpretation of the law, received the bounty, whereas not more than one fifth to one third of the total quantity imported was considered entitled to it.¹¹⁵

After the first large increase immediately following its introduction, the industry appears to have been virtually at a standstill until the outbreak of the French and Indian War. (See annual exports from Charleston and Savannah, in Appendix, Table 38.) Then it went forward rapidly in the period from 1755-56 to 1759-60, the volume of exports increasing several fold as compared with the years immediately preceding, probably due to the partial cutting off of West Indian competition. There was a slump in the next five years to less than four fifths of the volume in the preceding period. Statistics for the four years just before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War show that average annual pro-

¹⁰⁹ Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 259.

¹¹⁰ *South Carolina Laws* (Trott), Pt. I, 34; South Carolina, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly*, Jan. 30—Mar. 17, 1696, p. 20; Great Britain, *Statutes at Large* (Ruffhead), VI, 166 (7 Geo. II, c. 18); VII, 564 (27 Geo. III, c. 18).

¹¹¹ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), III, 615, 671.

¹¹² Great Britain, *Statutes at Large* (Ruffhead), VII, 119 (21 Geo. II, c. 30); cf. British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts*, 8133 B, f. 160 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 259.

¹¹³ Ravenel, H. H., *Eliza Pinckney*, 106.

¹¹⁴ Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 370, 498.

¹¹⁵ British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts*, 8133 B, f. 161 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

duction was larger than in any preceding period. The volume of exports from South Carolina began to increase markedly, amounting in the period October 7, 1774 to February 24, 1775 to nearly twice as much as it had been in any year since 1759. Apparently, however, the industry made but little growth in Georgia during the last twenty years of the colonial period.

The reasons for the lack of increase in the volume of production for nearly a decade are not clear. It was a period of prosperity in the rice industry, and it is possible that this competition was a factor, although the latter industry was also making progress in the years just preceding the Revolutionary War, when the indigo industry was also expanding rapidly. In the years just before the Revolution indigo prices were high.¹¹⁶ According to De Brahm, indigo would yield a higher return on capital invested than would rice, the latter being estimated to earn nearly 30 per cent.¹¹⁷

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INDIGO INDUSTRY IN THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

From a physical standpoint the Southern Colonies were at a considerable disadvantage in the production of indigo. In the West Indies it was possible to cut more frequently during the year than in South Carolina and Georgia. Bryan Edwards asserts that from 3 to 4 cuttings were obtained in the West Indies, while it was never possible to obtain more than 2 in America.¹¹⁸ The writer of *American Husbandry* declares that 8 cuttings per year were obtained in San Domingo, and only 3 in South Carolina, the third being very poor.¹¹⁹ There was also a great difference of quality between the indigo of South Carolina and Georgia and that produced in the French islands, which enabled the latter to command a large premium. When French indigo was selling for 8 to 10 shillings, South Carolina indigo brought but 2 shillings.¹²⁰ The product of the Spanish Colonies, especially of Guatemala, was of even higher quality than the French product. When the industry expanded into Florida it was found possible to produce indigo of higher quality than in the sister Colonies to the northward.¹²¹ These differences in quality are reflected in the following table of prices per pound, shortly before the Revolutionary War.¹²²

Kind	Range of Price	
French Blue [French West Indies].....	from 9s.	to 9s. 6d.
Carolina.....	from 2s. 6d.	to 6s. 6d.
Florida.....	from 3s.	to 8s.
Mississippi.....	from 3s.	to 6s. 6d.
Spanish Flora:		
First quality.....	from 13s.	to 13s. 9d.
Second quality.....	from 12s.	to 12s. 9d.
Third quality.....	from 8s. 9d.	to 9s. 6d.

¹¹⁶ Doar, *Sketch of the Agricultural Society of St. James, Santee*, 9; Wallace, D. D., *Henry Laurens*, 25; McCrady, *South Carolina under the Royal Government*, 397; Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 302, 572. For the period, see also various issues of the *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah).

¹¹⁷ *History of Georgia*, 51.

¹¹⁸ *British West Indies*, II, 282.

¹¹⁹ I, 400-402.

¹²⁰ De Brahm, *History of Georgia*, 22; *American Husbandry*, I, 401; cf. letter of Moses Lindo, in Elzas, *Jews of South Carolina*, 62; cf. *Southern Agriculturist*, II, 163.

¹²¹ See p. 294.

¹²² British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts*, 8133 B, f. 160 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

The physical disadvantages of the industry on the Continent were somewhat offset, however, by the fact that in the West Indian producing regions land was scarce and high in value, while in South Carolina and Georgia much of the land devoted to indigo had been previously of little value. It was considered that indigo required a high, loose, and tolerably rich soil, and it was grown mainly in the middle country of South Carolina and on parts of the sea islands not adapted to rice cultivation.¹²³ Later, sea-island cotton supplanted indigo in the islands, and upland cotton replaced indigo in the middle country.

On account of the relative abundance of land and scarcity of labor cultivation in South Carolina was much less intensive than in the West Indies, a fact partly responsible for the poor quality of the Carolina product. In the West Indies the common proportion was 4 slaves to 5 acres.¹²⁴ Governor Glen stated that in South Carolina a slave might manage 2 acres and upwards besides raising provisions and having the winter months for sawing lumber.¹²⁵ Some years later De Brahm asserted that a slave in South Carolina cultivated 4 acres of indigo besides provision crops.¹²⁶ After the Revolutionary War Dubose declared, "Few planters attempt to cultivate more than four acres of indigo to the hand."¹²⁷

The practice in South Carolina of working so large a proportion of land to labor made it necessary to devote much less labor to manufacturing the dye than was employed in regions of more intensive methods. The South Carolina product "was wretchedly put up in casks, the cakes broken in pieces, the quality of the worst kind, and the difference between the Carolina and the London weight ruinous, not having been well dried when sent to market."¹²⁸ In Florida, where the intensive West Indian methods had been introduced, the amount of indigo obtained per vat was only 9 pounds, as compared with 20 pounds under South Carolina methods.¹²⁹ In 1749 the assembly found it necessary to enact provisions to prevent frauds in making and packing indigo.¹³⁰ It is probable that in course of time improvements were made in the Carolina product. One Thomas Mellichamp is said to have revolutionized the industry by the discovery of new methods of growth and manufacture, for which he was voted a premium of £1,000 by the South Carolina Assembly.¹³¹

The indigo industry, which became the principal staple of Florida during British occupation, assumed a somewhat different character in that Province than in the two sister Colonies. Wild indigo was found in great abundance, which with proper cultivation was "esteemed in the French islands to be the best." In 1771 the governor wrote that the Florida indigo was "at least biennial"

¹²³ Glen, *Answers to Queries* (Weston, Documents), 71; Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 569; Morse, *American Gazetteer*, article on South Carolina; La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, II, 411.

¹²⁴ Edwards, *British West Indies*, II, 282.

¹²⁵ *Answers to Queries* (Weston, Documents), 71.

¹²⁶ *Philosophico-Historico-Hydrogeography of South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida* (Weston, Documents), 197.

¹²⁷ *Reminiscences of St. Stephens Parish* (Thomas, Huguenots in South Carolina), 76.

¹²⁸ *Southern Agriculturist*, II, 164.

¹²⁹ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/552, p. 211 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

¹³⁰ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), III, 718.

¹³¹ Hirsch, "French Influence on American Agriculture," in *Agricultural History*, IV, 9.

and was ready for market two months earlier than that of South Carolina.¹³² The first considerable exports were made from the crop of 1769, comprising 6,189 pounds, valued at 6 shillings 6 pence to 7 shillings 8 pence per pound. These comparatively high prices were due to the unusually fine quality. Governor Grant wrote in October, 1770, probably with excessive optimism, "We think a good deal of it equal to Spanish Flora, and all of it better than ever was carried to England from the French Islands or any British Colony." He asserted that all of the Florida planters were undertaking to make the superior quality, and since the cost of production was greater than for the lower quality he believed that the bounty should be higher. The flat bounty was "rather an encouragement to go upon Copper, for the Carolina planter gets as much for Copper of which he can make double the quantity as the Florida planter gets for Indigo of the first Quality."¹³³ Nevertheless, the formal petition of the Florida planters for an increase of their bounty on their product was rejected by British treasury officials on the ground that the conditions had been fixed by Parliament.¹³⁴ Although probably the most important form of commercial agriculture in Florida, the crop was never large, varying in the last five years of the colonial period from about 20,000 to 60,000 pounds.¹³⁵

Considerable experimentation in the commercial production of indigo occurred in North Carolina, although climatic conditions were a serious handicap.¹³⁶ Sufficient quantities were grown commercially in the southern part to induce the legislature to require its inspection. It was marketed largely through Charleston and included in the statistics of Charleston exports.¹³⁷ Indigo was also more or less cultivated for home use in Virginia and other Colonies, especially when economic conditions stimulated domestic manufactures.¹³⁸

METHODS OF PRODUCING INDIGO

While a variety of natural indigo grew in lower Louisiana, the indigo cultivated in the Province was derived from the West Indies. The seed was sown annually in well prepared soil, in holes made with mattocks, located in straight rows about one foot apart. In each of these holes four or five seeds were planted and covered with earth. The crop was kept free from weeds while growing. When mature it was cut with large sickles. This operation was performed before the wood of the plant became hard, but while the leaf had a bluish appearance. It was usual to make but two or at most three cuttings. The usual type of equipment for the manufacture of indigo consisted of an open shed about 20 feet wide and

¹³² London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/552, p. 85; vol. 560, p. 288 (Transcripts, Library of Congress). Slightly lower prices are mentioned by J. F. D. Smyth. *Tour*, II, 38.

¹³³ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/551, p. 165; vol. 552, pp. 17, 21 (Transcripts, Library of Congress). See also *ibid.*, 211.

¹³⁴ Memorial of Col. Grant and other planters of East Florida to the Earl of Dartmouth, in *ibid.*, vol. 555, p. 127.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 553, p. 21; vol. 555, p. 101; vol. 559, pp. 461, 465, 469; Forbes, *Sketches of the Floridas*, 132; Fairbanks, *History of Florida*, 235.

¹³⁶ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, V, 316; VI, 1029; IX, 270, 364, 687.

¹³⁷ *North Carolina State Records*, XXIII (Col. Laws), 432; Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, II, 97.

¹³⁸ *Perfect Description of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, II, No. 8), p. 4; Dinwiddie, *Official Records*, II, 541, 580; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 337; *Southern Planter*, XVII, 398.

less than 30 long, built on poles and covered with a thatched roof. Three vats were so arranged that each one could be drained into the next in line by opening a spigot. Into the first, or largest, the leaves were placed with water and allowed to steep a sufficient length of time, as determined by the operator's experience, when the liquid was drawn off into the second vat, which was provided with two beaters on each side fastened on a forked pole. The liquid was violently beaten until the proper degree of agitation had been achieved, as indicated by samples withdrawn from time to time. Very nice judgment was required to determine this. The liquid was then allowed to settle, and the residual water carefully and gradually drawn off into the third vat. After the indigo in the bottom of the second vat was well settled it was placed in small sacks and allowed to drip until nearly dry, when it was spread out and cut in small cubes, which were then packed in barrels for shipment.¹³⁹

In South Carolina also it was customary to sow the seed every year. While in an earlier period it was the practice to import seed annually from the West Indies, it is probable that when the industry was fully established this practice was discontinued. The wild or native plant was employed by some planters, although the quality was not so good as the variety called the Guatemala or true Bahama, which was cultivated more even than the French indigo. Though of better quality, the latter did not yield so abundantly as the Guatemala, being very sensitive to cold. Some people believed the inferior quality of the wild variety was due to climate or methods of manufacture. In the later colonial period seed was sown in small, straight trenches about 18 inches apart. It required frequent weeding and daily removal of worms.¹⁴⁰ Even after the beginning of the nineteenth century preparation of land and sowing of seed were still largely done without the use of animal power.¹⁴¹ The indigo industry, like the rice industry, was based on the practice of utilization and exhaustion of land with a view to clearing new land when necessary, and the amount of cultivation required, and consequently the area worked per hand varied in accordance with whether old or new land was employed.¹⁴²

As in Louisiana, the weed was cut twice, and in mild seasons three times, reaping hooks being used for the purpose.¹⁴³ The methods of manufacture were essentially similar to those employed in Louisiana except possibly in one or two important particulars. In South Carolina and Georgia lime was extensively employed to settle the particles of indigo, two bushels of lime being placed in the third vat of the battery, and an additional half bushel for each subsequent

¹³⁹ Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, III, 354-359; Bossu, *Travels through Louisiana*, I, 375-377; Dumont, *Mémoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, I, 44-48.

¹⁴⁰ Glen, *Answers to Queries* (Weston, Documents), 71; Great Britain, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1714-1718, p. 159; Taylor, G., *Voyage to North America*, 223; Wynne, *British Empire*, II, 293.

¹⁴¹ *Southern Agriculturist*, II, 107; *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, XXVII, 754.

¹⁴² De Brahm, *Philosophico-Historico-Hydrogeography of South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida* (Weston, Documents), 197.

¹⁴³ Wynne, *British Empire*, II, 293. For accounts of South Carolina and Georgia methods, see Romans, *East and West Florida*, 134-137; Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, II, 56-64; Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, II, 140-145; Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 157-160; Milligen, *Description of South Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 532-535.

vatful made. After the process of beating in the second vat, which in the early nineteenth century was facilitated by employing a revolving wheel, limewater from the lime vat was introduced into the second vat, then after further beating, the liquid was allowed to settle, a process facilitated by the affinity of the particles of indigo with the lime.¹⁴⁴ About the middle of the eighteenth century Governor Glen seriously questioned the advisability of employing lime, which was then in general use. He believed it responsible for the comparatively low quality of the product.¹⁴⁵

Governor Glen estimated the average yield at 80 pounds per acre on good land but on the common run of lands not over 30 pounds. About two decades later the yield on good land was estimated at 60 to 70 pounds, but early in the nineteenth century only a little over 40 pounds.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ *Southern Cultivator*, VIII, 21.

¹⁴⁵ *Answers to Queries* (Weston, Documents), 71.

¹⁴⁶ *Loc. cit.*; Warden, *Account of the United States*, II, 482.

PART III
INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE
COLONIAL PERIOD

CHAPTER XIV

GENESIS OF THE PLANTATION SYSTEM AS AN AGENCY FOR COLONIAL EXPANSION OF CAPITALISM

Significance of the Plantation System in Economic Evolution, 301. Beginnings of the Plantation System in Spanish Colonial Policy, 303. Development of the Institution of Slavery in Spanish Colonies, 306. Employment of the Plantation System by the French and British Colonization Companies, 307.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PLANTATION SYSTEM IN ECONOMIC EVOLUTION

The economic life of the ante bellum South frequently has been approached primarily as a study in social pathology, with attention centered on its unprogressiveness and the evil consequences of slavery and the plantation system. We should be incredulous, however, concerning a point of view that reveals only the pathological side of a social and economic régime. That the peculiar institutions of the South came into existence, survived, even increased in importance during more than two centuries is ground for the suspicion that they possessed a special fitness, that they comprised an adaptation to the conditions of time and place that was both natural and economic, even though the institutions ultimately became anachronistic.

The typical institutions—servitude, slavery, the plantation system, and the credit system—were not peculiar to the South nor established only by the English race. They appeared also in Central America, the West Indies, and South America, established in the process of colonization by English, French, Spanish, Dutch, and Portuguese. They constitute essential characteristics of a prevalent stage of economic evolution long recognized by writers on the philosophy of colonization in classifying colonies. Many years ago Professor Heeren distinguished four classes of colonies: agricultural, plantation, mining, and trading.¹ Other writers, though employing somewhat different classifications, nevertheless retain the significant distinction between agricultural colonies and plantation colonies.²

Professor Albert Galloway Keller has summarized suggestively the contrasts between plantation colonies and agricultural colonies.³ Agricultural colonies, he holds, tend to develop in temperate, and plantation colonies in tropical, regions. Tropical products are likely to be in demand as luxuries in the mother country, and economic conditions place a premium on the production of a few products in especial demand; therefore in plantation colonies industry is specialized. Since the climate is unfavorable to the labor of European races, compulsory labor of

¹ *Political System of Europe and Its Colonies*, 23.

² Roscher & Jannasch, *Kolonien, Kolonialpolitik und Auswanderung*, 2 et seq.; Leroy-Beaulieu, *Colonisation chez les Peuples Modernes*, 748 et seq.; Egerton, *Origin and Growth of the English Colonies*, 3.

³ *Colonization, a Study of the Founding of New Societies*, 3-19: cf. Leroy-Beaulieu, *Colonisation chez les Peuples Modernes*, 742 et seq.

tropical races develops. Agriculture is extensive, and cultivation exploitative. Because of the unhealthful climate and large financial resources of the masters, there is much absentee ownership; and as a result, much cruelty toward the laboring classes. The necessity of marketing goods in the mother country and buying supplies therefrom creates a vital interdependence. The plantation colony is characterized by great estates, more or less speculative in character. Social organization is aristocratic, with definite castes based on racial differences. A great preponderance of males and the small economic importance of women of the colonizing race leads to formal celibacy, but also extreme laxity in relations with the lower race. In the case of agricultural colonies, since their products compete with those of the mother country, commercial interdependence is slight. Local self-sufficiency is apt to prevail in the earlier years, and but little specialization in production. The size of economic units, especially in agriculture, is small. The colonists furnish their own labor. Agriculture soon becomes intensive, and regard is had to soil conservation. Absenteeism is almost unknown. Industry is diversified, and the people resourceful and inventive. The homogeneous population and small economic dependence on the mother country result in a strong tendency to self-government and democratic institutions. Woman is economically important, and the family extremely cohesive.

The contrasts of the plantation Colonies of the South with the agricultural type of colony were not so marked as is suggested in the above characterization. In climate and in social organization the Southern Colonies belong midway between the two extremes described above—extremes best typified by the British West Indies and New England.

The most characteristic institution of the plantation colony was the plantation system, which may be formally defined as follows: *The plantation was a capitalistic type of agricultural organization in which a considerable number of unfree laborers were employed under unified direction and control in the production of a staple crop.* The definition applies to the South, however, only in the ante bellum period, for plantation organization has prevailed since the Civil War on the basis of labor that is at least nominally free. The definition implies also that (1) the functions of laborer and employer were sharply distinct; (2) the system was based on commercial agriculture, except in periods of depression; (3) the system represented a capitalistic stage of agricultural development, since the value of slaves, land, and equipment necessitated the investment of money capital, often of large amount and frequently borrowed, and there was a strong tendency for the planter to assume the attitude of the business man in testing success by ratio of net money income to capital invested; and (4) there was a strong tendency toward specialization—the production of a single crop for market.

It is significant that three of the characteristics developed in manufacturing by the Industrial Revolution—commercialism, capitalism, and specialization—were attained in Southern agriculture as early as the first half of the seventeenth century through the establishment of the plantation system.

The development of plantation organization has frequently been interpreted as an incident of the introduction of Negro slavery. Its early development,

however, was mainly on the basis of white servitude,⁴ and, although slavery has passed away, it still prevails in the South and in various tropical regions on the basis of indentured (coolie) labor.⁵ Slavery itself flourished only under certain favorable conditions: it rested upon ethical standards peculiar to the age; its character was influenced by distinctive commercial policies; and it prevailed only in certain regions, while in others it languished and died. In short, it was not the mere accidental visit of a slave-trading vessel that explains the introduction of slavery in the South. Once established, however, slavery became in turn a *raison d'être* of the plantation system. Primarily, then, the genesis of the plantation system is to be regarded as a phase of the colonial expansion of capitalism, necessitated by the industrial environment peculiar to certain parts of the New World, the character of the races and populations that entered into the fabric of colonial empire, the commercial and colonial ideals of the several nations participating in the task of colonization, and the technical character of industry in that period. These conclusions will be indicated by reviewing briefly the development of the plantation system in the Spanish, French, and British Colonies in the New World.

BEGINNINGS OF THE PLANTATION SYSTEM IN SPANISH COLONIAL POLICY

The record of the experience of European nations that established colonies in the New World confirms the observation of Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, that the policies of colonization must conform to the conditions encountered.⁶ Sharp contrasts in colonial policy and accomplishment were due partly to economic and political differences in the colonizing nations but even more to wide differences in the natural environment and native populations of the countries colonized.

Spain and Portugal did not establish what French writers term *colonies de peuplement*; no widespread development of immigration was requisite, for Portuguese colonies in Brazil and Spanish colonies in the West Indies, Mexico, and Peru were built up initially on the basis of native populations. On the other hand, France and England faced the necessity of organizing an extensive stream of immigration from the mother countries and from Africa. The Spaniard found in the larger West Indian islands a numerous population, which had reached the agricultural stage and a settled village life.⁷ The original population of Hispaniola was estimated at over 3,000,000 by Las Casas and at over 1,000,000 by Oviedo and Peter Martyr, although both estimates were undoubtedly exaggerated. Peschel estimated the native population of Hispaniola at between 200,000 and 300,000.⁸ They were greatly superior in culture and docility to the Caribs in the Windward and Leeward Islands, whose stubborn resistance and cannibalism soon furnished the Spaniards a justification for enslaving them.⁹

On the other hand, when Jamaica, San Domingo, and other islands were

⁴ See below, pp. 308, 348.

⁵ Cf. Ireland, *Tropical Colonization*, Chaps. IV-VI.

⁶ *Colonisation chez les Peuples Modernes*, 751 et seq.

⁷ In some parts of the Continent the Spaniards encountered Indians in lower stages of culture. Peschel, *Races of Man and Their Geographical Distribution*, 420.

⁸ Bourne, *Spain in America*, 213; Edwards, *British West Indies*, I, 58.

⁹ Lucas, C. P., *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, II, 42.

wrested from Spain by England or France, the aboriginal inhabitants of superior culture had been largely extinguished. Most of the earliest original island settlements of the English and French were in the Leeward and Windward Islands, occupied mainly by the Caribs. The most terrible tortures were insufficient to reduce them to submission; when taken into captivity they preferred to commit suicide rather than to work for their captors. The only recourse was to wage wars of extermination and import the needful labor supply.¹⁰ The Bermudas, Barbados, Antigua, and some of the smaller islands were uninhabited by native tribes.¹¹ Most of the tribes encountered by the English and French on the Continent, as already noted, were still in the hunting and fishing stage, more or less supplemented by a rude garden cultivation. Therefore, their numbers were few relative to the land area.¹²

The policy inaugurated by the Spaniards for controlling the native races involved in theory the development of a sort of manorial system. The natives, regarded as conquered vassals, were required to pay tribute, and failing that, to render personal services. In 1497 letters patent were issued to Columbus authorizing him to grant repartimientos of lands to Spaniards. The repartimiento, or to use the more common term, the *encomienda*, was a system of sub-in-feudation, for, according to the constitutional law of the Indies, the land was the domain of the King.¹³ It was only a step to the further grant of rights over the inhabitants. In 1498 certain Indian caciques were assigned the task of providing the Spaniards with so many thousand shoots of cassava, with the expectation that they in turn would compel the inhabitants of their villages to produce the required amounts. The system was soon officially recognized. In 1503, under orders from Spain, the natives were divided into groups, giving 50 to 100 Indians to each Spaniard as an *encomienda*, or commandery. The natives were to spend a portion of their time in working for fixed wages.¹⁴

As the system was gradually extended, the detailed relationship of the *encomendero* to his subjects became more precisely defined. The natives occupied substantially the status of villeins regardant, though in legal theory they were minors for life. They were bound to their respective villages, but assigned a definite amount of ground to cultivate for their own benefit. The amounts of tribute in gold, produce, or labor were carefully defined. The natives could not be employed outside of the village except under special circumstances and in compliance with safeguards to prevent excessive demands on their time and strength. There were numerous provisions to protect the native's person from

¹⁰ Peytraud, *L'Esclavage aux Antilles Françaises*, 5, 12-19, 26 *et seq.*; Edwards, *British West Indies*, I, 358-360, 402, 424.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 327, 437; Clark, C., *Summary of Colonial Law*, 175; Jourdain, *Discovery of the Bermudas* (Hakluyt, *Early Voyages*, V), 185.

¹² See above, Chap. I; also Brinton, *The American Race*, 75-91; Farrand, *Basis of American History*, especially Chaps. XI, XIV.

¹³ Helps, *Spanish Conquest*, I, 145 *et seq.*, 152; Roscher, *Spanish Colonial System*, 4; Bourne, *Spain in America*, 256. The Spaniards had employed a somewhat similar policy after the subjugation of the Moriscoes.

¹⁴ Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Empire*, II, 232; Helps, *Spanish Conquest*, I, 163; Brown, J., *History of St. Domingo*, I, 26, 29. The system was legalized by cédulas issued by Ferdinand, Aug. 14 and Nov. 12, 1509. Lea, "Indian Policy of Spain," in *Yale Review*, VIII, 126.

violence and his possessions from confiscation. The encomiendero was under obligation to furnish the villagers protection and religious instruction.¹⁵

In the course of the gradual development of the policy administrative agencies were provided to enforce the provisions for the protection of the native tribes against exploitation, but in the early decades of colonization circumstances were overwhelmingly against the realization of these ideals. Many of the Spanish adventurers were vicious and lawless, while the barbarity and numerical preponderance of the natives excited the intolerance of their fanatical conquerors and appeared to justify a policy of terrorism.¹⁶ In the early period the natives under the encomienda system were treated as slaves and quickly exterminated by the barbarities that Las Casas eloquently described. In 1533 the native population of Porto Rico was practically extinct, and in 1548 Oviedo doubted whether 500 natives of pure stock remained in Hispaniola.¹⁷

From time to time recognition of the inconsistency of existing practices in relation to the legal theory of the system led to half-hearted attempts at reform, soon nullified by the influence of vested interests at the Spanish capital.¹⁸ After more settled conditions were established, however, the encomienda system was gradually modified to a more humane approximation of its legal and theoretical foundation, until finally abolished in the latter part of the eighteenth century.¹⁹

Although the system was actually an extreme form of slavery in the early decades of Spanish colonization,²⁰ evidence is not lacking that even in the period of greatest abuse the law was sometimes rigidly enforced. In Peru a Spanish gentleman was punished by 200 lashes for compelling Indians to carry his baggage.²¹ In the third decade of the sixteenth century Benzoni wrote of the Province of Fondura, "The Indians scarcely give their masters anything but what belongs to them; and if by chance any Spaniard constrained his people to give him something more; or ill treated them, he would be immediately deprived of them by the governors." Some of the Indians in Mexico were wealthy.²² William Walton,

¹⁵ Martyr, *History of the West Indies* (Hakluyt, Selection of Curious Rare . . . Voyages, Supplement), 626-627; Helps, *Spanish Conquest*, I, 260-263; III, 117; IV, 360-369; Lea, "Indian Policy of Spain," in *Yale Review*, VIII, 140, 144-146, 153-155; Roscher, *Spanish Colonial System*, 6; Pons, *Travels in South America* (Phillips, Collection of Voyages, IV, No. 2), p. 59; Bourne, *Spain in America*, 256-264. In some parts of their dominions, especially in Mexico and Peru, the Spaniards found a sort of native serfdom. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, II, 17-50; Cieza de Leon, *Travels*, 149.

¹⁶ Benzoni, *History of the New World*, 8; cf. also p. 72; Brown, J., *History of St. Domingo*, I, 35; Merriam, *Rise of the Spanish Empire*, II, 232-235.

¹⁷ Casas, *Oeuvres*, I, 19-21; Lea, "Indian Policy of Spain," in *Yale Review*, VIII, 121-127; Brown, J., *History of St. Domingo*, I, 29-34; Bourne, *Spain in America*, 211-214; Benzoni, *History of the New World*, 108; Gage, *New Survey of the West Indies*, 175; Enriquez de Guzman, *Life and Acts*, 84.

¹⁸ For a detailed account, see Helps, *Spanish Conquest*, I, 506-511; II, 24-34; III, 165; IV, Bk. XVIII, Chaps. I-III; Bk. XIX, Chap. VIII; Lea, "Indian Policy of Spain," in *Yale Review*, VIII, 140.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 140, 145, 153-155; Roscher, *Spanish Colonial System*, 6; Helps, *Spanish Conquest*, IV, 360-369; Pons, *Travels in South America* (Phillips, Collection of Voyages, IV, No. 2), p. 59; Bourne, *Spain in America*, 256-264; Humboldt, *Kingdom of New Spain*, I, 183.

²⁰ Cf. quotations by Lea, "Indian Policy of Spain," in *Yale Review*, VIII, 146. For evidence of the milder characteristics of the system in Mexico as compared with its rigorous characteristics in Guatemala and Peru, see Bourne, *Spain in America*, 263; Gage, *New Survey of the West Indies*, 312-315; Casas, *Oeuvres*, I, 227-268, 273; Cieza de Leon, *Travels*, 106.

²¹ Simon, *Expedition of Pedro de Ursua and Lope de Aguirre*, 233 n.

²² *History of the New World*, 145; Gage, *New Survey of the West Indies*, 298.

who visited the Spanish Colonies in the closing years of the eighteenth century, believed that the Indians were treated too leniently to effect their training in the arts of civilization.²³ Humboldt declared they were as well off economically as the lower classes of the Spanish peninsula.²⁴

In short, during the sixteenth century the plantation system based on Indian labor gradually ceased to exist in the Spanish West Indies, and on the Continent was gradually transformed into an approximation of the manorial system.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY IN SPANISH COLONIES

In 1492 Columbus sent some of the captured Caribs to Spain, where slavery already existed, with the suggestion that this savage race be converted by wholesale enslavement.²⁵ In 1498 the Spanish Government authorized the enslavement of those taken in war. It was easy for the scholastic sophistry of that day to justify the capture of natives forced into a warlike attitude by the cruelty of invaders whose savage reputation preceded them.²⁶

The Spanish authorities early began importing Negro slaves into their Colonies, ostensibly to alleviate the lot of the Indians. Special privileges of importation were granted powerful private interests, with restrictions on the number introduced. Probably in no year before 1713 was the maximum higher than 4,250. The *assiento* of that year provided for a maximum of 4,800. A considerable illicit trade had been developed by the English, French, Dutch, and Genoese.²⁷

These sources of supply were inadequate to satisfy the demand resulting from extinction of the natives in the islands and the opening up of the mainland. As early as 1523 the Spaniards in Hispaniola protested that the monopolistic policy made slaves scarce.²⁸ The freeing of the Indians by the "New Laws" of 1542 nearly paralyzed industry in Cuba.²⁹ Professor Aimes has shown that for two centuries Cuba remained undeveloped for lack of slaves.³⁰

The result of the several policies of exclusion, not only of slaves, but also of white settlers, was that the Spanish possessions in America remained underpopulated. At the close of the eighteenth century, with an area one fifth larger than Europe, they contained a smaller slave population than Virginia, and most of the slaves were in the single Province of Caracas.³¹ In 1789, for instance, the French Colony of San Domingo contained 30,826 whites, 27,548 free colored, and 465,429 slaves. In 1785 the Spanish part of the same island contained 122,640 free persons and only 30,000 slaves.³² In the latter part of the eighteenth century

²³ *Spanish Colonies*, II, Chap. XVII.

²⁴ *Kingdom of New Spain*, I, 198.

²⁵ Helps, *Spanish Conquest*, I, 134, 142. For an account of the beginnings of the slave trade to Europe, see Phillips, U. B., *American Negro Slavery*, 11-13.

²⁶ Helps, *Spanish Conquest*, I, 165; III, 119-124; Lea, "Indian Policy of Spain," in *Yale Review*, VIII, 121.

²⁷ Helps, *Spanish Conquest*, II, 19-21; Bourne, *Spain in America*, 269-272; Phillips, U. B., *American Negro Slavery*, 18-19; Moses, *Spanish Rule in America*, 270-273; Campbell, J., *History of the Spanish Americas*, 308-314; Aimes, *Slavery in Cuba*, 8, 16-17, 25.

²⁸ Helps, *Spanish Conquest*, III, 211.

²⁹ Benzoni, *History of the New World*, 57; Aimes, *Slavery in Cuba*, 10-13.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Chaps. I-II, *passim*.

³¹ Humboldt, *Personal Narrative of Travels*, III, 123; cf. Moses, *Spanish Rule in America*, 55-61; Pons, *Travels in South America* (Phillips, Collection of Voyages, IV, No. 2), p. 45.

³² Mackenzie, *Notes on Haiti*, II, 109.

the population of Porto Rico was only 1,500 Spaniards and mixed breeds and about 3,000 Negroes.³³ The much smaller English island, Barbados, with only about 100,000 acres, was estimated to contain 50,000 whites and 100,000 Negroes within fifty years after its first settlement, an estimate probably considerably exaggerated.³⁴

Thus, the restrictive policy of Spain resulted, whether for better or worse, in the diversion of the vast stream of Negro slaves to the possessions of her rivals, England, France, Portugal, and Holland. "Had the commerce of the islands been reasonably free, plantation slavery on a large scale would have rapidly developed, and the history of Haiti and the English islands would have been anticipated a century by the Spaniards."³⁵

Humane consideration aside, Spanish colonization policy in the West Indies was far less successful in economic results than the policies adopted by England and France. The sparse slave population and unprosperous agriculture of the Spanish islands presented a severe contrast to the populous, prosperous Colonies established by Spain's northern rivals. In the former, systematic agriculture was not highly developed, and herding comprised the principal economic activity.³⁶ Some tobacco, indigo, pimento, ginger, and cacao were produced, and there were a few sugar plantations. It was not until the last quarter of the eighteenth century, when the restrictions on the slave trade were partially removed and the stream of slaves again diverted to the Spanish West Indies, that the sugar industry and plantation system rapidly developed.³⁷

EMPLOYMENT OF THE PLANTATION SYSTEM BY THE FRENCH AND BRITISH COLONIZATION COMPANIES

It is not probable that the Spanish plantation system, such as it was, exerted an important direct influence on the beginnings of the system in the British and French Colonies. Certainly the development of the plantation system in Virginia, the first plantation Colony successfully established by England, was not influenced by the Spanish West Indian system; for the prevailing relations of England and Spain were not favorable to extensive friendly intercourse between their Colonies, and Spain was especially hostile toward the Virginia enterprise.³⁸

It is also unlikely that other British and French plantation Colonies helped to mould the early development of the institutions in Virginia. Barbados, settled in 1624, and St. Christopher, jointly settled by the English and French between 1623 and 1626, were influential original centers from which the plantation system

³³ Raynal, *Europeans in the East and West Indies*, IV, 99.

³⁴ Burke, Edm., *European Settlements in America*, II, 86-88; Edwards, *British West Indies*, I, 350; Pitman, *Development of the British West Indies*, 45 n. For population statistics of other possessions of the respective countries, see Edwards, *British West Indies*, I, 186, 230, 383, 405, 418, 432, 435, 447, 470-471; Bourne, *Spain in America*, 196-200.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 272; cf. Roscher, *Spanish Colonial System*, 10 n.

³⁶ Campbell, J., *History of the Spanish Americas*, 156; Gage, *New Survey of the West Indies*, 175, 179, 278; Edwards, *French Colony in St. Domingo*, 178, 184; Long, *History of Jamaica*, I, 238.

³⁷ Aimes, *Slavery in Cuba*, Chap. I, *passim*; Edwards, *British West Indies*, I, 186, 242-247; *idem*, *French Colony in St. Domingo*, 178, 184; Bridges, *Annals of Jamaica*, I, 182; Humboldt, *Cuba*, 213-216, 251-253; Leroy-Beaulieu, *Colonisation chez les Peuples Modernes*, 31-34.

³⁸ Brown, A., *Genesis*, I, 89, 91, 100, 102-105, 108, 116-124, & *passim*; Beer, G. L., *Origins of the British Colonial System*, 7-10.

spread to other islands; but plantation organization had been established in Virginia before it had developed materially in either of these Colonies. In a later period, however, there was a well established and frequent communication between the British West Indies and the American plantation Colonies, as well as considerable migration. Barbadians, as we have noted, were influential in the settlement of South Carolina, and there was some migration from Barbados to Virginia.³⁹ The attack of the French on St. Christopher in 1666 impelled numbers of Englishmen to migrate to Virginia and New England.⁴⁰ After the revolution in San Domingo large numbers of French refugees fled to South Carolina and other parts of the South. The joint British and French occupation of St. Christopher, the British occupation of Jamaica after 1655, the temporary British occupation of Cuba and Florida in 1763, the British occupation of the French Colony of St. Lucia, where the French system of law was allowed to remain in force, were a few of the many opportunities for the cross-fertilization of culture, while commercial intercourse must have worked powerfully in the same direction.⁴¹

In undertaking to establish *colonies de peuplement*, France was handicapped by the general aversion of the French population toward emigration. Political ambition and the desire for extending commerce were dominant motives back of colonial expansion. The impulse for emigration came from above, rather than from below. The seigneurs, having obtained seignorial commissions, sought to induce families of cultivators to follow them in order to people their fiefs with feudal retainers and tenants.⁴² Agents of the colonizing companies travelled the length and breadth of France gathering laborers for the French Colonies. *Engagés* (indentured servants) were transported free on condition of serving three years, and were sold to the colonists at low prices. To persons of the better class the companies advanced expenses of transport and settlement on condition that the debt be paid out of the earliest harvests. Frequently the urgent need for colonists led to the sending out of criminals and paupers.⁴³

It was no accident, therefore, that caused the French to make a great success of their plantation Colonies while failing to secure a strong foothold in Canada. The provincial nobility and the wealthy, energetic bourgeoisie were extremely capable in conducting plantation colonization, based on the labor of others, but they were less inclined to the rigorous labors of an agricultural colony.⁴⁴

In the earliest attempts at colonization neither the English nor the French proposed to rely upon Negro slaves. More than a decade elapsed after the settlement of Virginia before the first slaves were introduced; and during the first three quarters of a century the plantation system was based mainly on indentured

³⁹ Washington, *Journal on a Tour to Barbadoes*, Pref., p. 12; McKinnon, *Tour through the British West Indies*, 23.

⁴⁰ Letter of Michael Smith to Richard Chandler, June 11, 1666, in Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1661-1668, p. 387.

⁴¹ Clark, C., *Summary of Colonial Law*, 23.

⁴² Benoit du Rey, *Recherches sur la Politique Coloniale de Colbert*, 30; cf. Pauliat, *Politique Coloniale*, 105-108; Chailley-Bert, *Compagnies de Colonisation*, 32-35.

⁴³ Pauliat, *Politique Coloniale*, 114-117; Brown, J., *History of St. Domingo*, I, 59, 90-91; Long, *History of Jamaica*, II, 267 n.

⁴⁴ Cordier, *Compagnies à Charte et la Politique Coloniale*, 44.

servitude.⁴⁵ In the island of Barbados white servants were a large element in the population for several decades. According to an official report in 1643, there were 18,600 Englishmen in the island, and not more than 6,400 Negroes. Early conditions in Jamaica after British occupation were similar.⁴⁶ Slaves were not systematically introduced in French St. Christopher during the earlier years, for the attention of the Compagnie des Îles de l'Amérique was centered upon the introduction of white settlers, 7,000 of whom had been sent out by 1642.⁴⁷

Before the slave trade became important, a stable white society had been established in the French West Indies. Gradually, as in the English islands, the development of a staple crop and the introduction of Negro slaves resulted in the disappearance of the small proprietorships.⁴⁸

If the planting of *colonies de peuplement* involved the problem of labor, it involved much more than that of providing the capital needed for two classes of expenses: first, the public and semi-public expenses connected with the preliminary preparation of colonization, such as exploration, surveys, road-building, and military protection; and second, the expenses connected with the transport and settlement of the colonist. Since the white immigrant of the lower class rarely possessed so large a sum, it was necessary that some form of organization be devised which would unite the requisite labor and capital in the work of colonization. The primitive commercial organization of Spain did not provide a sufficient number of private adventurers willing to embark capital in distant projects. Consequently the government was compelled to assume the chief rôle in the early furtherance of colonization.⁴⁹ Though successful conquistadors organized expeditions on their own account out of the gains from former exploits, such expeditions were forays rather than colonizing enterprises. By the seventeenth century, however, England and France had attained a more advanced stage of economic development. In each country there were large bodies of free capital seeking investment in foreign enterprises, and the commercial classes had developed in economic strength and initiative. The colonial activity of both England and France, therefore, was largely the result of the effort of the private capitalist to find a profitable investment in the unlimited opportunities opened up by discovery and exploration, and accordingly, the colonizing companies usually excited popular enthusiasm for investment.⁵⁰

The necessities of colonization in the period of foundation, as well as the economic ideas of the time, led to the employment of the privileged company as an instrument for foreign investment. Between the years 1599 and 1789 about

⁴⁵ See Chap. XVI.

⁴⁶ Davis, N. D., *Pages from the Early History of Barbadoes* [Newspaper clippings, Library of Congress]; Lucas, C. P., *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, II, 179; see especially Pitman, *Development of the British West Indies*, 45-48; Nisbit, *Slavery not Forbidden by Scripture, etc.*, 11.

⁴⁷ Peytraud, *L'Esclavage aux Antilles Françaises*, 12.

⁴⁸ Leroy-Beaulieu, *Colonisation chez les Peuples Modernes*, 161; Morris, H. C., *History of Colonization*, I, 396.

⁴⁹ Cheyney, *European Background of American History*, I, 132-137. Concerning the financing of Menéndez' Florida settlements, see above, p. 10.

⁵⁰ Chailley-Bert, *Compagnies de Colonisation*, 71-76; Bonnassieux, *Les Grandes Compagnies de Commerce*, 369.

seventy-five colonizing companies were chartered in France. Thirty-four trading companies were created in England in the latter part of the sixteenth century and in the seventeenth century.⁵¹ The magnitude of the task of initial colonization and the political and international relations involved precluded the effective activity of the individual enterpriser and necessitated unity of control. The colonizing agency must wage war against colonial rivals, maintain armed fleets, build forts, and sometimes even send ambassadors and consuls. Colonial governments must be set up, a commercial code established, a land policy created, and roads constructed. In dealing with native people, unity and continuity in aim and policy were essential.⁵² Where so much of the task was not immediately connected with profit-making, competing individuals or companies would have neglected the public phases of the enterprise. Moreover, a single merchant arriving with his cargo of goods was likely to find that a competitor had already glutted his market.

The earliest companies were of the "regulated" type. They were granted a monopoly of trade and extensive powers for establishing and regulating trading relations and for defending their monopoly, but did not employ a permanent capital nor seek to earn profits. Expenses were defrayed from membership fees and various fees and charges levied on members and others in payment for trading facilities provided by the organization. Individual members, however, traded on their own account. Such companies resembled partnerships rather than corporations, particularly in equality of individual contributions, lack of free transfer of individual interests, and unlimited liability of members.⁵³ Gradually it was found desirable to modify the character of the regulated companies. Right of participation was finally made available to anyone possessing the requisite funds. It ceased to be feasible to separate quasi public functions of development from purely commercial functions. More continuity of activity was provided, for annual expeditions of individual merchants were not adequate to perform the functions of colonization.⁵⁴

The earliest English and French companies organized for operation abroad concerned themselves primarily in commercial transactions, in fishing, or in the fur trade, without attempting, except for a few feeble efforts, to establish populous colonies.⁵⁵ When, however, serious attention began to be given to investment in the New World, a new type of enterprise was required. Mining and agriculture promised enormous profits, but only by means of settled colonies. The problem that confronted the companies was to accomplish the foundation of these colonies in such a way as to result in profits to the capitalist.

Some of the companies undertook to attain this object by requiring quitrents

⁵¹ Chailley-Bert, *Compagnies de Colonisation*, 21-25; Kingsbury, "Comparison of the Virginia Company with the Other English Trading Companies," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1906, I, 162.

⁵² Epstein, *Levant Company*, 25; Cordier, *Compagnies à Charte et la Politique Coloniale*, 81; Chailley-Bert, *Compagnies de Colonisation*, 16; Cheyney, *European Background of American History*, 161.

⁵³ Cawston & Keane, *Early Chartered Companies*, 10-13, 20-31, 68; Epstein, *Levant Company*, 23-40, & *passim*; Scott, W. R., *Joint-Stock Companies*, II, 1-36, 84, 242-245.

⁵⁴ Concerning various stages in the transition, see *ibid.*, 36, 92-111.

⁵⁵ Cawston & Keane, *Early Chartered Companies*, 10, 68, 89 et seq.; Scott, W. R., *Joint-Stock Companies*, II, 1-17, 36, 69, 83-88.

from all landholders, but many went a step further. Instead of merely levying toll on the laborer's land, leaving him free to conduct his own operations, they sought to employ the laborer himself in the business of production. These enterprises became the prototypes of the plantation system. The earliest policy of the Virginia Company was of this character.⁵⁶ The same plan was followed in establishing the Plymouth Colony, the capitalists and colonists having formed an association in the interest of which the entire productive activity of the Colony was carried on.⁵⁷ A similar project was proposed by the Company for New England, but proved abortive.⁵⁸ The proposed Huguenot settlement in South Carolina, promoted by William Boswell, Samuel Vassal, Hugh l'Amy, and Peter de Licques, was to be organized in several plantations, each ten miles square and worked during the first ten years by fifty men in the joint interest of the investors.⁵⁹ In the earliest colonial establishment of the Providence Company, the communal type of organization which characterized the early years of the Colony of Virginia was employed.⁶⁰ The Swedes organized a joint-stock company in effecting their first steps in colonization on the Delaware. For several years the great majority of the colonists were the industrial servants of the company, working on several tobacco plantations.⁶¹

When the nucleus of colonization was once established the essential rôle of the monopolistic companies was terminated. The performance of the quasi public functions entrusted to them proved a grievous burden to companies whose primary object was profit. They were no longer necessary to investment in New World industry; and like their predecessors, the trading companies, they excited the jealousy of private individuals who desired to encroach upon their monopoly, and encountered the opposition of the colonists, who found themselves hampered by restrictive policies.

The private plantation system was the natural successor of the colonizing company. With the quasi public functions of colonial foundation accomplished and the functions of government taken over by public agencies, the remaining task was to finance immigration and settlement. The plantation system afforded a convenient method of uniting capital and labor in the business of production. It would have been impracticable for the European capitalist to advance to each laborer the necessary expenses of emigration and settlement, leaving him to work out his own success and to repay the debt at will. The planter was the effective agent through whom European capital might be so employed, and the plantation was the agency of colonial expansion which brought together and combined three separate factors in utilizing the natural resources of the New World; the labor of the industrial servant or the slave, the capital furnished by the European merchant, and the directive activity of the planters. In some instances, of course, planters themselves furnished a part or all of the capital.

⁵⁶ See Chap. XV.

⁵⁷ See Scott, W. R., *Joint-Stock Companies*, II, 306-311.

⁵⁸ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, pp. 30, 45, 47, 137, 204.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 115. See above, p. 41.

⁶⁰ Kingsbury, "Comparison of the Virginia Company with the Other English Trading Companies," in *Amer. Hist. Assn., Annual Report*, 1906, I, 167.

⁶¹ Johnson, A., *Swedish Settlements on the Delaware*, I, Chaps. XIII, XXI, XXXII; II, App. B.

CHAPTER XV

EARLY EVOLUTION OF THE PLANTATION SYSTEM—TRANSITION FROM CORPORATE TO INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE

Virginia. Development of a Plantation Organization by the Virginia Company, 312. Development of Freeholds, 314. Tendency of the Company to Become a Plantation Proprietor, 315. Development of the Quasi Public Plantations, 317. Transition from Quasi Public to Private Plantation System, 319.

South Carolina. Beginnings of the Plantation System, 322. Early Private Plantation Undertakings, 324. Extent of Plantation Organization about 1710, 325.

Louisiana. Origin of the Plantation System in the Concessions, 329. Failure of the Concessions, 331. Development of Private Plantations, 333. Retarding Influence of Limitations on Slave Trade, 335. Encouragement of Small Holdings, and Their Extent and Character, 337.

Summary, 341.

The beginnings of the three principal nuclei of colonial activity, Virginia, South Carolina, and Louisiana, serve to illustrate the processes by which the plantation system came into existence, and particularly the transition from corporate activity to individual initiative.

VIRGINIA

DEVELOPMENT OF A PLANTATION ORGANIZATION BY THE VIRGINIA COMPANY

The fact that the plantation system had its genesis in the economic organization of the early joint-stock colonization companies is illustrated particularly by the Virginia Company.

The charter granted to the London Company in 1606 reflected some of the progressive tendencies in corporate organization described in the preceding chapter, though not fully developed. According to Professor Osgood, there is no evidence that the charter created a corporation.¹ The King retained control, for the political interest was primary, and commercial interests secondary.² The colonists were to subsist out of a common store and trade during the first five years "all in one stocke or devideably, but in two or three stocks at the most, and bring not only all the fruits of their labours there, but alsoe all such other goods and commodities which shall be brought out of England, or any other place, into the same collonies, into severall magazines or store houses." Apparently, labor and capital were on the same footing. Laborers received no wages, being distinguished from the sailors, who received wages but were forbidden to engage in commercial operations.³ In the reorganization of 1609, however, the relation of labor and capital was more clearly defined. The latter was divided into equal shares of £12 10s. An ordinary colonist above the age of ten years who personally risked the dangers and hardships of the New World, was given a share of stock in addition to his shares by subscription. Persons of conse-

¹ "The Colonial Corporation," in *Political Science Quarterly*, XI, 265.

² Brown, A., *Genesis*, I, 52-63 (First Charter); Instructions for the government of the Colonies, Nov. 20, 1606, in *ibid.*, 64 *et seq.*; cf. Kingsbury, *Introduction to the Records of the Virginia Company*, 19-23.

³ Instructions of Nov. 20, 1606, in Brown's *Genesis*, I, 64-75; Neill, *Virginia Company of London*, 13.

quence who became colonists were to be rated by the council according to their importance and given correspondingly more shares. The first Colony, therefore, was a transplantation of a portion of the Company; the form of organization an industrial communism. All were to work together and to be supported by the Company for a term of five years, later changed to seven.⁴ Men of gentle blood worked side by side with the humblest and shared alike in the common store. Even officers were not exempt from working in the fields.⁵

The system of organization proved impracticable except when control was arbitrarily seized and maintained by a vigorous leader like Captain John Smith. After Smith departed for England in the Autumn of 1609, there ensued the disastrous Starving Time, when the Colony barely escaped extinction. George Percy, Smith's successor, in striving to conform closely to the plan upon which the Colony was founded, rendered even more obvious the defects of the plan.⁶ One of the colonists observed:⁷

"When our people were fedde out of the common store, and laboured jointly in the manuring of the ground, and planting corne, glad was that man that could slippe from his labour, nay the most honest of them in a generall businesse, would not take so much faithfull and true paines, in a weeke, as now he will doe in a day, . . . by which meanes we reaped not so much corne from the labours of 30 men, as three men have done for themselves."

The new charter of 1609 involved a distinct improvement, substituting a governor for the clumsy resident council and elected president, but the full possibilities of the change did not appear under the mild methods of Lord Delaware or the even more lenient policy of his successor, George Percy. When Governor Dale arrived, "most of the companie were at their daily and usuall works, bowling in the streets."⁸

Under Dale, however, the industrial organization of the Colony assumed the form of an industrial autocracy, involving the forcible control and direction of subordinate laborers. The laborers were divided into squads commanded by captains in accordance with the various functions required. Thus, something resembling a plantation system had developed out of the original equality of the communal organization. The workers were regarded less as associates in a joint enterprise and more as subordinates to be coerced into the performance of their tasks. The basis of coercion was the rigorous "Lawes Divine and Martiall"; and if we may believe Hamor, Dale's application of them was none too severe, considering the circumstances.⁹ Although theoretically the laborers were driven

⁴ Instructions, in Brown's *Genesis*, I, 71-73; Johnson, R., *Nova Britannia* (Force, Tracts, I, No. 6), p. 23. For a precedent in case of the East India Company's organization in 1600, see Scott, W. R., *Joint-Stock Companies*, II, 95.

⁵ Smith, Capt. J., *Works*, 439.

⁶ *True Declaration of the Estate of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 1), pp. 15-18.

⁷ Hamor, *True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia*, 17.

⁸ Second Charter, in Brown's *Genesis*, I, 234; Smith, Capt. J., *Works*, 502, 507 (paraphrased from Hamor, *True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia*, 26).

⁹ Dale's letter to the Council, May 25, 1611, in Brown's *Genesis*, I, 491; Strachey, *Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 2), p. 9 *et seq*; Hamor, *True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia*, 17. A different account is given in the letter of Molina to Gondomar, in Brown's *Genesis*, II, 744.

to their toil in their own interest, their taskmasters being merely associates in a joint enterprise, there are many evidences that even from the first officers fared better than common workmen, and they were among the first to have their lot alleviated by the distribution of tenancy privileges.¹⁰ Moreover, the shares were so numerous and the earnings so small that the laborer was practically receiving no more than bare subsistence. Thus, the Company had become essentially a plantation proprietor, with its affairs administered by hired representatives controlling subservient laborers.

DEVELOPMENT OF FREEHOLDS

While the economic organization was developing the features that later characterized the plantation system, other processes were bringing forth a class of free landholding farmers. Shortly after his arrival Sir Thomas Dale allotted private gardens containing three acres each to some of the colonists on a rental basis as a means of insuring a more certain food supply. Each holder must pay a yearly rental of $2\frac{1}{2}$ barrels of corn and work one month in the year for the Company, although this was not to interfere with seedtime or harvest.¹¹ Professor Osgood holds that the three-acre allotments were made in 1614 and were distinct from the private gardens,¹² and Bruce thinks the allotments were not granted for a considerable time after Dale's arrival.¹³ A passage in Dale's letter written just after his arrival seems to indicate that private gardens had been allotted before he became governor.¹⁴ Later Dale assured to every man with a family who came at his own expense a four-room house, twelve acres fenced, tools and livestock, and provisions for twelve months. This was on condition that he raise only wheat, roots, maize, and herbs, and that the family become self-sustaining after the first year. By 1616 tenants numbered nearly one third of all the male workers.¹⁵

The tenant class, however, was not entirely homogeneous. Some were subject to supervision, for we are told that the officers had "the charge and care as well over the farmors as laborers generallie . . . that both the one and the other's business may be daily followed."¹⁶ It is probable that these were tenants under indenture. On the other hand, there was a class of tenants employing servants upon their lands. This class of tenants was probably composed largely of free-men, "Suche as before Sir Thomas Dales' depart were come hither upon their owne chardges."¹⁷ Some of these tenants probably belonged to the joint-stock

¹⁰ Wingfield, *Discourse of Virginia* (Works of Capt. John Smith), p. lxxiv et seq.; Rolfe, *Relation* (Virginia Historical Register, I), 107. In one account all officers were urged to work with their men, the better to encourage them in their work. Strachey, *Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 2), pp. 44, 47, 49, 53.

¹¹ Hamor, *True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia*, 17; letter of Dale to Council in England, in Brown's *Genesis*, I, 492; Neill, *Virginia Vetusta*, 77-83.

¹² *American Colonies*, I, 75, 86.

¹³ *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 213-215.

¹⁴ Letter to the Council, May 25, 1611, in Brown's *Genesis*, I, 492.

¹⁵ Hamor, *True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia*, 19; cf. Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 215; Rolfe, *Relation* (Virginia Historical Register, I), 110.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 107.

¹⁷ Proceedings of the Virginia Assembly, 1619, in Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia*, 258.

companies set up under the auspices of the parent company. Thus, in 1616 it was the rule of the Bermuda Corporation to "admit no farmors, unles they procure . . . some of the colony men to be their servants, for whom (being no members of the corporacoun) they are to pay rent corne as other farmors of this kind . . . these are about seventeen." Furthermore, the terms of the colonists transported at the Company's cost had expired by 1616.¹⁸

Bruce holds that some of the colonists became landowners as early as 1616, basing his conclusion on a petition addressed by the assembly to the authorities in England, praying that "they would vouchsafe also that groundes as heretofore had been granted by patent to the antient Planters by former Governours that had from the Company received Commission so to doe, might not nowe after so muche labour and coste and so many yeares habitation be taken from them."¹⁹ From the suggestion of taking the lands away it seems more probable that they were held under tenant agreement.

TENDENCY OF THE COMPANY TO BECOME A PLANTATION PROPRIETOR

While the Company had sent out its earlier settlers under indenture to work out the value of their shares in the undertaking, it was but a step from this to the sending out of persons not members of the corporation to work for its profit, and therefore but a step from employing the plantation form of organization in the establishment of a colony to becoming a plantation proprietor.

At the close of Dale's administration the servant class was composed of four subclasses. The artisans were employed upon public works and in their several trades, but "maintayne themselves with food and apparrell, having time lymitted them to till and manure their ground." In Bermuda Hundred certain privileged laborers who had been promised their freedom to take effect in 1617 were allowed one day each week to look after their own crops. The most numerous class comprised those obliged to work eleven months of the year for the Company, being allowed one month for themselves. Finally, there was a class of servants employed by freeholders, some of them being hired from the Company for 2½ barrels of corn per man.²⁰

The plantation organization that had been so thoroughly reconstructed by the efficient Dale became seriously disorganized during the governorship of the pirate Argall, who appropriated the property and servants of the Company to his personal profits.²¹ The new Sandys-Southampton administration, therefore, adopted the policy of sending out numerous tenants under indenture for a number of years. The land to be operated in the interest of the Company itself was divided into four classes: 1st, twelve thousand acres set aside for the Company's own profit; 2nd, glebe land; 3rd, lands appropriated for the support of the Col-

¹⁸ Brown, A., *First Republic*, 324; Rolfe, *Relation* (Virginia Historical Register, I), 107, 109.

¹⁹ *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 221 & n.; Proceedings of the Virginia Assembly, 1619, in Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia*, 257.

²⁰ Rolfe, *Relation* (Virginia Historical Register, I), 107-110; Ballagh, *White Servitude in Virginia*, 21; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 215 *et seq.*

²¹ Letters of the Company to Argall and to Lord Delaware, in Neill, *Virginia Company of London*, 115, 118; Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, I, 266-269; II, 27.

lege and the Indian school; 4th, various tracts set aside as a source of income to maintain the public officers. To the governor's office were assigned a hundred tenants, and smaller numbers to each of the other offices.²² It was expressly provided that each officer should leave as many tenants at the close of his administration as he found at the beginning.²³ For the glebe land each hundred was to furnish three laborers, and the Company an equal number. For the college land and the Company's land special overseers were provided. The treasurer reported on May 17, 1620, that during the past year there had been sent out 360 tenants for the public lands, 90 maidens for wives, 100 boys for apprentices to the tenants, and 50 servants for the public lands. In November, 1619, he estimated the number of men on the public lands at 175.²⁴

The tenant agreement provided that the Company should defray the tenant's expenses during the first year, including transport and necessary equipment, the whole representing an outlay estimated at £16 to £20. The tenant agreed to pay one half the gross product of his labor; but this created so much dissatisfaction that in 1622 the rental per laborer was fixed at 20 bushels of grain, 60 pounds of tobacco, 1 pound of silk, and 6 days' labor on the public lands.²⁵ Although by contract the laborers on the public lands were tenants, their working status was essentially that of laborers. They were subject to the supervision of the Company's bailiffs, and a general oversight was exercised by the officers of the Colony. The tenants were usually bound to seven years' service, but some were for longer terms. Thus, the tenants assigned to the treasurer's office were to be tenants at half to "belong to the said office for ever."²⁶ As late as 1642 the assembly "released the publick tenants from their servitudes, who, like one sort of villians, anciently in England, were, regardant to the lands appropriated by the Company's Charter of Orders, for the support of the Governour and the other Officers of State."²⁷

This was the ultimate form of the plantation developed by the Company as proprietor, but the results were far short of expectations. Although Sandys had estimated the return from 300 tenants at £3,000, after three years of experimentation it was asserted that "all Tenants at halfes (the Colledge only excepted) were never able to feede themselves by their labours three moneths in y^e Yeere."²⁸ The system failed largely because of the public character of the proprietor and the difficulties of administration across three thousand miles of sea. One of the Company's overseers was accused of hiring the Company's tenants to private planters and of other dishonest practices. There was general neglect of the

²² Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, I, 268, 447, 454, 549; Smith, Capt. J., *Works*, 543.

²³ Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, I, 431, 454; Observations of John Pory, in *Works of Capt. John Smith*, 571.

²⁴ Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, I, 256, 314, 349, 352.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 220, 256, 396, 465, 476; *Declaration of the State of the Colonie and Affaires in Virginia* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 5), pp. 14-15; Smith, Capt. J., *Works*, 607-609; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 233.

²⁶ Neill, *Virginia Company of London*, 375; Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, I, 334, 402, 456, 465, 508; II, 101; Osgood, *American Colonies*, I, 82; *Declaration of the State of the Colonie and Affaires in Virginia* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 5), p. 15.

²⁷ *Extract from a Manuscript Collection of Annals relative to Virginia* (Force, Tracts, II, No. 6), p. 7.

²⁸ Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, I, 268; Neill, *Virginia Company of London*, 370.

Company's interests. In 1621 it was reported that "experience had found that the officers Tenants were cheifely reguarded and the generall Companies Tenants the more neglected." Another asserted "Those which are your tenants to halfe, are forced to row them [the officers] up and downe, whereby both you and they lose more than halfe." Moreover, the officers failed to make good, at the end of their terms, the number of men allotted to them, and the Company was not in position to repair the losses from the massacre of 1622.²⁹

DEVELOPMENT OF THE QUASI PUBLIC PLANTATIONS

As the plantation system was the method of organization by which the London Company sought to reap a profit, so also it early became the dominant type of organization for various enterprises undertaken by groups of investors, many of whom were members of the Company, to carry on undertakings for profit in Virginia. When it became clear that the finances of the Virginia Company were too greatly depleted to permit the continuance of the policy of sending out settlers at the Company's expense, Sir Edwin Sandys seized upon the expedient of encouraging the formation of subsidiary colonizing enterprises under the auspices of the Virginia Company. Some of the Company's stockholders were entitled to large quantities of land by virtue of their shares in the Company. Lord Delaware, for instance, had invested £500, and a number of others from £200 to £400. In June, 1620, there were 78 holdings above £100.³⁰ About ten years after the first settlement private stockholders began to form associations for the purpose of sending out men to work the lands to which they were entitled.³¹

The number of associations multiplied rapidly. During the year ending June, 1620, 11 patents for "particular Plantations" had been granted, and it was expected that under each patent "divers hundreds of persons" would soon be settled in Virginia.³² By April, 1623, 44 patents had been granted to persons "who have undertaken each of them to transporte one hundred men att the least."³³ Of the 72 patents granted after May, 1619, more than half were nominally granted to single individuals, most of whom undertook to transport a hundred persons or more.³⁴ Mr. Alexander Brown holds that all of these patents were granted to associates, even when only one name is mentioned.³⁵ This seems to be borne out by the words annexed to the list of shareholders in the Virginia Company: "*List of the 72 patents granted to severall persons named: all of whom have divers partners, 'whose names and severall shares we do not know.'*"³⁶

The largest of the quasi public plantations settled was Smyth's Hundred,

²⁹ Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, I, 456, 601-604; Observations of John Pory, in *Works of Capt. John Smith*, 571; letter of the Governor and Council to the Company, in Neill, *Virginia Company of London*, 280.

³⁰ *Declaration of the State of the Colonie and Affaires in Virginia* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 5), pp. 19-44.

³¹ For the earliest patents, see Brown, A., *First Republic*, 249.

³² *Declaration of the State of the Colonie and Affaires in Virginia* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 5), p. 7.

³³ *Declaration of the Present State of Virginia*, in Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, II, 350.

³⁴ Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, I-II, *passim*. Waterhouse estimated 50 for 1619-1621. *Declaration of the State of the Colony*, in Neill, *Virginia Company of London*, 336.

³⁵ *First Republic*, 628-630.

³⁶ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, p. 47.

afterwards called Southampton Hundred. It consisted of about 200,000 acres near the mouth of the Chickahominy river, and 310 persons had been sent to it by May, 1620.³⁷ Martin's Hundred contained 80,000 acres. This association sent out 250 settlers, who arrived in the Spring of 1619.³⁸ In the first assembly, which met July 30, 1619, at least six joint-stock plantations were represented specifically, and one was refused admission.³⁹

Thus, the strong and coherent joint-stock concern into which the Virginia Company developed after 1609, reverted by force of circumstances to the more primitive character of a "regulated company." In its period of greatest promise, the Company had combined in a single organization the public functions of colonization with the private function of profit-seeking, but, like most of the great colonizing enterprises of the period, its funds had been dissipated by the heavy public expenses connected with establishing a colonial nucleus. It was necessary to induce new capital to share the burden. The Virginia Company continued to carry on most of the functions of government. The quasi public associations undertook, in the hope of profits from tobacco planting and trade, to finance immigration and maintain commercial connections with their settlers.⁴⁰

The joint-stock associations appear to have exercised certain functions of local government. A refusal of the assembly to recognize the burgesses from Martin's Brandon was on the ground that the plantation was removed by its charter from the assembly's jurisdiction. Martin's special privileges seem to have resulted in making his plantation a seat of serious disorders. The charter was finally annulled, and a new one issued with the obnoxious privileges omitted.⁴¹ In February, 1620, the Company provided that the captains or leaders of such plantations should "have liberty till a forme of Government be here settled for them, Associatinge unto them divers of the gravest & discreetes of their Companies, to make Orders, Ordinances and Constitucons for the better orderinge and dyrectinge of their Servants and buisines Provided they be not Repugnant to the Lawes of England."⁴² Berkeley Hundred was granted 1,500 acres of land gratuitously in consideration of undertaking "to place preachers, build churches school houses and such like works of charity."⁴³ The corporate plantations were also units of military organization. "Everie Holy-day," wrote Captain John Smith, "everie Plantation doth exercise their men in Armes."⁴⁴

Berkeley Hundred, the records of which have been preserved, may serve to illustrate the character of these undertakings. It was a partnership com-

³⁷ Declaration of the Present State of Virginia, in Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, I, 350; Osgood, *American Colonies*, I, 84.

³⁸ Brown, A., *First Republic*, 276, 285; *idem*, *Genesis*, II, 945; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 508.

³⁹ Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia*, 249, 253, 261; *cf.* Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, I, 414; Brown, A., *First Republic*, 371.

⁴⁰ Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, I, 350; Smyth, J. (of Nibley), *Papers* (N. Y. Public Library, Bulletin, III), 160 *et seq.*

⁴¹ Virginia Company of London, *Abstract of Proceedings*, II, 14, 252.

⁴² *Idem*, *Court Book*, I, 303.

⁴³ Smyth, J. (of Nibley), *Papers* (N. Y. Public Library, Bulletin, III), 162.

⁴⁴ *Works*, 886.

prising four adventurers, each of whom, by virtue of holding shares of the Virginia Company, was entitled to a certain amount of land. Each partner could admit another to a share, but the additional partner could have no vote in determining policy. The expenses and the profits were to be equally shared by the four adventurers. By a subsidiary agreement certain persons were designated to settle by arbitration any differences. The governor of the enterprise was to receive 4 per cent of all profits. Five members of the expedition were associated with him as an advisory council. Other officers were sergeant of the company, "antient," steward of the household, usher of the hall, clerk of the kitchen, and "balyffe" of husbandry. The colonists were to work jointly and fare at a common table.⁴⁵

All the members of the Hundred except the governor were under indenture for three to eight years. Fifteen were artisans, nearly all of whom were to receive small annual wages. At the close of his indenture each colonist was to be granted from 15 to 50 acres, the majority being assigned 25 or 30 acres. Since the quitrent charged was the same as required by the London Company for all lands granted under the headright, it is probable that the lands were to be held at the end of the period of indenture free of rent to the partnership. The association also intended to employ some men as tenants at halves.⁴⁶

Evidently the plantation organization in the Berkeley Hundred was an expedient for planting the colony and for obtaining remuneration for the expense of transporting settlers by working them during the periods of their indentures. Since the quitrent merely covered the obligations of the association to the Virginia Company, there remained no permanent source of profits to the adventurers except from trade and from unimproved lands. It is probable that the association expected to derive its profits from this source and from the labor of the colonists during the period of their indentures, at the close of which new indentured servants and tenants would be shipped over, and the process continued indefinitely. The members of the organization also expected to obtain private estates in Virginia.⁴⁷ It is probable that the tenants at halves were to be employed permanently in working these subdivisions, after the manner of estates in England.

TRANSITION FROM QUASI PUBLIC TO PRIVATE PLANTATION SYSTEM

The weaknesses of the joint-stock plantations were of the same kind that proved fatal to the public plantations of the Virginia Company—namely, absentee ownership and a lack of interested supervision. A letter from the Governor and Council of Virginia to the Company, written shortly after the Massacre, clearly reveals these elements of weakness. It was suggested with regard to the stockholders in Martin's Hundred:⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Smyth, J. (of Nibley), *Papers* (N. Y. Public Library, Bulletin, III), 160-162, 165, 167-171, 210, 248, 277. For Lord Delaware's enterprise, see Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1574-1660*, p. 18.

⁴⁶ Smyth, J. (of Nibley), *Papers* (N. Y. Public Library, Bulletin, III), 210-212, 278-280, 290-292.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 170.

⁴⁸ Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, II, 487. Concerning the bad management of Martin's Brandon, see *idem*, *Abstract of Proceedings*, I, 187; similarly for Berkeley, Smyth, J. (of Nibley), *Papers* (N. Y. Public Library, Bulletin, III), 250, 294.

"To the end their badd returnes may no longer discourage them wee thinke itt the best course, both for themselves their Officers, and servants, that y^e Comaunders be agreed wth for a certaine rent yearly, for everie on by the Poll, y^t shall live undertakinge also for all publick charges and advancem^t of Staple Comodities. Men seasoned & experienced in this Countrie wilbe fittest to Comaund. . . . The like course wee could wish might be taken wth other Societies (as wee have formerly advised for y^e Companies Tenants)."

The suggestion implies that no profits were to be obtained when absentee owners in England hired superintendents to employ their laborers in the business of planting. The superintendent must be transformed into the enterpriser, paying a fixed sum to the capitalist for advancing the necessary funds—a payment in this case measured at so much per laborer. Above this fixed payment the superintendent was to reap whatever profit his ingenuity and energy might secure.

The Massacre gave a deathblow to these enterprises. In August, 1622, there remained alive on Berkeley Plantation only thirteen tenants and laborers out of about ninety sent out. In 1632 the remaining partners were involved in a suit over some of their cattle remaining in Virginia. They were urging certain private parties to take their plantation off their hands.⁴⁹ Martin's Hundred suffered very heavily by the Massacre, and a few years later the land had been acquired by private individuals. In 1627 the secretary of the Colony was ordered by the General Court to make a list of the property of Southampton Hundred, including a statement of the amount of rents paid by tenants. By 1635, however, there remained only a stock of cattle out of the £6,000 expended by the adventurers.⁵⁰

It is quite probable that a number of private individuals laid the foundations of prosperous estates on the ruins of joint-stock enterprises. In 1639 and 1641 special instructions were sent the Virginia authorities that in case any of the former owners of joint-stock plantations laid claims to their lands, they were to be assigned them in other parts of the Colony.⁵¹ Very likely there were a few private plantations before the joint-stock enterprises failed. The Virginia authorities estimated that just before the Massacre there "were neere 80 severall Plantationes and Dividends." A considerable number of them consisted of farms owned by persons who had been granted a dividend of 100 acres on the expiration of their term of service for the Company.⁵² At the close of the period of the Company the two largest owners of servants in the Colony were private planters. There were also a number of small farmers, a few of whom owned one or two servants, besides the remnants of the joint-stock establishments and the Company's plantations. The extent of plantation organization may be approximately determined from the colonial census of 1624-25. There were at that time 474

⁴⁹ Smyth, J. (of Nibley), *Papers* (N. Y. Public Library, Bulletin, III, 210-212, 250, 290-294.

⁵⁰ Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, I, 577, 580; Declaration of the State of the Colony, in Neill, *Virginia Company of London*, 336, 344, 357; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 508; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, p. 213.

⁵¹ Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 507.

⁵² Neill, *Virginia Company of London*, 370; Declaration of the State of the Colony, in *ibid.*, 336; Brown, A., *First Republic*, 374, 408.

white servants, 23 Negroes, and 3 Indian servants (Table 6),⁵³ and the servile classes were about 40 per cent of the total population.

The principal steps by which the private plantation system in early Virginia evolved from the great public colonizing companies are now evident. The attempt to unite labor and capital on an equal basis as joint undertakers having failed, the capitalist assumed the function of enterpriser, while the laborers were gradually reduced to a subordinate relationship, ultimately constituting a servile

TABLE 6.—*Owners of servants and slaves in Virginia, 1624–25, classified according to the size of the holding*¹

	Number of owners in each class	Per cent of all owners in each class	Total number of servants owned in each group	Per cent in each group of total number owned
Owning 1 servant.....	26	22.1	26	5.2
Owning 2 servants.....	22	23.0	44	8.8
Owning 3 servants.....	10	10.5	30	6.0
Owning 4 servants.....	8	8.4	32	6.4
Owning 5 servants.....	7	7.4	35	7.0
Owning 6 servants.....	5	5.2	30	6.0
Owning 7 servants.....	3	3.1	21	4.2
Owning 10 servants.....	1	1.0	10	2.0
Owning 12 servants (a).....	2	2.1	24	4.8
Owning 13 servants.....	1	1.0	13	2.6
Owning 14 servants (b).....	2	2.1	28	5.6
Owning 15 servants.....	1	1.0	15	3.0
Owning 17 servants (c).....	2	2.1	34	6.8
Owning 18 servants.....	1	1.0	18	3.6
Owning 20 servants.....	1	1.0	20	4.0
Owning 21 servants.....	1	1.0	21	4.2
Owning 23 servants.....	1	1.0	23	4.6
Owning 36 servants (d).....	1	1.0	36	7.2
Owning 40 servants (e).....	1	1.0	40	8.0

¹ For source of data in the table, see below, note 53.

Some of the particular holdings were in more than one part of the Colony. They were as follows:

- (a) Dr. John Pott had 8 on the "Maine" and 4 at James City.
- (b) Capt. Roger Smith had 10 "over ye Water" and 4 at James City.
- (c) Mr. George Sandys had 14 servants in his own name. There were 17 persons on the treasurer's estate, of which Sandys was incumbent. I think it exceedingly probable, however, that these were tenants, whether indentured or not cannot be determined. Mr. E. Blaney had 15 "over ye water" and 2 at James City.
- (d) Yeardley had 24 at James City and 12 at Hog Island.
- (e) Abraham Piersey had 36 at Piersey's Hundred and 4 at James City.

class. Large absentee corporations, though successful instruments of colonization, proved utterly futile as agencies for profitable investment. Although in

⁵³ The above statistics, as well as those given in Table 6, are derived from Hotten, *Original Lists of Emigrants to America*, 201–265; cf. also Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, Chap. I. There is a slight discrepancy in the results given above and the figures that Bruce has derived from the same source. *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 601; II, 70. He estimates that the approximate number of white servants was 465, and the total number of Negroes 22. He probably did not count a Negro child belonging to Abraham Piersey, mentioned on page 218 of Hotten's *Lists*. The discrepancy in the number of white servants is due to the difficulty of discriminating servants from tenants and freeholders. There are a number of cases in the *Lists* where it is doubtful to which class the person belonged. Another difficulty is the interpretation of the term "musters of inhabitants." In some cases a muster appears to have been merely a military group. In other cases it comprised a single family with its dependents or a partnership, being an industrial as well as a military unit. In the accompanying tables doubtful cases have been omitted.

later years it was not unusual for English capitalists to reside in the mother country and operate a colonial plantation through factor, steward, or overseer, for the most part it proved to be necessary for the enterpriser to reside in the Colony and conduct his own undertaking. When English merchants began to send their ships to the Colonies, it became possible for the individual employer to transport a relatively small number of laborers and to market his crops. Consequently, after the close of the period of Company control, the processes of colonization and the investment of capital were carried on more and more through the agency of the private plantation. Yet, in spite of the failure of the non-resident joint-stock companies, similar experiments continued to be made from time to time in other Colonies.

SOUTH CAROLINA

BEGINNINGS OF THE PLANTATION SYSTEM

The economic life of eastern South Carolina in the early decades was the product of two differing phases of colonization. On the one hand, there were numerous immigrants with little or no money capital, who came not primarily as investors but rather to establish homes as small freeholders. This class was recruited from the artisans and yeomen of England, Virginia, New England, New York, and the Bermudas, and included also some of the small farmers of the West Indies who were gradually being crowded out by the development of large-scale sugar plantations.⁵⁴ On the other hand, there was the plantation phase of colonization promoted by persons of capital from the West Indies or England who sought to establish estates. Furthermore, while the early development of the plantation system in Virginia and Maryland was based largely on indentured servitude,⁵⁵ the predominance of West Indian plantation elements in early South Carolina gave greater emphasis to slavery. In some degree also capitalism entered into the settlement of small farmers, some of whom obtained advances to defray initial expenses for transport and equipment, sometimes on the security of their labor as indentured servants.

Both of these methods were employed in sending out from England the first expedition to Ashley River. The personnel consisted of a number of free adventurers, each of whom was transporting at his own expense servants or other dependents, varying from two to eleven. There were also thirteen free persons who took no servants.⁵⁶ The commander was ordered to stop by Ireland and endeavor to procure twenty or twenty-five servants to be employed on the private plantation projected by three of the Proprietors. Because of the ill repute of the servant trade to the West Indies, the commander was obliged to sail in September, 1669, without the desired number.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 203, 240-245, 255, 267, 301, 329 & n., 352, 355, 386, 464; cf. McCrady, *South Carolina under the Proprietary Government*, 180.

⁵⁵ See Chap. XVI.

⁵⁶ *Shaftesbury Papers* (S. C. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, V), 134-136. For itemized expenses of each ship, names and pay of crew, etc., see *ibid.*, 137-152.

⁵⁷ South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 152-155.

It is probable that while some of the persons who brought servants or later sent them out furnished their supplies and expense of transport, the majority were operating on credit furnished by the Proprietors, who also supplied credit to a number of needy persons who went as free adventurers.⁵⁸ In 1674 the Proprietors were beginning to get restive under the burden, and wrote that they were tired of sending supplies and receiving small tangible returns. Nevertheless, they were compelled to continue this policy, probably until 1677. In May, 1674, they made a special agreement among themselves that each would contribute £100 annually for seven years toward sending out supplies, but only provided the colonists drew up a rational plan for reimbursement, indicating definitely what products they would send in return.⁵⁹ In 1677 the Proprietors again wrote the governor and council that the colonists need not wait for supplies "if you would make a rational proposal how they would be paid for."⁶⁰ On the other hand, the colonists pointed out that whereas they had assumed the indebtedness in order to transport and equip themselves as individuals, most of their time during the first two years had been employed in the common work of building fortifications and public buildings, in exploration, and in military duty, all of which activities were for the purpose of establishing the Colony.⁶¹ It is probable that within a short time private trade began to develop and that the Proprietors had ceased to assume primary responsibility for supplying the Colony.

Some of the Proprietors were interested in establishing plantations on their own account. Three of them had formed an association for the purpose and had arranged to send out thirty settlers. The governor was instructed to select a tract of 150 acres for each of the thirty servants. The associates suggested that the tract contain the principal kinds of soil in that part of the country for purposes of experimentation. Houses were to be built for the servants and so located that on the subsequent division of the land (at the end of the terms of service) each man might have a share of the buildings on his allotted tract. The instructions indicate that the Proprietors intended to use their plantation as a center for trade with the Indians and for the trial of various crops, and provision was also made for obtaining some livestock from Barbados and Virginia.⁶² This enterprise does not appear to have fulfilled the expectations of its promoters. In the early Spring of 1672 Governor West reported that because of drouth he had not succeeded in raising sufficient provisions to supply the laborers. Only forty acres had been cleared. The servants' time was about to expire, and there was apparently no force to replace them. In 1675 the Proprietors offered their plantation to the Governor in part payment of arrears of salary.⁶³

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 123, 127-129.

⁵⁹ South Carolina, *Journal of the Grand Council*, 1671-1680, pp. 34, 59; South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, I, 99; V, 210-213, 354, 368, 431-435, 447; cf. *ibid.*, 466-468.

⁶⁰ Letter of Apr. 10, 1677, in Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1677-1680, p. 59.

⁶¹ Governor and Council to the Proprietors, Mar. 16, 1670, in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 287-289.

⁶² Instructions to West, in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 125-129.

⁶³ South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 387; South Carolina, *Journal of the Grand Council*, 1671-1680, p. 76.

In 1674 Lord Shaftesbury undertook to establish a large estate of his own on Locke Island to constitute a "signory." His lordship sent out a manager and a shipload of servants and supplies. Apparently he employed the plantation form of organization to establish a large demesne farm for maintaining 300 or 400 head of cattle, producing various crops, and serving as headquarters for trade with the Indians and with other Colonies. His ultimate aim, however, was a manorial estate occupied by tenants in the status of leetmen.⁶⁴

EARLY PRIVATE PLANTATION UNDERTAKINGS

In addition to the plantation undertakings of the Proprietors there were a number of other plantation ventures during the early years. Orders concerning military defense issued in June, 1672, indicate that the colonists were settled in a number of small plantation units, ranging in size up to about twelve men.⁶⁵ In November, 1670, Captain Brayne, who had commanded the *Carolina*, reported that he had established a plantation, on which were a few head of livestock, "one lusty negro man, 3 cristian servants and an oversear." He proposed to increase his force to 30 hands.⁶⁶ A number of plantation undertakings were being organized from Barbados. Brayne and his associates were preparing to finance a group of about 18; one Captain Godfrey was to take out 5 men; a Captain Gray, overseer to Sir John Yeamans, had formed a partnership with one Foster and was going out with "10 able men; the most part Carpenters and Sayars [sawyers];" a merchant, Mr. Stroud, had formed a partnership for sending out about 20 hands; while Sir John Yeamans had "provided a great many that will in a short time be ready." The articles of partnership between Foster and Gray throw considerable light on the character of one type of these early enterprises. Foster furnished the major portion of the capital, while Gray was contributing his experience as an overseer and practical planter in the active direction of the project.⁶⁷

During the next few years the records indicate a number of other plantation projects. Thus, in 1672 land was set aside for one Thomas Lane, who had undertaken to settle 20 persons. In 1675 Seth Sothel was granted a manor of 12,000 acres on condition that within five years he build a town of not less than 30 houses and settle at least 120 people. In 1677 the Proprietors granted 2,000 acres to Dr. Henry Woodward, the explorer, who undertook to settle 20 persons, and 600 acres to one Robert Smith, who proposed to establish 6 persons. In the same year the widow of Sir John Yeamans sought an injunction against the transport of 14 slaves belonging to her husband's estate. In 1680 two manors of 3,000 acres each were granted on condition of settling "over forty able persons" on each manor within three years.⁶⁸ Furthermore, the abstracts of land grants

⁶⁴ Shaftesbury's Instructions for Andrew Percivall, May 23, 1674, in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 439-445. See also Chap. XVII.

⁶⁵ South Carolina, *Journal of the Grand Council*, 1671-1680, p. 36.

⁶⁶ Brayne to Ashley, Nov. 9, 1670, in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 215.

⁶⁷ South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 216, 222, 226-232, 253 & n.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 469; South Carolina, *Journal of the Grand Council*, 1671-1680, pp. 43, 81; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1677-1680, pp. 61, 525.

from 1674 to 1685 inclusive,⁶⁹ although there is a possibility that they are not complete, indicate that while grants of less than 300 acres were in the majority, there were a considerable number ranging up to 1,000 acres. There were also nine grants from 1,000 to 3,000 acres in size. There was a grant of 12,000 acres to the Earl of Shaftesbury, while Sir Peter Colleton received grants totaling 35,843 acres.

In general the Proprietors appear to have favored the establishment of large estates, although it is doubtful if it was their aim to develop the plantation system on the basis of Negro slavery. Rather, it appears to have been their purpose to send out white servants who would ultimately become tenants on large estates. It is true, they recognized the necessity of employing small holders in the beginning. At one time, by reason of impatience with the grasping and improvident policy of Sir John Yeamans, the Proprietors even expressed their great impatience with the Barbadian element, and their approval of the small freeholders "from New York and the Northward," who "by their planting and way of living amongst you fully Satisfied us that they are Friends to and doe in earnest meane and desire the Settlement and prosperity of our Province."⁷⁰ This was merely a temporary vexation. In December, 1671, Ashley wrote that he was glad to hear that men of substance were coming to the Colony, for he was tired of the other kind. In 1675 he declared that nothing would contribute so much "to the growth and prosperity of the Plantacon as that men of Estate should come to settle amongst you."⁷¹

EXTENT OF PLANTATION ORGANIZATION ABOUT 1710

About 1710, as we have noted, eastern South Carolina was a region of rude abundance and diversified economy, just emerging from pioneer conditions. Rice was becoming a staple,⁷² but paralleled by herding, lumbering, and Indian trade—activities connected with a pioneer type of plantation organization. Plantation economy was much less specialized than later, and much less dependent on other regions for food supplies, clothing, and other articles. Few planters were wealthy, and luxurious modes of living were just beginning to be manifested, as suggested by the importation of Madeira wine.⁷³ There was a small aristocratic element, striving more or less successfully to fulfill the extravagant requirements of the Grand Model, but the majority of the plantations were still on a small scale. In 1694 an assessment of one of the most prosperous parishes showed that the largest estate (that of Landgrave Thomas Smith) was valued at only £4,435. The next largest was valued at £4,003. In the majority of cases values were measured by hundreds, instead of by thousands, of pounds.⁷⁴ As late as 1724,

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 1675–1676, pp. 305, 524; 1677–1680, pp. 199, 312, 464, 644; 1681–1685, pp. 178, 366, 573.

⁷⁰ Proprietors to Governor and Council, May 18, 1674, in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 436.

⁷¹ South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 361, 364, 469.

⁷² See above, Chap. III.

⁷³ See Chap. III. Cf. Poyas, *Olden Time of Carolina*, 36; Ravenel, D., "Historical Sketch of the Huguenot Congregations of South Carolina," in Huguenot Soc. of S. C., *Transactions*, No. 7, p. 39; Newe, *Letters from South Carolina* (American Historical Review, XII), 323.

⁷⁴ Poyas, *Olden Time of Carolina*, 36–37.

according to Hewatt, the "white inhabitants lived frugally, . . . and, except a little rum and sugar, tea and coffee, were contented with what their plantations afforded."⁷⁵

About 1710 Thomas Nairne wrote specific directions concerning the costs and methods of establishing a small and a large plantation, which suggests some characteristics of the two types of economy as follows:⁷⁶

"2 Negro Slaves, 40£ each	80£
4 Cows and Calves, 1£. 5s. each	5
4 Sows, 15s. each. A Canoe 3£.	6
A Steel Mill, or Pair of Querns,	3
Axes, Hoes, Wedges, Hand-saws, Hammers, and other Tools,	2
200 Acres of Land 4£. Survey and other Charges 2£.	6
A small House for the first Year or two,	8
Corn, Pease, Beef, Pork, &c. for the first Year,	14
Expences and Contingencies,	26
	<hr/> 150£

"This Calculation is made in the Money of the Province, which is just 100£ Sterling.

"The Things mention'd here are of Necessity to one who would settle with any tolerable Decency. And from this small Begining, by moderate Industry, accompanied with the Blessing of Heaven, a Man may get a competent Estate, and live very handsomly. But there are many who settle without any Slaves at all, but labour themselves.

"Here follows an Account of what is necessary to settle an Estate of 300£ *per Annum*, with the Value of the Particulars, as they are most commonly sold there.

"30 Negroes, 15 Men and 15 Women, 40£ each,	1200£
20 Cows and Calves, 1£ 5s. each	25
2 Mares, 1 Stone-horse, 10£ each, 6 Sows and a Boar 6£	36
1000 Acres of Land, 20£. Survey and other necessary Charges 7£.	27
A large Periagoe 20£. a small Canoe 2£. a Steel Mill 4£.	26
10 Ewes and a Ram 7£. 3 dozen Axes 6£.	13
Hoes, Hatchets, Broad Axes, Nails, Saws, Hammers, Wedges, Maul Rings, a Frœe, and other necessary Tools,	23
Ploughs, Carts, with their Chains and Irons,	10
A small House for the first Year or two, afterwards a Kitchen,	20
300 Bushels of <i>Indian</i> Corn and Pease, at 2s. 6d. <i>per</i> Bushel, with some Beef, Pork, &c. for the first Years Provision,	50
Expences and Contingencies,	70
	<hr/> Total 1500£

"This Sum of *Carolina* Money being reduc'd to Sterling, makes 1000£.

"The 30 Negroes begining to work in *September* or *October*, will clear 90 Acres of Land, plant and hoe it; half of which, that is 45 Acres, sowed with Rice, will, after the common Computation, yield 1000 Weight an Acre, which sold at 15s. a hundred, the the middle Price, amounts to 337£ 10s. The other 45 Acres are to be sowed with

⁷⁵ *South Carolina and Georgia*, I, 308.

⁷⁶ *Letter from South Carolina*, 49, 52-54.

Indian Corn, Pease, Pompions, Potatoes, Melons, and other Eatables, for the Use of the Family."

"If any one designs to make a Plantation, in this Province, out of the Woods, the first thing to be done is, after having cutt down a few Trees, to split Palissades, or Clapboards, and therewith make small Houses or Huts, to shelter the Slaves. After that, whilst some Servants are clearing the Land, others are to be employed in squaring or sawing Wall-plats, Posts, Rafters, Boards and Shingles, for a small House for the Family, which usually serves for a Kitchin afterwards, when they are in better Circumstances to build a larger. During the Time of this Preparation, the Master Overseer, or white Servants, go every Evening to the next Neighbour's House, where they are lodg'd and entertain'd kindly, without any Charges. And if the Person have any Wife or Children, they are commonly left in some Friend's House, till a suitable dwelling Place and Conveniencies are provided, fit for them to live decently.

"The properest Time to begin a Settlement is in *September*, or, at farthest, before the first of *December*. The time between that and the first of *March* is spent in cutting down and burning the Trees, out of the Ground, design'd to be sowed that Year, splitting Rails, and making Fences round the Corn Ground, and Pasture. The smallest Computation usually made is, that each labouring Person will, in this Time, clear three Acres fit for Sowing.

"In the second Fall, or Winter, after a Plantation is settled, they make Gardens, plant Orchards, build Barns, and other convenient Houses. The third or fourth Winter, Persons of any Substance provide Brick, Lime, or other Materials, in order to build a good House. The Lime here is all made of Oister-shells, burnt with Wood; of these there is great Plenty lying in and by all Creeks and Rivers, in great Heaps or Beds, where large Boats are loaden at low Water."

The life of the poorer classes is suggested in a letter written in 1711 by a woman, apparently a widow, endeavoring to gain a foothold by keeping boarders:⁷⁷

"... & now my hand is in I care not if I tell y^u our diet first I begin wth breake a dish y^u meet not wth in England it is Indian Corn ground upon a steel mill & boiled stiff, & eaten with milk it is called homony y^t is y^e most plentyfull food in y^e Countrey, salt Beef but very little muttons or indeed fresh meat & y^t nine pence a pound, & y^t w^{ch} is y^e greatest punishment of all to me is y^e drinking almost allways water, for we cannot afford wine it is dear, ... here is good incouragement for handy crafts men or for husband men that can manage y^e Land & get a few slaves & can beat y^m well to make them work hard, here is no living here wthout, I am not yet worth one they are sold for fifty pound a head, I have one I hire for twelve pound a year to do my work & a White girl I have taken prentice for 3 years, ... all sorts of English goods sell well here a 150 or 200 p. Cent., ... you need only direct for me in South Carolina & I shall have it,

"P.S.

"I have increased my lodgers or boarders to seventeen & wth very hard strugling compassed half a dozen Cows, & purchased a Negroe man w^{ch} cost me 55 pound."

About 1704 Oldmixon wrote concerning the yeoman class:⁷⁸

"This Country is in a very flourishing Condition; the Families are very large, in some are 10 or 12 Children; ... The Children are set to Work at 8 Years old. The

⁷⁷ British Museum, *Sloane Manuscripts*, 3338, ff. 33-36 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

⁷⁸ *British Empire*, I, 380.

ordinary Women take care of Cows, Hogs, and other small Cattle, make butter and Cheese, spin Cotton and Flax, help to sow and reap Corn, wind Silk from the Worms, gather Fruit and look after the House."

Statistics of population at various times up to about 1710 indicate the steady growth of the Province and the development of the plantation system, as shown by the proportion of slaves. In January, 1672, the population consisted of 268 men able to bear arms, 69 women, and 59 persons under sixteen years. By the Spring of 1675 the population had increased to 500 or 600. About 1680 there was a large immigration from the northern Colonies, the West Indies, England, and Ireland, besides about 40 Huguenots. By 1682 the population numbered 4,000.⁷⁹ In 1696 "great numbers" of northern planters had come, and more were expected. In the Spring of 1699 there were in all about "1100 families English and French," the latter numbering 438.⁸⁰ In 1707 the population was reported in detail as follows:⁸¹

Free men.....	1360
Free women.....	900
White servants, men.....	60
White servants, women.....	60
White free children.....	1700
Negro men, slaves.....	1800
Negro women, slaves.....	1100
Indian men, slaves.....	500
Indian women, slaves.....	600
Negro children, slaves.....	1200
Indian children, slaves.....	300
Total.....	9580

Although the white population was still not greatly exceeded by the slaves, forces were at work to increase the disparity. During the past five years there had been a decrease in number of freemen "by reason of the late sickness" and small immigration. The number of indentured men servants had decreased by 50, and of white women servants by 30. There had been an increase of 500 in the number of white children and a large increase of Negro slaves and of Indian slaves.⁸²

One of the things that were beginning to distinguish South Carolina from the plantation Colonies previously settled was the early development of a city, toward which the economic and social currents of colonial life tended to converge. The lack of deep estuaries running far into the country, such as characterized Virginia and Maryland, early tended to concentrate the entire trade at Charleston, and the unhealthfulness of the swampy country used for rice plantations induced the wealthier planters to spend a part of the year at their metropolis. Thus, there

⁷⁹ South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 382 & nn., 467; Newe, *Letters from South Carolina* (American Historical Review, XII), 324; Ash, *Carolina*, and Wilson, *Account of Carolina* (both in Salley, *Narratives*), 143, and 167.

⁸⁰ Salley, *Commissions and Instructions . . . to Public Officials of South Carolina*, 92; South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, I, 210; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1699, p. 107.

⁸¹ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1292, p. 166 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1708-1709, p. 466.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 466.

was very early an interaction of urban and rural life which influenced the character of economic and social development.⁸³ About 1700 Lawson wrote:⁸⁴

"The Town has very regular and fair Streets, in which are good Buildings of Brick and Wood, and since my coming thence, has had great Additions of beautiful, large Brick-buildings . . . They have a considerable Trade both to *Europe* and the *West Indies*, whereby they become rich, and are supply'd with all Things necessary for Trade, and genteel Living, which several other Places fall short of. Their co-habiting in a Town, has drawn to them ingenious People of most Sciences, whereby they have Tutors amongst them that educate their Youth a-la-mode."

From this time forward the expansion of the rice industry stimulated the rapid development of a plantation economy and of social and economic conditions in severe contrast to those prevailing during the period just described, differentiating the life of the Colony to an even greater degree from that of North Carolina, and even of Virginia and Maryland.

LOUISIANA

ORIGIN OF THE PLANTATION SYSTEM IN THE CONCESSIONS

In Louisiana the plantation system had its beginnings in the so-called concessions, or large grants to individuals or companies for the planting of local colonies. Although some of the concessions had been granted before Louisiana was transferred to the *Compagnie d'Occident*, they had been few in number, and up to 1717 but few slaves had been introduced. During the five years 1718-1722, however, there was great activity in the establishment of concessions. As a general policy they were given land grants in proportion to the number of persons introduced, the larger ones being usually about four leagues square.⁸⁵

The first of the concessions located in the Colony under the new régime was that belonging to M. Paris du Vernay, under the direction of M. Dubuisson. According to Pénicaud, it comprised 29 persons, but La Harpe says 60. The principal aim was the culture and manufacture of silk.⁸⁶ Next came the concession of M. de Mueys, under the direction of his two nephews, with 2 other freemen and 80 laborers and servants, who were located at the site of the old Tensas village. In the same year came the two brothers Brossart, merchants of the city of Lyons, who were granted a concession on Red River, probably with the object of trade supplemented by agriculture. La Harpe brought 25 persons to establish a settlement 100 leagues above Natchitoches. M. de la Houssaye, a gentleman of Picardy, came with 15 persons for a concession near the present site of Natchez. M. de Chantous, M. Le Page du Pratz, and M. Legras each brought 8 persons to settle at Chapitoulas, above New Orleans.⁸⁷ In the Spring

⁸³ McCrady, *South Carolina under the Proprietary Government*, 5-7.

⁸⁴ *Carolina*, 2.

⁸⁵ *French Manuscripts: Mississippi Valley* (La. Hist. Soc., Publications, IV), 31; Charlevoix, *Voyage to North America*, II, 190; Gravier, H., *Colonisation de la Louisiane*, 8.

⁸⁶ Pénicaud, *Annals of Louisiana* (French, Hist. Collections, new series), 140; La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 142.

⁸⁷ Pénicaud, *Annals of Louisiana* (French, Hist. Collections, new series), 140. Cf. La Harpe's account, which says that the La Houssaye concession comprised 70 persons, that of La Harpe himself 60, while there were 6 other small concessions each of 12 to 15 men. *Journal Historique*, 143; cf. Gravier, H., *Colonisation de la Louisiane*, 47-49.

of 1719 came M. de Montplaisir with 30 persons to establish a tobacco manufactory near the Natchez villages, and an Irish gentleman adventurer brought 60 men to establish a concession on the Ouachita river. M. Cartier de Beaume, procureur-general, brought his family and 30 persons to settle on Bayou St. Johns, near New Orleans, while the Messieurs Pellerin and Bellecourt brought a number to settle near the Natchez. In the Fall of the same year arrived a force of 250 miners sent out on the Company's account to develop the mineral resources of the upper Mississippi.⁸⁸ In the Spring of 1720 M. Hubert, director general of the Colony, went with his family and 60 laborers to the Natchez region. The land extended into the prairies, which he plowed up and sowed to wheat. He erected a grist mill, a forge, and machine shops to manufacture arms and agricultural implements. In September, 1720, came two vessels with 240 persons for the concession of M. Laure, with provisions for this concession and that of M. Diron d'Artaguiette.⁸⁹

The great activity of the concessionaires came in the next two years. Whereas the earlier enterprises appear to have been promoted largely by merchants or the small gentry, the later ones enlisted the support of the nobility, who, under the spell of John Law, planned enterprises on a greater scale. Law himself projected a grand concession sixteen leagues square on the Arkansas river. The project reflected the grotesque expectations and conceptions of the possibilities of the country which characterized many of these enterprises. For the purpose of settling his concession, Law purchased 12,000 Germans from one of the German princes, the first instalment of whom arrived in October, 1719.⁹⁰ Several hundred Negroes were also purchased. Law planned to build a large city, "to establish manufactures, to keep on hand a great number of vessels and troops and to found a dutchy." Within the year before his fall he had sent goods to his Colony costing 1,500,000 francs, including such absurdities as "superb equipment and arms for two hundred cavalymen."⁹¹

The collapse of John Law's "system" occurred in the early Fall of 1720, but the news did not reach the Colony until February, 1721, and for many months ships continued to arrive with large numbers of settlers and great stores of provisions, many of which were sent before the bubble had been punctured. Thus, in November came 60 persons for the concession of the Duc de Guiche and others of the company of De Montmort, 186 in all. At the same time came the personnel for the concession of Sainte Reine, directed by Messieurs Sécard and Taibain. In December 250 arrived for the concession of M. Le Blanc, minister of war,⁹² and the following month came 300 more for the concessions of M. Le Blanc and Count Belleville on the Yazoo river and for those of Mme. Mézières on the Bay of St. Louis and of Mme. Chaumont on Pascagoula Bay.⁹³ A few

⁸⁸ Pénicaut, *Annals of Louisiana* (French, Hist. Collections, new series), 146, 150.

⁸⁹ La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 234.

⁹⁰ Pénicaut, *Annals of Louisiana* (French, Hist. Collections, new series), 151; cf. Heinrich, *Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes*, 30.

⁹¹ Letter from Father Poisson to the Jesuit Father Patouillet, in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, II, 172.

⁹² La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 235-237; Pénicaut, *Annals of Louisiana* (French, Hist. Collections, new series), 159.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 157. La Harpe says they were for the concessions of Mézières and of Chaumont. *Journal Historique*, 239.

days later 60 persons arrived for the concession of the Marquis d'Ancenis at the village of the Houmas. In March came 40 Germans for Law's concession on the Arkansas, all that were left of 200 who had embarked from France. In June another vessel brought 330 passengers, mostly Germans for Law's concession.⁹⁴ Thus, for several years a continuous succession of ships had brought thousands of persons on the account of the various concessionaires. Furthermore, the Company had brought in many hundreds of slaves and white immigrants with necessary supplies, who had been distributed on credit among the private concessions.⁹⁵

The concessions were evidently large-scale enterprises resembling the joint-stock companies fostered by the Virginia Company, although by no means all were stock companies. They were in the nature of subcolonies established at widely separated localities, and therefore compelled to assume some responsibility for self-protection and local self-government. In economic character they were large plantation organizations composed of indentured servants and slaves, with a few free administrative officials. Several of the concessions made a substantial beginning. In 1722 the two concessions of St. Catherine produced 2,000 quarters of grain and 1,000 hogsheads of tobacco.⁹⁶ One of the most successful was the concession of M. Paris du Vernay at Bayou Goulas, which was fortunate in having an enterprising and efficient manager, M. Dubuisson. By 1722 the settlement had made substantial progress in cultivating tobacco and indigo, and had produced some silk of fine quality.⁹⁷ The concession at Chapitoulas, three leagues above New Orleans, though somewhat larger, with 100 whites and 48 slaves, was fortunate in having excellent land and in being manned largely by Canadians accustomed to the wilderness. In 1721 the concession produced a large supply of provisions, and by 1724 was considered the most advanced of all the settlements.⁹⁸ Several concessions were fortunate in having a good deal of prairie or open meadow and escaped the onerous task of clearing.

FAILURE OF THE CONCESSIONS

The careers of most of the concessions were short, and their accomplishments feeble. In large measure this was due to mismanagement by the Company. Through delays in providing shipping, thousands died from contagious diseases and famine before they could embark. Although the Company sent out ships and engineers to explore and thoroughly sound the passes of the Mississippi and to dredge some of the bars, it was not until the end of 1720 that the entrance was found navigable for larger vessels. Consequently many of the colonists sent by concessionaires were landed on Dauphin Island, and for lack of sufficient

⁹⁴ Pénicaut, *Annals of Louisiana* (French, Hist. Collections, new series), 157; La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 244, 251.

⁹⁵ Pénicaut, *Annals of Louisiana* (French, Hist. Collections, new series), 146, 154, 159.

⁹⁶ Artaguiette, *Journal* (Mereness, Travels), 21.

⁹⁷ Beer, W., "Early Census Tables of Louisiana," in La. Hist. Soc., *Publications*, V, 94, 97; Charlevoix, *Voyage to North America*, II, 214; letter of Father Poisson, in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LXVII, 297.

⁹⁸ Charlevoix, *Voyage to North America*, II, 217; Beer, W., "Early Census Tables of Louisiana," in La. Hist. Soc., *Publications*, V, 96; letter of Father Poisson, in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LXVII, 281; La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 375.

small boats to carry them to their assigned locations were compelled to remain inactive for months, consuming the supplies intended to maintain them while establishing themselves on the land. More than half of them perished from famine and disease. The Company was even compelled to seize some of the supplies of the concessionaires for its own employees. These circumstances dealt a mortal blow to some of the enterprises.⁹⁹

The character of the colonists sent out from France was an important cause of failure. Although all France was interested in the speculation, but few freemen were willing to adventure their persons. The Company and the concessionaires were forced to take smugglers, criminals released from prison, prostitutes, vagabonds, scapegrace sons of good family, and persons kidnapped.¹⁰⁰ Few of the settlers were experienced in agriculture and the mechanic arts. Thus, in July, 1721, the director of the large concession of the St. Malo society, numbering probably 200 persons, wrote his stockholders, "I have no locksmiths, edge-tool makers nor long sawyers: I cannot do without them and those whom you will send must be ready to show their trade to the negroes. . . . We are in absolute need of five or six persons who can tame oxen and know how to plough, and a like number of good mowers." Even the slaves introduced were newly imported savages, unacquainted with civilized methods of life and work. Nevertheless, it was soon recognized that the concessions would succeed best with slaves, who were better suited for the severe work of constructing levees and clearing land than the majority of the whites.¹⁰¹

The failure of the concessions, as in the case of the joint-stock companies of Virginia, was attributable also to their unwieldy size and lack of adaptability to the conditions of the wilderness. The craze for speculation and the grotesque conceptions in France concerning conditions in Louisiana had resulted in enterprises of excessive magnitude. The deluded investors expected to achieve overnight a degree of progress that had required centuries in Europe.¹⁰² Since most of the concessions started with little or no cleared land, the terms of their servants, representing heavy capital expenditures, had expired before a substantial return could be achieved. Many of the managers were wholly inexperienced in the New World, although a few were capable men.¹⁰³ The deathblow to a number of concerns was given by the collapse of the speculative bubble and the consequent cutting off of supplies.

Like their prototypes, the Virginia joint-stock companies, the concessions

⁹⁹ Artaguiette, *Journal* (Merens, Travels), 19; Franquet de Chaville, *Voyage en Louisiane* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, IV), 118; Beer, W., "Early Census Tables of Louisiana," in *La. Hist. Soc., Publications*, V, 97, 101; La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 237, 261; cf. Heinrich's detailed account, *Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes*, 18-21, 43; Gravier, H., *Colonisation de la Louisiane*, 73. See also excerpt from a letter written by M. Faucond du Manoir, July 18, 1721, translated from the Book of Louisiana Concessions by Heloise H. Cruzat, in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, II, 165.

¹⁰⁰ Champigny, *Memoir of Louisiana* (French, Hist. Collections, V), 131; Gravier, H., *Colonisation de la Louisiane*, 35-37; Villiers du Terrage, "Foundation of New Orleans," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, III, 214; Heinrich, *Louisiane sous le Compagnie des Indes*, 32.

¹⁰¹ Letter of M. Faucond du Manoir, July 18, 1721, in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, II, 166-169; Artaguiette, *Journal* (Merens, Travels), 22, 45; Beer, W., "Early Census Tables of Louisiana," in *La. Hist. Soc., Publications*, V, 96.

¹⁰² Letter of Father Poisson, in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LXVII, 281.

¹⁰³ Gravier, H., *Colonisation de la Louisiane*, 75; Artaguiette, *Journal* (Merens, Travels), 21.

demonstrated the futility of trying to establish agricultural projects on a large scale by enterprisers dwelling across the sea; but, like the Virginia companies, the period of their activity was not without beneficial results. The population of the Colony had been largely increased, amounting by 1724 to 5,000 persons, including 1,300 Negroes.¹⁰⁴ Large stores of tools, munitions, and livestock had been introduced. Permanent centers of settlement had been established in various parts of the Colony. Lands had been cleared, drained, and protected against overflow, and considerable progress made in the development of agriculture.

DEVELOPMENT OF PRIVATE PLANTATIONS

As in Virginia, the plantation system under private initiative evolved out of the wreckage of the quasi public colonization enterprises. Shrewd and capable men, experienced in the conditions of the wilderness, proceeded to employ the land, the physical equipment, and the labor supply—especially the slaves—in the development of successful private plantations. Thus, Governor Bienville had been granted immense tracts, but a decree from Paris in 1719 had forbidden important officials from owning plantations. The shrewd Bienville evaded this by renting his lands to planters and to numerous small holders from the wreckage of some of the concessions.¹⁰⁵

While a number of private plantations were thus built up, the development of the plantation system was not rapid until near the close of the colonial period, when it was stimulated by the increasing influence of Anglo-Saxon merchants and settlers and by the new staples, cotton and sugar. During the colonial period the plantation system developed principally between New Orleans and Pointe Coupée, but even within this district there were some small holdings, especially on the German and Acadian “coasts.” As late as 1802 the region along the Mississippi, south of Pointe Coupée, contained “three-fourths of the population, and seven eighths of the riches of Louisiana.”¹⁰⁶

As in early South Carolina and Georgia, the plantation economy was characterized by a much greater degree of self-sufficiency and correspondingly less commercialism than was the case after the introduction of cotton and sugar. The mode of life was frugal and temperate, more easy-going, and in many respects more comfortable for master and slave, than in the later period.¹⁰⁷ In 1777 Bartram observed:¹⁰⁸

“The French here [near Pointe Coupée] are able, ingenious and industrious planters: they live easy and plentifully, and are far more regular and commendable in the enjoyment of their earnings than their neighbours the English: their dress of their own manufactures, well wrought and neatly made.”

¹⁰⁴ La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 375.

¹⁰⁵ Cruzat, “Sidelights on Louisiana History,” in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, I, No. 3, p. 123.

¹⁰⁶ United States, President Jefferson, *Account of Louisiana*, 8.

¹⁰⁷ Pittman, *European Settlements on the Mississippi*, 34; Bossu, *Travels through Louisiana*, I, 35; United States, President Jefferson, *Account of Louisiana*, 5; Gordon, H., *Journal* (Mereness, Travels), 482.

¹⁰⁸ *Travels*, 428, 432.

In the Natchez settlement, where the planters produced tobacco, indigo, and a little cotton for export, they also maintained large herds of cattle and hogs, produced their own corn, butter, poultry, and honey, and made a great part of their own clothing. Herbs and roots for medicines and dyes, such as "rhubarb, ginger, pimento, madder, saffron, hops, the opium poppy, and many others . . . were grown in the gardens. Many planters tanned their own leather, Shoes were . . . made on the plantations, . . . Gentlemen and ladies were clad in home-spun. Even the bridle reins, girths and saddle-cloths were made at home."¹⁰⁹

An Arcadian simplicity and wholesomeness of existence prevailed. Concerning the small planters who predominated in this region Bouligny wrote in 1776:¹¹⁰

"Their industry and diligence are not less, because it is rare to see a father of a family who does not have the best books about agriculture and the exploitation of timber and lumber. There are few houses of which the furniture has not been made by the owners themselves, and the men of means do not disdain to pass entire days handling a plow, in the mill, in the carpenter shop or the blacksmith shop.

"In all other countries, the men who devote themselves to cultivation of the fields are mere day-laborers, in general, and the owners of important plantations disdain the knowledge and the details of husbandry. In this country, on the contrary, there is a noble and worthy pride, since the greatest praise that can be given to a young man is to call him a good planter, that is to say, a man who understands the labors of the fields. The ladies themselves distinguish and praise the most intelligent and the most diligent, a policy sufficiently strong to make this country reach the highest perfection. The Creoles are not satisfied with theory only, but with daily practice, without having that rudeness which is brought about generally by the heavy labors of the fields. They leave the plow which they have been handling for hours to offer their hand to a lady to help her across the furrows that they themselves have opened. Foreigners admire the elegance of their manners and the good sense with which they reason on all subjects."

As compared with the princely planters of a later generation, even the wealthy planters of the colonial period would rank (economically speaking) only as middle-class planters.¹¹¹ In 1744, for instance, Governor Vaudreuil wrote a description of a plantation about one league from New Orleans which he had just purchased, apparently considering it an extensive undertaking. It cost him 30,000 livres, and consisted of 180 arpents in cultivation, stocked with 34 slaves, 57 oxen and cows, and as many sheep.¹¹² In 1763 one of the large plantations, the De Noyan estate, was appraised at 204,930 francs par value in France.¹¹³

Elsewhere in Louisiana the plantation system was hardly the most prevalent form of organization, although there were a good many plantations in some areas, particularly above New Orleans. About Mobile were a number of plantations devoted mainly to lumbering and herding. In 1766 one of these estates comprised 1,000 head of cattle, and a number of Negroes engaged in lumbering.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ Claiborne, J. F. H., *Mississippi*, 115.

¹¹⁰ *Memoir* (Fortier, *History of Louisiana*, II), 33.

¹¹¹ Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, II, 353.

¹¹² *Present State of the Country and Inhabitants of Louisiana*, 34.

¹¹³ Price, W., "Indexing Louisiana 'Black Boxes'," in *La. Hist. Soc., Publications*, VIII, 19.

¹¹⁴ Pittman, *European Settlements on the Mississippi*, 8; Berquin-Duvallon, *Travels in Louisiana and the Floridas* (Davis), 167; Bossu, *Travels through Louisiana*, I, 221; Baudry des Lozières, *Voyage à la Louisiane*, 25-29; Gordon, H., *Journal* (Mereness, *Travels*), 485.

Above Mobile Bartram found in 1777 a large estate at Taensa Bluff, belonging to Major Farmer. A few miles farther he encountered some well cultivated plantations on both sides of the river, but a little distance above these were a number of abandoned French plantations. Proceeding up the Tombigbee river above its confluence with the Alabama, he found a number of abandoned plantations, but only one still in cultivation. The same traveller found a few scattered plantations near the mouth of Pearl River and a few others near Lake Pontchartrain.¹¹⁵ Even among the small holdings of the upper Mississippi an occasional large plantation existed. In 1770 a Monsieur Beauvais had 80 slaves at Kaskaskia employed in raising wheat, which he ground at a fine water mill on his estate. In one year he had supplied the King's magazine with 86,000 pounds of flour, which was only part of his crop. At St. Philippe a captain of militia employed about 20 slaves, while at St. Genevieve there was a Monsieur Valet, who was rated the richest planter on the upper Mississippi. He had 100 slaves and a number of hired white laborers engaged in lumbering and in raising provision crops, including large quantities of maize, which he ground at his water mill.¹¹⁶

RETARDING INFLUENCE OF LIMITATIONS ON SLAVE TRADE

The comparatively small development of the plantation system in Louisiana during the colonial period is attributable largely to the restrictive and unstable commercial policies of the French and Spanish governments, already described, which retarded the progress of commercial agriculture.¹¹⁷ Restrictions on the slave trade were particularly serious in delaying the development of the plantation system, for in Louisiana private initiative consistently failed to break through the system of special privilege and governmental restriction in the supply of slaves.

Crozat was given the right of introducing one shipload a year, but he made but small use of his privilege. The Compagnie d'Occident did not receive this grant, but the Compagnie des Indes possessed an exclusive privilege of introducing slaves. According to Heinrich, the Company directed its energies in the slave trade mainly to Martinique and San Domingo, where capital was more abundant, credit conditions more stable, and agriculture more fully established than in Louisiana.¹¹⁸ The first considerable shipments to Louisiana consisted of 750 landed in 1719. In 1721 the number imported was 775 according to Pénicaut, and 1,367 according to La Harpe. The total number brought in prior to the surrender of the Company's charter in 1731 was about 7,000. The mortality must have been heavy, for the number in the Province on that date was about 3,395.¹¹⁹

Negroes were sold to concessionaires at fixed rates in exchange for colonial products, at first on a credit of one and a half to two years and later on a three-

¹¹⁵ *Travels*, 403-409, 418, 420, 422.

¹¹⁶ Pittman, *European Settlements on the Mississippi*, 43, 47, 50.

¹¹⁷ See above, pp. 80-84.

¹¹⁸ *Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes*, 174; Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 231.

¹¹⁹ Pénicaut, *Annals of Louisiana* (French, Hist. Collections, new series), 146, 148, 159-161; La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 148, 245, 249, 253, 256. Surrey gives 1,312 for 1721 and none for 1719. *Commerce of Louisiana*, 232, 245.

year credit, payable one third each year. The number allotted to each concession on the basis of applications was determined by the local officials of the Company. Individuals were distributed by lot according to numbers assigned, and sick and defective Negroes sold at auction. These arrangements, however, were unsatisfactory to both parties; the Company's collections were difficult, while the planters suffered from uncertainty in obtaining supplies.¹²⁰

The trade had not been extensive under the Company's control, but it was destined to shrink to insignificance under the royal régime. The French Government had good intentions, and various proposals for promoting the trade were considered, but they proved to be merely subjects of bureaucratic discussion.¹²¹ In spite of urgent requests by the colonists the total number of slaves in the Colony in 1746 was only 4,730, an increase of little more than 700 since the termination of the Company's control. At the close of the French period the total number of Negro slaves had increased to only 6,000.¹²²

With the inauguration of the Spanish régime an exclusive contract was granted an English mercantile firm to supply slaves, and French merchants were forbidden to import them. It was said that this interrupted a profitable trade previously enjoyed by the French merchants, probably developed in the last few years of French control.¹²³ After the close of the French and Indian War the British found themselves in possession of the eastern bank of the Mississippi. Here they established plantations and trading stations. It was comparatively easy to carry on an illicit slave trade with Louisiana, a practice at which some governors connived. The trade was greatly stimulated by the high level of slave values in Louisiana as compared with the British West Indies. It was possible for a Jamaica planter to load a vessel with slaves and plantation equipment and to sell a part of his cargo in Louisiana for enough to defray the cost, employing the remainder in stocking a plantation on the eastern bank of the river.¹²⁴ Largely as a result of this British trade the slave population of the Colony had increased by 1785 to 16,544. By 1788 the slave population of Louisiana and West Florida was found to be 21,465, approximately equalling the number of free inhabitants.¹²⁵

The development of the hostile attitude toward England shortly after the outbreak of the American Revolution shut off the importation of slaves, which practically ceased after 1778 except for a few brought by French vessels. Even the special provision of 1778 exempting imported slaves from duties and permitting their importation from the Colonies of allied or neutral powers apparently

¹²⁰ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 233-236; Dumont, *Mémoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, II, 240; Louisiana, *Records of the Superior Council* (Louisiana Historical Quarterly, V), 408, 422; La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 289; Gayarré, "Historical Notes on the Commerce and Agriculture of Louisiana," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, II, 286.

¹²¹ See Mrs. Surrey's account, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 236-240.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 241-243, 245.

¹²³ Louisiana, *Decree of the Superior Council*, 1768, and *Memorial of the Merchants and Planters of Louisiana, etc.*, 1768 (both in French, Hist. Collections, V), 165 n., and 225 n.; Martin, F. X., *History of Louisiana* (1827 ed.), I, 54.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* (1882 ed.), 200, 217.

¹²⁵ United States, President Jefferson, *Account of Louisiana*, 17; Martin, F. X., *History of Louisiana* (1882 ed.), 252.

did not greatly stimulate the trade.¹²⁶ Moreover, fear of a slave insurrection such as had recently occurred in San Domingo led to the prohibition of the introduction of slaves from the West Indies, offset, however, by provisions to encourage the trade with Guinea.¹²⁷

Although in spite of these obstacles to trade there was some increase in slave population during the last two decades of the Latin period,¹²⁸ nevertheless, at the time of the Cession there was still a scarcity of Negroes in Louisiana. Both Robin and Alliot observed that the price of Negroes was much higher at New Orleans than in the French or Spanish West Indies.¹²⁹ About the same time the American agent, Watkins, asserted:¹³⁰

"No subject seems to be so interesting to the minds of the inhabitants of all that part of the Country which I have visited as that of the importation of brute negroes from Africa. This permission would go further with them, and better reconcile them to the government of the United States than any other privilege that could be extended to this country."

Unlike the English in the Carolinas, the French in Louisiana did not employ a deliberate policy of enslaving the native population. Several times the settlers requested permission to ship Indians to the West Indies in exchange for Negroes, but the government consistently refused such requests and strongly discouraged the policy of enslaving Indians. Thus, in spite of the difficulty of obtaining Negroes, there was never more than a small sprinkling of Indians among the slave stocks of Louisiana. In 1726 there were but 229, and by 1774 only 122.¹³¹

ENCOURAGEMENT OF SMALL HOLDINGS, AND THEIR EXTENT AND CHARACTER

As in the other Colonies, however, the plantation system was associated with numerous small holdings; and with the progress of time the emphasis of colonial policy was more and more on encouraging their development. Even in the time of the large concessions there was opportunity for independent small holders to gain a foothold in lower Louisiana.¹³² We have already noted that Bienville induced the discouraged Germans from Law's colony to occupy his own large estates. Bienville distributed his lands in small tracts under a sort of feudal tenure among some 330 Germans and other small holders. A transfer of one of these tracts brought before the Superior Council for approval indicates that the holder was obligated to pay Bienville a yearly money rental together with 12 days' labor a year and to furnish 12 capons. These industrious peasants became the "purveyors of the capital" in vegetables, poultry, and other food supplies.¹³³

¹²⁶ Navarro, *Political Reflections* (Robertson, Louisiana, I), 252; Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, III, 106, 108, 155.

¹²⁷ Martin, F. X., *History of Louisiana* (1882 ed.), 258.

¹²⁸ As suggested by Mr. James Alexander Robertson's estimate of about 28,000 for 1802. *Louisiana*, I, 149. Various contemporary estimates are conflicting.

¹²⁹ Robin, *Voyages*, II, 112; Alliot, *Reflections on Louisiana* (Robertson, Louisiana, I), 113.

¹³⁰ Robertson, J. A., *Louisiana*, II, 318.

¹³¹ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 226-230.

¹³² Letter of Father Poisson, in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LXVII, 283.

¹³³ Cruzat, "New Orleans under Bienville," and *idem*, "Sidelights on Louisiana History," both in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, I, No. 3, pp. 79, and 123; La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 244, 251; Alliot, *Reflections on Louisiana* (Robertson, Louisiana, I), 111; Robin, *Voyages*, II, 239; Jefferys, *French Dominions in North and South America*, Pt. I, 147; Berquin-Duvallon, *Vue de la Colonie Espagnole du Mississippi*, 51-53.

From an early period small holdings were deliberately encouraged in land and colonization policies. As a military measure the government had forbidden the granting of concessions along the Mississippi from Manchac to the Gulf, providing in this region for small grants of two or three arpents frontage to families of workmen or discharged soldiers. The occupants were required to clear and cultivate a certain part within six months. In 1723 the size of the unit granted was reduced.¹³⁴ In 1728 the French Government issued an important decree to check the tendency toward concentration of landholdings. This required that all land held by concessionaires who had failed to improve and occupy it should revert to the crown. Holders of land were allowed six months to prove adequate occupancy and utilization.¹³⁵ In 1732 it was provided that a certain number of the soldiers on service in Louisiana who would settle in the country should be granted small tracts of land, and their rations and pay continued for three years in order to assist them in becoming established.¹³⁶ About 1755 and 1756 a few Acadians came to the Colony, and near the close of the French régime the number of small holders was considerably increased by the arrival of nearly a thousand more, who were settled between Baton Rouge and Pointe Coupée. In 1785 there came 3,500 Acadian refugees, who were settled along the Mississippi above and below New Orleans, on Bayou Lafourche and in the districts of Attakapas and Opelousas. These settlers were poor, and established a small-scale economy.¹³⁷

Spain adopted an active policy to encourage the settlement of small holders, as a result of which, together with increased activity of the slave trade, the population was more than doubled in the sixteen years beginning in 1769.¹³⁸ In 1770 Governor O'Reilly promulgated an ordinance providing for a grant to each newly arrived family of 6 or 8 arpents frontage on the Mississippi by 40 arpents depth. Such grantees must arrange within three years for the protection of their land by levees and drainage ditches, maintaining the roads on their levees and necessary bridges across ditches. They were also required within the same period to clear the front of their lands to a depth of 2 arpents and forbidden to alienate the land within three years or until the specified improvements had been completed.¹³⁹ In 1778 the Spaniards imported at royal expense a considerable number of families from the Canary Islands, who were settled below New Orleans, on the Amite, and on Bayou Lafourche. The government built a home for each family and supplied cattle, fowls, and farming utensils, together with rations for four years, and some pecuniary aid. A number of families from Malaga were brought in under somewhat similar arrangements and settled at New Iberia. To settlers from the western part of the United States the government allowed free land and exemption from duties on goods and chattels brought into the

¹³⁴ Cruzat, "New Orleans under Bienville," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, I, No. 3, p. 77.

¹³⁵ Louisiana Historical Society, *Publications*, IV, 107-117.

¹³⁶ Martin, F. X., *History of Louisiana* (1882 ed.), 172.

¹³⁷ Pittman, *European Settlements on the Mississippi*, 36; Wallace, J., *Illinois and Louisiana*, 368; Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, III, 171; Robertson, J. A., *Louisiana*, I, 248 & n.

¹³⁸ French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, I, 15.

¹³⁹ Ordinance of Feb. 18, 1770, in French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, V, 289.

country with them.¹⁴⁰ In 1789 a reprinted extract from a Spanish official proclamation declared that for each family having as many as four children the King would grant 400 acres, 4 cows and a bull, 4 ewes and a ram, 4 sows and a boar, 1 mare with complete harness, a studhorse for every 10 mares, 24 hens and 2 cocks, 200 "choice plants and the same number of plantation plants," a village lot, "all kinds of farming utensils," provisions for one year, expenses of immigration, and a seine for fishing, besides religious liberty and rights of local self-government¹⁴¹—certainly, if fulfilled, most generous terms of colonization.

To some extent national habit caused the small holdings along the upper Mississippi to develop on the lines of the village system. Some of the villages gradually grew out of Indian towns.¹⁴² In lower Louisiana, although there were settled posts at such points as Natchitoches, Baton Rouge, Natchez, Arkansas, Ouachita, Opelousas, Avoyelles, Lafourche, and Rapides, the importance of river frontage in the establishment of individual holdings caused the settlements to lack the compactness and coherence of the upper Mississippi villages, where the arable land was operated in common enclosures, and livestock were herded under carefully formed regulations on the commons outside the village.¹⁴³

The economic life of the upper Mississippi villages was a distinctive product of the combined activity of fur trading, hunting and fishing, lumbering, and farming, combined with some development of domestic industry. Jesuit Fathers had trained the Indian residents of Kaskaskia in habits of settled industry even before there was a considerable accession of white settlers. They had taught them the planting of wheat and other kinds of grain, as well as of an assortment of vegetables and fruits. They had introduced the use of the plow and had established mills. Horses were obtained by trade with western tribes. Large numbers of cattle, sheep, and swine were maintained on the ranges near the village, and poultry were abundant. The Indian women were skillful in spinning and weaving buffalo wool and in making garments sewn with deer sinews.¹⁴⁴ With the accession of white settlers comfortable frame houses with stone chimneys were constructed; wheat was grown systematically for sale to the troops and shipment down river; and fruit, vegetables, other food products, and hops, hemp, flax, cotton, and tobacco were raised for their own supply.¹⁴⁵

Not all of the villages, however, had so diversified an industrial life. Pittman reported in 1770 that at Cahokia the villagers had a good stock of horned cattle but raised scarcely enough corn to feed themselves, being mostly occupied with the Indian trade.¹⁴⁶ The inhabitants of St. Louis (Missouri) were for some years concerned mainly with herding, hunting, and the Indian trade, raising garden vegetables, corn, potatoes, turnips, pumpkins, and melons for their own con-

¹⁴⁰ Martin, F. X., *History of Louisiana* (1882 ed.), 224, 226, 253.

¹⁴¹ *State Gazette of North Carolina* (Edenton), Sept. 10, 1789.

¹⁴² Wallace, J., *Illinois and Louisiana*, 63, 196-210.

¹⁴³ See Chap. XVII.

¹⁴⁴ Pénicaut, *Annals of Louisiana* (French, Hist. Collections, new series), 107; Charlevoix, *Voyage to North America*, II, 166; Alliot, *Reflections on Louisiana* (Robertson, Louisiana, I), 137-141.

¹⁴⁵ Pittman, *European Settlements on the Mississippi*, 51; Artaguette, *Journal* (Mereness, Travels), 67.

¹⁴⁶ Pittman, *European Settlements on the Mississippi*, 48.

sumption. As population increased, however, they undertook the production of wheat and tobacco for export.¹⁴⁷ As late as 1803 the inhabitants of Cape Girardeau and St. Genevieve produced farm products, including excellent butter and cheese, for home use, but little for export. They were concerned mainly with the Indian trade, hunting, and mining.¹⁴⁸

The small farmers of the lower Mississippi carried on a mixed economy marked by little progressiveness. They raised rice, indigo, cotton, corn, and stock, and sold vegetables, fowls, eggs, and butter at New Orleans. After sugar became a staple, they raised a little cane, which they sold or ground at the mills of their wealthier neighbors. Above the poor whites in intelligence, energy, and standard of living, these small farmers in general failed to accumulate large capital and to rise into the class of great planters.¹⁴⁹ In parishes west of the Mississippi, such as Avoyelles, Attakapas, and Opelousas, the excellent range, seconded by the land policy inaugurated by O'Reilly,¹⁵⁰ placed a special emphasis on herding. This did not result, however, in a dispersed and migratory type of economy. While the inhabitants maintained large herds, they continued their old-world habits of congregating in villages, raising indigo, tobacco, cotton, and vegetables for home use, and supplying a large proportion of their wants by domestic industries. At the close of the eighteenth century they had established tanneries and cotton cloth mills, and by reason of the cheapness of hides and of raw cotton were able to supply leather and cotton cloth to New Orleans at prices lower than prevailed for similar products imported from Europe.¹⁵¹ Natchitoches, for instance, had grown to be a considerable village of 500 inhabitants, with a thousand others dwelling in the country round about. The people were engaged in the fur trade and livestock production, and the growth of their characteristic tobacco, besides exporting peltry, cattle, hogs, and cheese. A large proportion of the inhabitants were occupied in hunting for deer, organizing in parties of fifteen for hunting expeditions, which, all told, yielded 20,000 skins in three or four months. Others devoted themselves to a contraband trade with New Mexico.¹⁵²

In addition to the French villagers and small farmers, characterized by industry, thrift, and stability, with a society patriarchal in organization and spirit,¹⁵³ there were evidently some less stable classes. Many fur traders had no settled abode, although others maintained homes in the villages. There was also a class of poor whites aimlessly moving from place to place, engaged partly in hunting or fishing and partly in a more or less casual agriculture or herding.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁷ Billon, *Annals of St. Louis*, 20, 84; Monette, *Discovery and Settlement of the Mississippi Valley*, I, 456; Alliot, *Reflections on Louisiana* (Robertson, Louisiana, I), 137.

¹⁴⁸ United States, President Jefferson, *Account of Louisiana*, 9; Alliot, *Reflections on Louisiana* (Robertson, Louisiana, I), 133.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 97; Heustis, *Topography and Diseases of Louisiana*, 30; Stoddard, *Sketches of Louisiana*, 168.

¹⁵⁰ See above, p. 149.

¹⁵¹ Alliot, *Reflections on Louisiana* (Robertson, Louisiana, I), 115.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 125; Perrin du Lac, *Travels* (Phillips, Collection of Voyages, VI), 85, 92.

¹⁵³ Cf. Monette's characterization, *Discovery and Settlement of the Mississippi Valley*, I, 190. See also below, p. 380.

¹⁵⁴ Taitt, *Journal* (Mereness, Travels), 508; Bartram, *Travels*, 422.

SUMMARY

In all three of the colonial enterprises which constituted the principal nuclei of settlement in the South—Virginia, South Carolina, and Louisiana—the plantation system had its origins in the undertakings of capitalistic associations, vested with governmental authority, to establish agricultural and commercial colonies. While the several colonial enterprises were in part the outgrowth of nationalistic ambitions, they were promoted and made possible by investors from the nobility, gentry, and bourgeoisie who were essentially interested in deriving profits from the sums invested.

A number of methods of earning profits were employed, including the fur trade, prospecting for minerals, agriculture prosecuted by laborers or tenants under indenture, and a monopoly of trade with the settlers.

The initial enterprises in every instance proved unprofitable because the resources of the colonizing associations were absorbed by the heavy expenses entailed by the establishment of the colonial nucleus. In the case of Virginia and Louisiana the rôle of land settlement for profit was next essayed by subordinate associations of capitalists, which in turn broke down by reason of their unwieldy character, mismanagement, and other causes.

The establishment of private plantations followed as a third stage, favored by the fact that the new enterprisers were not compelled to assume the expenses and responsibilities of initial colonization, had the advantage of experience with the new environment and the opportunity in some cases to acquire at small cost the lands, improvements, and equipment of the unsuccessful colonizing agencies. With the development of regular trade the planter was provided not only with market outlets for his products, but also a means of procuring on credit the requisite servants, slaves, and equipment.

CHAPTER XVI

DEVELOPMENT OF THE LABOR BASES OF THE COLONIAL PLANTATION SYSTEM

Origins of Indentured Servitude, 342. Sources of Servants and Organization of the Servant Trade, 345. Relative Importance of White Servants in Colonial Agriculture, 348. Decline of White Servitude, 349. Slow Development of the Slave Trade in the Seventeenth Century, 351. Rapid Expansion of the Slave Trade in the Eighteenth Century, 353. Attitude of the Southern Colonies toward the Slave Trade, 356. Legal Basis of Colonial Slavery, 359. Advantages of Negro Labor in Comparison with That of White Servants, 361. Costs of Importation and Length of Service of Servants and Slaves, 364. Comparative Costs of Slaves and of Servants Delivered in the Colonies, 368.

ORIGINS OF INDENTURED SERVITUDE

Since large numbers of European laborers desirous of enjoying the economic and political advantages of the New World were unable to defray the expenses of transport and settlement, it became possible for the English or colonial capitalist to induce the laborer to surrender a portion of the surplus above subsistence in return for advancement of those expenses. It was this condition which favored the development of indentured servitude.

Servitude was not a new institution. Its roots, the most important of which were apprenticeship and vagrancy laws, reached far back into the Middle Ages. The former supplied the precedent for that part of colonial servitude based on contract between master and servant. It was a method of obtaining from the master the means of subsistence and instruction necessary for learning a trade, and therefore the period of apprenticeship had to be long enough to enable the master to derive adequate compensation, as well as to permit the laborer to acquire sufficient skill.

For a long time the English system of apprenticeship was simply the product of customary observance.¹ The provisions of the Statute of Apprentices,² which finally summarized the common law, indicate the legal resemblance of the English institution to colonial servitude. Minors between the ages of ten and eighteen years might be apprenticed by parent or guardian. Service must continue at least until the age of twenty-one. Should an apprentice escape, he might be apprehended and imprisoned until he could give security for honest service. On the other hand, it was forbidden to discharge the servant without sufficient notice, and in case of mistreatment local officials must provide another master.

Vagrancy laws furnished precedents for those forms of colonial servitude based on public coercion, as distinguished from the enforcement of contract, such as the transport of criminals and paupers. They were the legal sources of the harsher features of colonial servitude and, not improbably, of slavery also. The

¹ Ashley, *English Economic History and Theory*, II, 84 *et seq.*

² Great Britain, *Statutes at Large* (Pickering), VI, 159-175 (5 Eliz., c. 4). It was renewed in 1604. *Ibid.*, VII, 81-84 (1 James I, c. 6).

legislation of the earlier part of the Tudor period was comparatively mild, reflecting the spirit of those sections of the Statutes of Laborers designed to compel laborers to remain in their localities and to serve at customary rates.³ During the economic transition of the first half of the sixteenth century, when vagrancy became so prevalent that England was full of "rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars," legislation became very much harsher. This tendency culminated in the statute passed in 1547,⁴ by the terms of which vagrancy was made a crime. On proof of guilt the vagrant must be branded on the breast with the letter "V" and adjudged a "slave" for two years. During that time the master was instructed "to order the said slave as followeth: that is to saie, to take such person . . . with him, and onelie giving the said slave bread and water, or small drink, and such reffuse of meat as he shall think meet, cause the said slave to worke by beating, cheining, or otherwise, in such worke and labour (How vile soever it be) as he shall put him to." If the slave ran away he was to be beaten, put in chains, and branded with the letter "S." A second offence was punishable by death. The law permitted the master "to put a ring of iron about his necke, arme, or his leg, for a more knowledge and suretie of the keeping of him." Beggar children were to be bound out as apprentices until coming of age. If they ran away they were to be adjudged slaves until reaching their majority. A master was permitted to transfer the services of a slave to any person for the period of service by gift, sale, or bequest, "after such like sort and manner, as he may doo anie other his mooveable goods or chattels." Servants or slaves who resisted punishment might be adjudged guilty of death.

This remarkable statute, unique in English vagrancy legislation, was out of harmony with the sentiment of the age. Slavery probably had not existed in England for centuries, and the term as employed in the law was a misnomer, for the period of service was a limited one. It was evidently used to indicate a type of servitude more severe than customarily prevailed in England. The law remained on the statute book only two years, the act of repeal reciting its failure on account of undue severity. The act of the twenty-second of Henry VIII, with certain modifications, was substituted.⁵ In spirit the act of 1547 stands halfway between the servant codes and the slave codes of the American Colonies. In his *Annals of Jamaica*, Bridges asserts that the first Barbadian slave code was modelled after this law of 1547.⁶ It appears probable that colonial lawyers seeking precedent for their legislation found it in this statute, as well as in other vagrancy laws.

In 1572 an English act was passed which marked a return to the principle of the act of 1547, although its provisions were much less severe. Vagabonds found at large were to be confined to jail until the next sessions of the peace. If proven guilty of vagabondage, they were to be whipped and burnt through the gristle of the right ear. The penalty might be discharged, however, provided some

³ Ashley, *English Economic History and Theory*, II, 332 *et seq.*

⁴ Great Britain, *Statutes at Large* (Pickering), V, 246 (1 Edw. VI, c. 3).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 345 (3 & 4 Edw. VI, c. 16). Reenacted from time to time, with minor changes. *Ibid.*, V, 351 (5 & 6 Edw. VI, c. 2); VI, 68 (2 & 3 Phil. & M., c. 5); p. 148 (1 Eliz., c. 18); p. 158 (5 Eliz., c. 3).

⁶ I, 507.

reputable property owner gave bond to maintain the vagabond at service for one year. A second offence was punishable by death without benefit of clergy unless some reputable person gave bond to maintain the offender in service for two years. A third offense was punishable by death without commutation. Beggar children over five and under fourteen years of age were to be bound out to service until a girl reached the age of eighteen, or a boy twenty-four years.⁷

In Virginia servitude was the natural outgrowth of these English precedents and of the arrangements during the Company period,⁸ already noted, whereby most of the persons who came to the Colony were under contract for service to the Company or to joint-stock companies and individuals. Colonial servitude was given legal recognition in 1619, when the Virginia Assembly provided "That no man living in this Colony, but shall between this and the first of January nexte ensueing come or sende to the Secretary of Estate to enter his own and all his servants' names, and for what terme or upon what conditions they are to serve." It was legally recognized by Maryland in 1637, by the Carolinas in 1665, and by Georgia in 1732.⁹

While English capitalists, as already noted, were strongly moved to invest in the New World, powerful motives also influenced the English laboring classes to emigrate. The revolutionary economic changes under the Tudors fell with extreme severity upon the English agricultural laborer. England had probably recovered from severe economic depression when the settlement of Virginia occurred, but the lot of the agricultural classes was still miserable. Pauperism and vagrancy were widespread evils, and the agricultural laborer enjoyed but little freedom of movement under the Statute of Apprentices and the later supplementary legislation.¹⁰ The first three quarters of the seventeenth century produced a succession of political and religious disturbances that also constituted weighty impulses toward migration.¹¹ Moreover, the influential classes were eager that the pressure of population with its expensive burden of pauperism and crime should be relieved.¹²

For the farmer who came voluntarily to America in order to seek a new home, indentured servitude provided the means of passage, an opportunity to become acclimated and acquainted with provincial agriculture, and in the case of German redemptioners, to acquire a knowledge of English.¹³

⁷ Great Britain, *Statutes at Large* (Pickering), VI, 299 (14 Eliz., c. 5). Supplemented and continued by *ibid.*, VI, 311 (18 Eliz., c. 3); p. 392 (29 Eliz., c. 5).

⁸ Ballagh, *White Servitude in Virginia*, 27. See above, pp. 312-317.

⁹ Proceedings of the Assembly of 1619, in Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia*, 270; Ballagh, *Slavery in Virginia*, 36.

¹⁰ Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, V, 67; Great Britain, *Statutes at Large* (Pickering), VIII, 95 (13 & 14 Car. II, c. 12).

¹¹ For a summary of these conditions, see Cheyney, *European Background of American History*, 168-178, 227-239.

¹² Johnson, R., *New Life of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, I, No. 7), p. 21; *idem*, *Nova Britannia* (Force, Tracts, I, No. 6), p. 19; *True Declaration of the Estate of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 1), p. 24; Brown, A., *Genesis*, I, 252, 288. Cf. the project of Capt. Baily for wholesale colonization by an annual capitation tax of 1 penny for 10 years. Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, p. 50.

¹³ Ballagh, *White Servitude in Virginia*, 90; McCrady, "Slavery in the Province of South Carolina," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1895, p. 639; Pauliat, *Politique Coloniale*, 157; Geiser, *Redemptioners and Indentured Servants*, 55.

SOURCES OF SERVANTS AND ORGANIZATION OF THE SERVANT TRADE

The white servant class in the South was recruited from a number of sources, the most important of which were voluntary immigrants under fixed indentures specifying the conditions of service. The term redemptioner was applied to those who embarked without a written indenture but on the understanding that they would be given opportunity on landing to find some friend to pay their passage or to dispose of themselves on such terms as could be obtained in order to defray cost of passage. In case of failure the captain was at liberty to sell them to the highest bidder. Sometimes the redemptioner paid a part of his passage on embarking, thus shortening his term. The English and Irish usually went to Pennsylvania under indenture, while the Germans were generally redemptioners. In some instances persons residing in the Colonies voluntarily entered into servitude as security for debt. A few voluntarily renewed their terms in preference to shifting for themselves.¹⁴

Persons kidnapped and "spirited" out of England and other countries comprised another source of supply. The practice continued in spite of the efforts of the British Government to prevent it.¹⁵ It was estimated in 1680 that more than 10,000 persons were annually spirited out of England; but this is very likely an exaggeration.¹⁶ The practice was probably most extensive about the middle of the seventeenth century. In some cases, it is said, the victims were not carried off by force but were merely "idle, lazies, simple people" overpersuaded by the "spirits" into believing that they would be taken to a place "where food shall drop into their mouths."¹⁷ In response to numerous complaints, the English Government created an office in 1664 to register the names of persons sailing under contract. A few years later punishment by death was provided for conviction of the crime of kidnapping persons for transport.¹⁸

An act of 1597 embodied a provision for banishing rogues and vagabonds from the realm or to the galleys, and a vagrancy act passed early in the reign of Charles II provided for their transport to the Colonies. Legal provision was made in 1666, 1718, and 1720, authorizing justices at their discretion to have certain classes of criminals transported to the Colonies.¹⁹ Though occasionally transported under life sentences, the most common term seems to have been seven years, so that such servants were referred to as "His Majesty's Seven-Year Passengers."²⁰ The policy was begun during the period of the Virginia Company, and considerable numbers were sent to the Colonies during the first three quarters

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 6, 57; Eddis, *Letters from America*, 74; McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland*, 40-43.

¹⁵ Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, II, 112-113; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, pp. 457, 492; 1661-1668, p. 555; Gatford, *Publick Good without Private Interest*, 4; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 613-618.

¹⁶ Godwyn, *Negro's and Indians Advocate*, 171.

¹⁷ Bullock, *Virginia Impartially Examined*, 14.

¹⁸ Godwyn, *Negro's and Indians Advocate*, 171; Bullock, *Virginia Impartially Examined*, 14; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 616-618.

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²⁰ *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), July 17, 1755.

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of the seventeenth century.²¹ At one time the magistrates of Bristol drove a thriving trade condemning persons on fictitious charges.²² After the religious persecutions of the Covenanters in 1678, Monmouth's Rebellion, and the Jacobite uprisings of 1715 and 1745, political offenders were shipped to the Colonies in large numbers. Scharf estimates that fully 20,000 convicts had been transported to Maryland by 1776, and that between 1750 and 1770 not less than 400 or 500 were annually imported.²³ Lang estimates that prior to the Revolutionary War 50,000 convicts were transported to the American Colonies.²⁴ By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, the voluntary element probably comprised much the larger proportion of the servant trade. In 1746 a traveller wrote:²⁵

"The convicts that are transported here, sometimes prove very worthy Creatures, and entirely forsake their former Follies; but the Trade has for some Time run in another Channel; and so many Volunteer Servants come over, especially Irish, that the other is a Commodity pretty much blown upon."

The Maryland census of 1755 showed only 1,981 convict servants out of a total servant population of 8,841.²⁶

In North Carolina and Pennsylvania local criminals and vagrants might be sold into service for one year, but servitude for offenses was abolished in Virginia by an act passed in 1642/3.²⁷

In general the introduction of foreign convicts was distasteful to the Colonies, and attempts were made to restrict the movement.²⁸ Maryland, which probably suffered more than any of the other Colonies from this class, passed an act in 1676, reenacted in 1692, requiring ship captains to take oath on landing servants that they were not convicts. Commercial interests, however, strongly opposed colonial legislation restricting the convict trade or disregarded the restrictions.²⁹ The contractors for convicts appear to have enjoyed a powerful political influence in London. Thus, a Maryland enactment that placed restrictions on the purchase of convicts was disapproved by the governor. The Proprietor dissented to the act of 1723 requiring purchasers of convicts to give bond for their good behavior. The Lords Justices in Council had disallowed a similar act of Virginia the previous year.³⁰ The Maryland act of 1755, imposing a duty of only

²¹ Robinson, "Notes and Transcripts of Virginia Records," in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, IX, 44; Virginia Company of London, *Abstract of Proceedings*, I, 26, 34; Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 295, 328; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1661-1668, pp. 16, 112, 273.

²² Doyle, *English Colonies in America*, I, 384; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 589-593, 597, 602-606; McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland*, Chap. VIII; Lang, *Transportation and Colonization*, 9; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), XII, 668.

²³ *History of Maryland*, I, 371.

²⁴ *Transportation and Colonization*, 38.

²⁵ Campbell, G. L., *Itinerant Observations in America* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, IV), 40.

²⁶ United States, *Century of Population Growth*, 185.

²⁷ Cf. Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, II, 128; Cheyney, "Conditions of Labor in Early Pennsylvania," in *The Manufacturer*, Mar. 16, 1891, p. 6; Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, I, 229-230.

²⁸ Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 589-593, 597, 602-606; McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland*, Chap. VIII; Lang, *Transportation and Colonization*, 11.

²⁹ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), II, 485, 540; XIII, 539; XXXIII, Pref., p. xi; Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland*, 78.

³⁰ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXXIII, pp. xi, 344, 349, 431, 453; XXXV, pp. ix, 212; XXXVIII, 320.

20 shillings, led to continued protest by the royal contractor for the transport of convicts. Governor Sharpe stoutly supported the act, pointing out that the contractor should not object to paying so small a tax when he sold the servants at a net profit ranging from £2 to £14. In 1756 instructions were sent to the provincial authorities ordering them not to apply to convicts the revenue act imposing a duty on the importation of all classes of servants. In 1768 the contractor was complaining to the privy council of the obstructions he had recently encountered by reason of Maryland quarantine regulations.³¹

During the period of the Virginia Company servants were engaged by its officials, by representatives of the joint-stock companies, and by correspondents of private planters, but gradually the trade became organized. In England regular agents, or procurers, made a business of furnishing servants, and ship captains drove a thriving trade on their own account. Within a few years after the settlement of Maryland regular contractors began to import servants and sell them, together with the headrights, to the planters or speculators.³² About the middle of the eighteenth century advertisements indicate sometimes sales by ship captains at auction and sometimes consignments of cargo lots of servants to mercantile houses.³³ In Virginia the servant trade was largely controlled by a class of middlemen known as "soul-drivers," described as "men who make it their business to go on board all ships who have in either Servants or Convicts and buy sometimes the whole and sometimes a parcell of them as they can agree, and then they drive them through the Country like a parcell of Sheep until they can sell them to advantage."³⁴ In 1739 William Byrd offered to dispose of two cargoes of redemptioners a year for a commission of 8 per cent, the prevailing rate for slaves.³⁵

The large migration of Germans and Irish in the eighteenth century was well organized on the Continent, especially by the Dutch. In Amsterdam and Rotterdam rivalry among shipping firms led them to employ runners to watch for the arrival of emigrants and persuade them to embark in their boats.³⁶ In 1774 these "newlanders," or "soul-drivers," received from 14 to 20 shillings per head for emigrants delivered to ship captains.³⁷ Gradually these emigration agents extended their activities to the interior of Germany. They travelled in gaudy dress, with flourish of trumpets, gathering the credulous Bauern and burghers in beribboned wagons, a gay crowd eager to reach the El Dorado pictured by the voluble agent, little reckoning the terrible hardships of the voyage. A person over fourteen years of age was counted one "freight." Those between the ages

³¹ Sharpe, *Correspondence* (Maryland Archives), VI, 295, 300, 330, 422, 539; XIV, 524.

³² Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 108; Hammond, J., *Leah and Rachel* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 14), pp. 10-11; Fitzhugh, W., *Letters* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, I), 30, 36; McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland*, 22.

³³ *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), Oct. 12, Dec. 7, 1752; Jan. 23, July 17, 1755.

³⁴ Harrower, *Diary* (American Historical Review, VI), 77.

³⁵ Extract from a letter of William Byrd to Mr. Andrews of Rotterdam, Nov. 10, 1739, in *American Historical Review*, I, 90.

³⁶ Geiser, *Redemptioners and Indentured Servants*, 29-39; Cheyney, "Condition of Labor in Early Pennsylvania," in *The Manufacturer*, Apr. 1, 1891, p. 7.

³⁷ Letter of Woelper to Washington, Mar. 23, 1774, in Ford, W. C., *Washington as an Employer of Labor*, 65-67.

of four and fourteen were considered half "freights." All under four years were transported free of charge. The contract that the redemptioners had to sign, which probably but few of them understood, contained the proviso that if any passenger died on the voyage, the surviving members of the family or the surviving redemptioner passengers must make good his loss, generally by a corresponding extension of term.³⁸

RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF WHITE SERVANTS IN COLONIAL AGRICULTURE

Probably the majority of white persons who immigrated to the Southern Colonies entered as servants, yet the proportion of servants to free inhabitants was not large and tended to become smaller with the progress of time. Since the average duration of life after expiration of the term of service was much longer than the term itself, the number of freemen increased more rapidly than the number of servants. Similarly the numerical ratio of servants to slaves at a given time is not a proper criterion of the relative importance of the servant tradé as compared with the slave trade, for the term of the slave was for life.

In Virginia the census of 1624-25 showed that servants numbered 474 out of a total population of 1,200, or 40 per cent.³⁹ In 1670 the population was estimated at 40,000, including 6,000 servants and 2,000 slaves. Thus, white servants comprised only 15 per cent, although the importation of white servants had averaged 1,500 a year for the past seven years. By 1683 the number of white servants had nearly doubled, while the slaves had increased by only one third. In the latter part of the colonial period the servant trade to Virginia was said to have greatly declined because engrossment of land had made it difficult for servants to obtain it at the expiration of their service except on remote frontiers.⁴⁰

In the earlier years of Maryland the ratio of servants to freemen was about 6 to 1, but the importation would have had to increase very rapidly to maintain such a ratio. In 1658 over 1,000 had been imported or were under contract to be imported during the next four years. The customhouse books indicate about 625 were imported in 1696, that 353 came in 1697, and 703 in 1698. In 1708 there were supposed to be 3,003 servants in the Colony.⁴¹ The trade was at its maximum about the middle of the eighteenth century. Governor Sharpe reported in 1756 that servants were more numerous in Maryland and Pennsylvania than in any of the other Colonies and that the people could not well manage without their assistance.⁴² Since 1748 about 2,800 had come from Germany, and 5,000 from Great Britain and Ireland. In 1755 servants numbered 8,841, free inhabitants 101,169, and slaves 42,801.⁴³

³⁸ Hennighausen, *German Society of Maryland*, 17, 19; Ford, W. C., *Washington as an Employer of Labor*, 65-67.

³⁹ See p. 320.

⁴⁰ Reply of Governor Berkeley to the Inquiries of the Commissioners of Plantations, 1671, in Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 335; Ballagh, *Slavery in Virginia*, 10; D'Avenant, *Works*, II, 27-28.

⁴¹ McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland*, 28; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1706-1708, p. 758; Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland*, 77.

⁴² *Correspondence* (Maryland Archives, VI), 467.

⁴³ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XXXI, 145; United States, *Century of Population Growth*, 185.

In South Carolina the rapid increase of slaves in proportion to white population, and the consequent danger of insurrection or attack by Spanish, French, or Indians, alarmed the colonial authorities. As in the West Indies, laws were passed requiring each planter to keep a certain proportion between the number of servants and of slaves. Moreover, the importation of servants was subsidized and otherwise encouraged.⁴⁴ In spite of these policies, however, indentured servitude did not become an important labor basis of the plantation system in South Carolina. In 1707, as already noted, there were only 120 servants, while Negro slaves numbered 4,100, and Indian slaves 1,400. During the past five years the number of servants had decreased by about 50.⁴⁵ There were probably times in the early part the eighteenth century when the servant trade was fairly active. For instance, the act of 1717 begins with the recital: "Whereas there has of late arrived in this Province great numbers of White Servants, etc."⁴⁶ A contemporary West Indian historian declared that Irish servants were held in high estimation in South Carolina, "where what are denominated bog-trotters, or such as have been accustomed to the boggy grounds of Ireland, are in great request for cultivating their rice-swamps, for which work they are particularly excellent, and generally turn out very industrious."⁴⁷ In 1722 mention is made of servants owned by the Colony, who were employed at one of the frontier forts. Henry Laurens was at times interested in their importation, especially under the stimulus of the provincial bounty.⁴⁸ On the other hand, in 1744 a cargo of Palatines remained on board ship for weeks for lack of purchasers. Finally they were purchased by their fellow-countrymen in the German settlement of Saxe-Gotha.⁴⁹

In North Carolina servants were never very numerous, on account of the conditions that retarded the development of the plantation system in that Colony. By the time the plantation system began to become important, slavery had largely supplanted servitude in the Colonies south of Maryland.⁵⁰

DECLINE OF WHITE SERVITUDE

Toward the latter part of the seventeenth century the trade to the South began to decline. This was probably due partly to the attempts of the English Government to discourage the trade, in the interest of the Royal African Company. Measures passed in 1664 and 1684 to prevent kidnapping probably tended also to restrict its magnitude. The change of attitude in England toward the question of population, which began about the time of the Restoration, was very

⁴⁴ See above, p. 88. Concerning similar laws in the British West Indies, see Washington, *Journal on a Tour to Barbadoes*, 62; Leslie, *New History of Jamaica*, 204. Concerning the "deficiency" laws, see Pitman, *Development of the British West Indies*, 51-57.

⁴⁵ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1708-1709, p. 466. See above, p. 328. Schaper thinks that the number of servants in the earlier period must have been large. *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina*, 303. I can find no convincing evidence to prove his conclusion.

⁴⁶ Jervcy, "White Indented Servants of South Carolina," in *American Historical Review*, XXI, 167.

⁴⁷ Long, *History of Jamaica*, II, 290.

⁴⁸ South Carolina, *Council Journals*, 1722, p. 38 (Manuscript in South Carolina State Library, Columbia); Wallace, D. D., *Henry Laurens*, 47.

⁴⁹ Bernheim, *German Settlements and the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina*, 133-137.

⁵⁰ Bassett, *Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina*, 76.

likely influential.⁵¹ Unquestionably the principal cause of the decline in the trade was preference for slaves.⁵² Gradually a differentiation in function occurred. Servants were found less profitable than slaves for field labor, and were employed to best advantage in occupations requiring a higher order of intelligence, skill, or reliability. The German tide of servants exhibited a preference for the Middle Colonies because of land engrossment in the Southern Colonies, the domination of social life by an aristocratic class, and the development of invidious distinctions against labor.⁵³ In 1736 Colonel William Byrd wrote to Lord Egmont:⁵⁴

"I am sensible of many bad consequences of multiplying these Ethiopians amongst us. They blow up the pride, and ruin the Industry of our White People, who seeing a Rank of poor Creatures below them, detest work for fear it should make them like Slaves."

After the Revolutionary War servitude gradually disappeared. The domestic industry of the plantation, which had furnished some demand for servants, was gradually supplanted by factory-made products, while many Negroes had acquired skill as carpenters, blacksmiths, and coopers.⁵⁵ The trade in English servants received a check by acts of Parliament in 1789 and 1794 to prevent the transport to America of persons of manufacturing skill. British writers and statesmen discouraged emigration, and in 1785 the transport of persons on English ships for the purpose of servitude for debt was prohibited. Regulations to compel more humane methods decreased the profits of the trade.⁵⁶ About 1774 some of the German princes prohibited the migration of their subjects, and the necessity of going farther into the interior to obtain redemptioners also reduced profits.⁵⁷ Finally, the system was contrary to the spirit of the Revolutionary philosophy. During the years 1764-1784 societies were formed among the German population in Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York, and Charleston to "mitigate and finally abolish a pernicious system of contract labor of free white persons, which in reality became a system of slavery limited in years."⁵⁸

Correspondingly, the legal and customary basis of the institution in America was gradually modified. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, according to Geiser, servitude in Pennsylvania began to embody a larger spirit of voluntary contract, and the status of the indentured servant came to be but little different from that of the hired servant. Frequently the indenture mentioned a sum of

⁵¹ Doyle, *English Colonies in America*, I, 384, 386. For an account of these changes, see Pitman, *Development of the British West Indies*, 42-45.

⁵² For the economic grounds of this preference, see pp. 361-371.

⁵³ Jones, H., *Present State of Virginia*, App., pp. 114-124; Sharpe, *Correspondence* (Maryland Archives, XIV), 359; Ford, W. C., *Washington as an Employer of Labor*, 49, 58; cf. Geiser, *Redemptioners and Indentured Servants*, 10-27; Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 40; Cooper, *Some Information respecting America*, 89.

⁵⁴ Letter of July 12, 1736, in *American Historical Review*, I, 89.

⁵⁵ Sartorius von Waltershausen, *Die Arbeits-Verfassung der Englischen Kolonien*, 67.

⁵⁶ Geiser, *Redemptioners and Indentured Servants*, 40; McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland*, 108-111; Great Britain, *Statutes at Large* (Pickering), XXXV, 286 (25 Geo. III, c. 67); cf. Sartorius von Waltershausen, *Die Arbeits-Verfassung der Englischen Kolonien*, 66.

⁵⁷ Ford, W. C., *Washington as an Employer of Labor*, 56, 58.

⁵⁸ Hennighausen, *German Society of Maryland*, 5.

money in addition to freedom dues, but the omission of the money would effect a shortening of the term of service. Instances of renewal of indentures became more frequent. In the Middle and Northern States the system received its legal deathblow in the laws abolishing imprisonment for debt, because of the implied principle prohibiting control over freedom of the person.⁵⁹

Local instances of indentured servitude, however, continued for more than a half century after the Revolution. Thus, in 1796 an advertisement in a Richmond paper for a runaway apprentice elicited the charge by a relative that the apprentice had been illegally bound. Instances of servitude occurred as late as 1831 in Pennsylvania, and 1835 in Maryland. A form of indentured servitude was employed for Negro labor in Illinois until late in the fifth decade of the nineteenth century.⁶⁰

SLOW DEVELOPMENT OF THE SLAVE TRADE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Slavery created a new *raison d'être* for the plantation system, which functioned as a colonizing agency in the introduction of African slaves no less than in the immigration of white servants. A return on the expenditure could be secured only by the employment of the Negro's labor under the direction of white men.

In the Fall of 1610 an English privateer, fitted out to prey on Spanish commerce, returned to Virginia with a cargo of Negroes captured from the Spaniards, and probably left a Negro woman in Virginia, taking the others to the Bermudas.⁶¹ About the last of August a Dutch man-of-war sold the Jamestown colonists 20 Negroes.⁶²

The number of Negroes in Virginia and Maryland multiplied but slowly during the earlier half of the seventeenth century. There were but 23 Negroes in Virginia at the close of the Company period.⁶³ Five years later a cargo captured on the African coast was brought in. According to Bruce, the evidence of the land patents seems to show that until the middle of the century the slave trade to Virginia was of casual character. In 1649 it was stated that there were only 300 Negroes in the Colony,⁶⁴ and by 1671, as already noted, only 2,000 Negroes. In 1679 Culpeper wrote that some years before 500 to 600 per year had been brought in, but since then the trade had declined to small proportions. The land patents issued during this decade indicate that there was still a great prepon-

⁵⁹ *Redemptioners and Indentured Servants*, 42, 75.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 40; *Richmond and Manchester Advertiser* (Virginia), Feb. 3, 1796; McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland*, 111; Harris, *Negro Servitude in Illinois*, 6-26. Concerning the economic characteristics of indentured servitude as a system of labor, see pp. 361-371. The economic and social status of the servant is described in Chap. XXI.

⁶¹ Neill, *Virginia Vetusta*, 112-116; *idem*, *Virginia Carolorum*, 34; census of 1624-25, in Hotten, *Original Lists of Emigrants to America*, 224; Lefroy, *Memorials of the Bermudas*, I, 147; Virginia Company of London, *Abstract of Proceedings*, I, 73; II, 197, 202. The question of the agency responsible for the first introduction of Negroes has been the subject of much debate. For the various aspects of this controversy, see also Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 67 *et seq.*; Brown's *Genesis*, II, 886; Ballagh, *Slavery in Virginia*, 8 n.

⁶² Smith, Capt. J., *Works*, 541.

⁶³ See above, p. 321. For a summary of the number of Negroes or slaves in the various Colonies at different dates, see Appendix, Table 39.

⁶⁴ *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 75; *Perfect Description of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, II, No. 8), p. 1.

derance in number of servants imported, but during the last decade of the century the number of Negroes greatly increased.⁶⁵

Slavery made little progress in North Carolina in the seventeenth century. In 1736 Governor Burrington wrote:⁶⁶

"No Negroes are brought directly from Guinea to North Carolina, the Planters are obliged to go into Virginia and South Carolina to purchase them where they pay a duty on each Negroe or buy the refuse distempered or refractory Negroes brought into the Country from New England and the Islands which are sold at excessive Rates."

Slavery, as we have noted, developed less tardily in South Carolina, which received many planter immigrants from the West Indies, especially from the overpopulated islands of Barbados and Antigua.⁶⁷ Having experienced the profitableness of slavery in the West Indies, the South Carolina colonists appreciated its importance. In 1682 Dr. Samuel Wilson wrote:⁶⁸

"A rational man will certainly inquire, 'when I have Land, what shall I doe with it? What commoditys shall I be able to produce, that will yield me money in other countrys, that I may be inabled to buy Negro-slaves, (without which a planter can never doe any great matter)?'"

In part, the slow development of slavery in Virginia and Maryland is accounted for by conditions determining the supply of Negroes during the seventeenth century. English merchants were slow to enter the slave trade. Although a number of expeditions to the African coast were undertaken by Englishmen in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, the slave trade was not the primary object. The later voyages of Hawkins were experiments that proved disastrous and were not soon repeated.⁶⁹ The Company of Adventurers of London Trading to Gynney and Bynney, chartered in 1618, and its successor, the Company of Merchants Trading to Guinea, chartered in 1630, did not develop a systematic slave trade. In 1662 a monopoly of the slave trade was assigned to the Company of Royal Adventurers Trading to Africa.⁷⁰ It is significant that while provision was made for contracts with the governors of Barbados, Antigua, and Jamaica for the sale of slaves, no provision was included with respect to Virginia and Maryland.⁷¹ This company, however, was exceedingly unfortunate. It suffered from interlopers, war, and bad management. In 1672 it was replaced by the newly chartered Royal African Company,⁷² and all the powers of the royal government were employed to maintain the Company's monopoly. It is probable that the larger part of the slaves carried to the English Colonies during the

⁶⁵ Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 79, 85; cf. Collins, E. D., "Colonial Policy of England," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1900, I, 166.

⁶⁶ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, IV, 172.

⁶⁷ Rivers, *Sketch of South Carolina*, 109, 120; Ash, *Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 82.

⁶⁸ *Account of Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 33.

⁶⁹ For an account of these sixteenth century enterprises, see Scott, W. R., *Joint-Stock Companies*, II, 3-11.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 11-17; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, p. 135; 1661-1668, p. 120; Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, II, 507.

⁷¹ Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 77.

⁷² Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1669-1674, pp. 409, 491.

second and third quarters of the seventeenth century were introduced either by private adventurers or by the Dutch, who had wrested a firm foothold in Guinea from the Portuguese. Although the Dutch slave trade never attained the dimensions of the later English trade, since the center of gravity of the Dutch colonial empire was in the Orient, it is probable the Dutch were the principal source of supply for Virginia about the middle of the seventeenth century. In 1659 the Virginia Assembly endeavored to foster this source of supply by exempting Dutch merchants from paying 10 per cent duty on tobacco received in exchange for slaves.⁷³

English slave-trading companies were not an important source for the supply of Negroes to Virginia and Maryland before the close of the seventeenth century. In 1681 Governor Culpeper asserted that no slaves had as yet been brought into Virginia by the Royal African Company.⁷⁴ In 1708 Governor Seymour, of Maryland, declared that the Colony was supplied before 1698 principally "by some small quantities of negro's from Barbadoes or other H. M. Islands and Plantations, as Jamaica and New England, 7, 8, 9, or 10 in a sloop and sometimes larger quantities, and sometimes, tho' very seldome, whole ship loads of slaves have been brought here directly from Africa by interlopers, or such as have had lycences or otherwise traded there." The sources of the Virginia supply were reported to be essentially similar.⁷⁵ In fact, the slaves transported by British traders during the seventeenth century were diverted almost entirely to the West Indies, which were nearer the source of supply. White labor, proved less capable of enduring the rigorous tropical climate than the mild climate of Virginia and Maryland, and English capital poured more readily into the West Indies during the seventeenth century than into the Continental Colonies.⁷⁶

RAPID EXPANSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By the closing decade of the seventeenth century the success of England in the struggle for international and colonial supremacy had placed her in a position to increase largely the scope of her slave trade. The agencies concerned in the trade began to show a greater interest in the Continental Colonies as a market. The interlopers, not having the burden of maintaining forts and employees on the African coast, enjoyed a great advantage over the monopolistic Company, and gradually obtained an increasing proportion of the trade. Finally, in 1698, Parliament threw open the trade to private merchants on condition of paying certain duties for the benefit of the Royal African Company.⁷⁷ In spite of a royal subsidy after 1730 the affairs of the Company continued to go from bad

⁷³ O'Callaghan, *Voyages of the Slavers St. John and Arms of Amsterdam* (N. Y. Colonial Tracts, III), Intro., pp. vii-xii; Sartorius von Waltershausen, *Die Arbeits-Verfassung der Englischen Kolonien*, 91; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 76; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 540.

⁷⁴ Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 79.

⁷⁵ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1708-1709, pp. 150, 156.

⁷⁶ Norwood, *Voyage to Virginia* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 10), p. 4.

⁷⁷ Cobb, T. R. R., *Inquiry into the Law of Negro Slavery*, p. cxliii; Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, II, 702; Du Bois, *Suppression of the African Slave-Trade*, 2; Bancroft, *United States*, III, 414; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1710-1711, p. 4.

to worse, and it was ultimately reduced to the necessity of confining its activity to the sale of slaves on the African coast.⁷⁸ In 1750 a new "regulated" company was formed, to which all merchants might belong by paying certain fees.⁷⁹

During the eighteenth century the slave trade became one of the most important phases of the world's economic life. In 1768, for instance, 104,100 slaves were exported from Africa. The English brought 53,100 to their island Colonies, and 6,300 to the American Continent. The French carried 23,500, the Dutch 11,300, the Portuguese 8,700, and the Danes 1,200.⁸⁰ Bryan Edwards estimated the total number brought to the British Colonies from 1680 to 1786 at 2,130,000.⁸¹ Only a small part of this great stream of slaves, however, came to the South. Bancroft estimates the total importation prior to 1740 at 130,000, and the number imported from 1740 until the Revolution at 300,000.⁸² Henry C. Carey's estimate, more conservative than that of Bancroft, is as follows:⁸³

Period	Number	Average per year
Before 1714.....	30,000	.....
1715-1750.....	90,000	2,500
1751-1760.....	35,000	3,500
1761-1770.....	74,500	7,450
1771-1790.....	34,000	1,700

Virginia and Maryland began to feel the effect of the more favorable conditions of supply about the beginning of the eighteenth century. Between mid-summer, 1698 and Christmas, 1707, a total of 2,290 slaves were brought into Maryland. In 1704 the number in the Colony was estimated at 4,475.⁸⁴ By 1712, as we have noted, there were 8,330 Negroes.⁸⁵ The counties with the largest percentages of slaves were Calvert, Anne Arundel, and Prince Georges. Charles County, south of Prince Georges, had little more than half the proportion of slaves in the newer county. The remaining counties had percentages of slaves ranging from 9 to 15. Thus, although there were a few planters, Maryland was still predominantly a region of small farmers. Between 1712 and 1755, however, in spite of the large immigration of small white farmers, the proportion of slaves increased from 18.2 to 29.5 per cent. The increase in the percentage occurred in every county, but the percentages of slaves were lower in the Eastern Shore counties, except Somerset, than in any of the Western Shore counties,⁸⁶ and

⁷⁸ Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 193.

⁷⁹ Great Britain, *Statutes at Large* (Pickering), XX, 112-125 (23 Geo. II, c. 31).

⁸⁰ Raynal, *Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, IV, 33. The statistics appear to have been based on a manuscript in the British Museum, which is quoted by Pitman. *Development of the British West Indies*, 67, 70.

⁸¹ *British West Indies*, II, 55.

⁸² *United States*, III, 411.

⁸³ *The Slave Trade*, 18; cf. *South Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), July 13, 1769, quoted by Wallace, D. D., *Henry Laurens*, 88.

⁸⁴ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XXV, 256; New York, *Documents relating to the Colonial History* (O'Callaghan), V, 605.

⁸⁵ *United States, Century of Population Growth*, 6. Cf. *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XXV, 259, which gives 8,408 Negroes in Maryland in 1712.

⁸⁶ Prince Georges, Charles, St. Marys, Calvert, Anne Arundell. *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XXV, 259; *United States, Century of Population Growth*, 185.

conspicuously low in Cecil and Worcester counties, and in the new western county of Frederick.

Between June 24, 1699 and October 12, 1708, a total of 6,607 Negroes were brought to Virginia, of whom all but 236 came direct from Africa.⁸⁷ From the Spring of 1718 to the Spring of 1727 Virginia imported about 11,000. The new supply was being diverted mainly to the upper Rappahannock and upper York river regions.⁸⁸ In 1739 a list of tithables for certain precincts of Orange County in the western Piedmont showed that the plantation system was just beginning to develop. Of the 331 households, 5 reported 15 to 18 tithables, 9 reported 8 to 10, and 9 reported 7. Many of the larger groups were "quarters," evidently outlying units of plantations in the older part of the Colony.⁸⁹ Lists of tithables in 1767 for Pittsylvania County, in southern Virginia, indicate even less concentration, the largest number of tithables being only 12.⁹⁰ In June, 1747, Sir William Gooch wrote that during the past summer about 2,000 slaves had been imported into Virginia. The average annual importation of both Virginia and Maryland just before the Revolution was estimated at 3,000 to 4,000.⁹¹ By 1756 Virginia contained 43,329 white tithables and 60,078 black tithables. There were many slaves in the Piedmont, although the proportion was somewhat higher in the Tidewater. Governor Dinwiddie estimated the total white population at 173,316 and the number of blacks at 120,156,⁹² making the blacks nearly 41 per cent of the total population; whereas in 1715, according to Governor Spotswood's estimate, they had been only 24 per cent.⁹³ Evidently, as in Maryland, slave population had been rapidly increasing in relative importance during the forty years preceding the outbreak of the French and Indian War.

The same tendency occurred in North Carolina, where the proportion of Negro tithables increased from 22 per cent of the estimated total population distinguished in the returns to nearly 26 per cent in the thirteen years from 1754 to 1767.⁹⁴ In 1767 slaves were still mainly in the eastern counties, but some of the middle counties were beginning to attract slaveholders. Granville County, for instance, reported 1,022 white taxables and 906 Negro taxables.⁹⁵

In the tobacco Colonies demand varied with the degree of prosperity in the tobacco industry. In 1750 a merchant wrote, "There is not the least fear of selling here, for there is in general as many Purchasers as there is slaves imported."⁹⁶ In 1764, however, another merchant declared, "The African Trade

⁸⁷ Report of Col. Jennings, in Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1708-1709, p. 156.

⁸⁸ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1320, pp. 117, 332-333, 335, 337, 339 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

⁸⁹ *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XXVII, 22-27.

⁹⁰ *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXIII, 79, 303, 371.

⁹¹ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1326, p. 475 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); Warden, *Account of the United States*, II, 156; Wynne, *British Empire*, II, 247.

⁹² He assumed four times the number of white tithables and twice the number of black tithables. *Official Records*, II, 353.

⁹³ *Official Letters*, I, p. xi.

⁹⁴ Total population is estimated according to Dinwiddie's method, multiplying white tithables by 4 and black tithables by 2, and only for counties where the population elements are distinguishable.

⁹⁵ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, V, 320; VII, 539.

⁹⁶ Jerdone, *Letter Book* (William and Mary Quarterly, XI), 157.

to Virginia must soon be at an end, for the people will not soon pay for the Negroes they have already bought."⁹⁷

In 1724 the number of Negroes imported at Charleston was only 439, but it had reached 2,907 by 1735, and from 1724 to 1735 a total of 17,665. During the twenty years beginning January 1, 1753, imported slaves numbered 55,606.⁹⁸

ATTITUDE OF THE SOUTHERN COLONIES TOWARD THE SLAVE TRADE

It was long customary for Southern apologists to assert that the slave trade was forced upon the Southern Colonies against their will, pointing to a long succession of statutes designed to tax the trade.⁹⁹ There is no conclusive evidence, however, that before the middle of the eighteenth century these measures were due to any widely prevalent moral sentiment against the trade or to any conviction of its impolicy within moderate limits. The principal motives were fear of insurrection, desire for revenue, a speculative interest in increasing the prices of slaves already in the Colonies, dissatisfaction with the draining out of money, increase of colonial indebtedness, and a desire to prevent a retardation of the progress of the general body of slaves in civilization.¹⁰⁰

Thus, South Carolina passed some twelve acts from 1698 to 1760 inclusive levying duties upon the importation of slaves.¹⁰¹ During much of this period the duties were on a revenue basis and did not seriously check importation. Prohibitive duties were in force for three years beginning July 5, 1741 (O. S.), for three years beginning July 16, 1747, and during the three years 1766 to 1768 inclusive. The enormous importations just before and just after the brief periods of restriction largely offset the effects of restraint and greatly enriched the speculative class,¹⁰² who, even as now, understood how to make tariff changes redound to their profit. In fact, speculators were probably largely responsible for enactment of the restrictive act of 1766 and for the failure to continue it; and they profited largely from the imposition of the Georgia import duty in 1765 and from its repeal in 1768.¹⁰³ In general, however, the policy in South Carolina was dictated largely by fear of slave insurrection, which was also responsible for the practice of taxing slaves introduced direct from Africa at lower rates than those from other Colonies, frequently undesirables sold to get rid of them.¹⁰⁴

The small slave importation in North Carolina made a restrictive policy unnecessary in that Colony, and no legislation was passed with that end in view until 1786.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁷ Baker, *Letter to Duncan Rose* (William and Mary Quarterly, XII), 242.

⁹⁸ Appendix to Report of Committee on the State of the Paper Currency, 1737, quoted by McCrady, *South Carolina under the Royal Government*, 143; Wallace, D. D., *Henry Laurens*, 87. The number and proportion of slave population at different periods for each of the Southern Colonies are summarized in Appendix, Table 39.

⁹⁹ See, for instance, Dabney, *Defence of Virginia*, 42-60; Tucker, St. G., *Dissertation on Slavery*, 39-45.

¹⁰⁰ Phillips, U. B., *American Negro Slavery*, 133.

¹⁰¹ Du Bois, *Suppression of the African Slave-Trade*, 9 & n.

¹⁰² See Wallace, D. D., *Henry Laurens*, 82-88; McCrady, "Slavery in the Province of South Carolina," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1895, p. 668.

¹⁰³ *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), Aug. 8, 1765; Dec. 14, 1768.

¹⁰⁴ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), II, 646, 651; III, 56; *ibid.* (McCord), VII, 365; *South Carolina Laws* (Grimké), No. 362; *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, I, 193, 195; Du Bois, *Suppression of the African Slave-Trade*, 9 n.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 12; cf. Bassett, *Slavery in the State of North Carolina*, 80.

Prior to 1772 Virginia passed thirty-three acts for the taxation or regulation of the trade. Professor Ballagh, whose scholarly monograph on slavery in Virginia entitles his opinion to consideration, holds that these enactments are conclusive proofs of an early hostile attitude toward an increasing Negro population, at first determined by fear of the effects upon domestic and political institutions rather than by sentimental disapproval of slavery.¹⁰⁶ Serious hostility to slavery does not appear to have prevailed prior to the last third of the eighteenth century, and it is improbable that the recitals of other motives in the several acts were mere subterfuges to blind the royal authorities. Except in periods of depression the prevailing interest during the seventeenth century and first half of the eighteenth was to increase the volume of the trade.

Thus, a Virginia act of 1660 provided for its encouragement by exempting from export duties all tobacco taken in payment.¹⁰⁷ Import duties were levied on servants as well as on slaves, in both cases to obtain revenue. The fact that specific duties were sometimes higher on slaves than on servants, as in the act of 1699 levied as a means of raising revenue needed for building a capitol, was probably due to the relatively higher value of slaves.¹⁰⁸ Allowance of drawbacks for reexportation, as in 1705, was merely a fiscal provision, applicable also to duties on wine and other liquors.¹⁰⁹ An act passed in 1705 and continued from time to time until 1724, when it was vetoed, levied a tax of 6 pence per head on all passengers entering the Colony, including both servants and slaves.¹¹⁰ Industrial depression and the rapidly mounting indebtedness of the planters were the motives given for extra duties imposed in 1710. Although Governor Spotswood remonstrated, he allowed the act to be passed, and agreed to its continuance by acts of 1714 and 1718. It is not probable that this faithful proconsul would have permitted this legislation to go unchallenged, and even confirmed the motive alleged by the colonists, if the real motive had been active hostility to the slave trade.¹¹¹ In 1732 a duty on slaves amounting to 5 per cent was imposed, and continued from time to time until after the Revolution, under the allegation of fiscal necessity.¹¹² Additional duties were provided for in 1754, 1757, 1766, 1769, and 1772, either for raising war revenue, or repaying indebtedness contracted.¹¹³ In 1760, however, the additional duty of 1757 was repealed by an act which recited the fact that the duty was burdensome on the industry of the Colony and unproductive of sufficient revenue because prohibitive.¹¹⁴

About 1760 the question of import duties on slaves was largely a struggle in Virginia, as in South Carolina, between those who desired a high duty because already well stocked with slaves and those favoring low duties because of the

¹⁰⁶ *Slavery in Virginia*, 14, 23.

¹⁰⁷ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 540.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 193. The act was revived in 1704. *Ibid.*, 225.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 233.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 346, 492; IV, 30, 118. A similar act was vetoed in 1727. *Ibid.*, 182.

¹¹¹ Spotswood, *Official Letters*, I, 52, 72; II, 52, 97, 323; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), III, 492.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 318, 394; V, 28, 160, 318; VI, 217-221, 353; VII, 281; VIII, 191, 336, 530.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, VI, 419; VII, 81; VIII, 238, 337, 530; cf. summarized statement by Governor Nelson, in London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1349, pp. 167-169 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

¹¹⁴ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), VII, 363, 383.

desire to acquire more slaves. The commercial interests, allied with the latter groups, prevailed on His Majesty to veto the additional duties of 1768 and 1770. In the last third of the eighteenth century a new politico-economic philosophy, more or less tempered by self-interest, resulted in sincere efforts to prevent the introduction of slaves. In 1772 the Virginia House of Burgesses petitioned the British authorities for the removal of all restraints on acts designed to check the importation of slaves from Africa, on the ground that the trade had long been considered inhuman.¹¹⁵

In 1671 and 1692 acts were passed by the Maryland Assembly to encourage slave importations, declaring slaves to be necessary to the welfare of the Colony.¹¹⁶ In 1694 duties were imposed on both servants and slaves, the treasury of the Colony being destitute of funds. The next year the duty on Negroes imported in foreign vessels was doubled, but entirely remitted on importations in vessels owned by residents. In 1704 the assembly fixed the duty at 20 shillings, and this act was revived in 1708. The duty was raised to £4 in 1716, but the act was not confirmed.¹¹⁷ The assembly then levied a duty of 40 shillings, which continued in force for many years. According to Brackett, there is no evidence that the duties were levied for purposes other than for revenue, as alleged by the assembly. About the middle of the century opposition to the slave trade began to develop,¹¹⁸ but an additional duty imposed in 1761 appears to have been essentially for revenue.¹¹⁹

During a considerable part of the colonial period participation in the trade involved no loss of respectability. There were numerous instances of slaveholding on the part of the clergy. It was characteristic of the ethics of the time that there was no loss of caste for the New England elder who gave thanks that "an overruling Providence has been pleased to bring to this land of freedom another cargo of benighted heathen to enjoy the blessings of a gospel dispensation."¹²⁰ Even after slavery was abolished in New England the merchants of that section, as well as residents of the Southern Colonies, continued to participate actively in the introduction of slaves.¹²¹ Records of the collector of the port of Charleston, South Carolina, during the four years 1804-1807 inclusive, showed that Great Britain had 70 ships engaged in the trade, Charleston 61, Rhode Island 59, Baltimore 4, Norfolk 2, and Boston 1. Of the 39,075 slaves imported, 21,027 came in British or French vessels, and 18,048 in American vessels. Of the latter, 5,717 came in Charleston vessels, but were imported by foreigners; 2,006 in Charleston vessels, imported by native South Carolinians;

¹¹⁵ Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, V, 164, 288.

¹¹⁶ Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland*, 38.

¹¹⁷ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XIX, 182, 363, 365; XXVI, 289, 349; XXX, 326, 515; Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland*, 42.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 43. Du Bois confirms this view. *Suppression of the African Slave-Trade*, 14.

¹¹⁹ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XXXII, 26.

¹²⁰ Weeden, *Economic and Social History of New England*, II, Chap. XII; cf. Fowler, *The Negro in Connecticut*, 5; Heston, *Slavery and Servitude in New Jersey*, 7; Fitzhugh, W., *Letters* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, I), 108.

¹²¹ Du Bois, *Suppression of the African Slave-Trade*, 28; Fowler, *The Negro in Connecticut*, 15-19; Dabney, *Defence of Virginia*, 36-43.

8,238 in Rhode Island vessels; and 450 in two vessels from Massachusetts and Connecticut. The remainder were from various sources.¹²²

LEGAL BASIS OF COLONIAL SLAVERY

The traffic in Negroes, begun in the fifteenth century, was recognized as legitimate by European governments as based on the law of nations. English legislation governing the promotion and extension of the slave trade may be regarded as a recognition of the existence of a law of slavery applicable to all parts of the British possessions, including England herself. Although Parliament appears to have taken for granted the existence of slavery under the municipal law of the several Colonies, it passed no act to formally establish the institution in any of them.¹²³

The attitude of English law with respect to slavery within the realm was long uncertain. In the case of *Butts versus Penny*, decided in 1677, it was held that trover might lie against Negroes because they were infidels and commonly bought and sold in America by the custom of merchants. There was an obiter dictum that conversion would have the effect of enfranchisement. The opinion was upheld on the same grounds in a case decided in 1693.¹²⁴ Four years later in *Chamberlayne versus Harvey*, the court decided that seizure of a Christian Negro slave was not a trespass, because the Negro was no chattel but merely a "slavish servant." In 1705 Chief Justice Holt refused judgment for a debt due for sale in London of a slave resident in Virginia, averring that slavery was lawful in Virginia by the municipal law of that Colony, but not by the law of England. In the same year Holt reversed the decision of *Butts versus Penny* on the ground that the law of England "takes no notice of *negroes* being different from other men." Subsequently, however, opinion turned for a time in an opposite direction. In 1729 the solicitor general held that a Negro coming into England from the West Indies did not thereby become free, even if baptized. In 1749 Chancellor Hardwicke decided that trover might lie against a slave when brought from a British possession into England. The final settlement of the question occurred in 1772, when the King's Bench, Lord Mansfield presiding, decided that a Negro slave from Jamaica, brought into England by his master, could not be forced to return, declaring that slavery is so odious it can be established in any jurisdiction only by positive law.¹²⁵

In Virginia, as well as in the West Indies, there was no act passed with the avowed purpose of creating slavery as an institution. The word *slave* was used in the statutes for the first time in 1655. An act passed in 1661 implied the existence of persons bound to service for life.¹²⁶ Such a status, however, was not peculiar to Negroes, for, as already noted, a number of white tenants were sent

¹²² From a report obtained in 1820 by Senator William Smith, of South Carolina, summarized in Wallace, D. D., *Henry Laurens*, 93 & n. See also Ballagh, *Slavery in Virginia*, 12.

¹²³ Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, I, 163-177; Stephen, *Slavery of the British West India Colonies*, I, 14.

¹²⁴ Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, I, 179, 181.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 181, 184-186 n., 189-194.

¹²⁶ Russell, J. H., *The Free Negro in Virginia*, 18-21; cf. Stephen, *Slavery of the British West India Colonies*, I, 14.

to Virginia under indenture for life.¹²⁷ Moreover, prior to 1660 there were instances of slaves bound to service for a term of years, and in the records of the period Negroes are generally referred to as servants.¹²⁸ For two decades before the beginnings of legislative definition and regulation of slavery in Virginia, there was a tendency to reduce Negroes to a state of slavery, partly by undue influence to compel Negro servants to agree to indentures for life, partly through lack of formal contract, and partly through importation of those held to be already in a state of slavery.¹²⁹ As Professor Ballagh says, slavery was gradually differentiated from servitude by the addition of various incidents in law, custom, and practice.¹³⁰ The differentiation was accelerated by distinct racial contrasts, by the existing juristic status of African slavery as established in the law of nations through nearly two centuries of the slave trade, and by a recognition of the prior existence of slavery in Africa and the heathen condition of the Negro race.¹³¹

In fact, if colonial statutes did not formally create the institution, they recognized its existence and defined the status of slaves, differentiating them from other classes. Thus, the Maryland act of 1692 provided that slaves and their offspring must serve for life, and even that a free Negro marrying a white woman must become a slave.¹³² Governor Gooch wrote in 1735 that Virginia courts customarily held that a free person coming to Virginia could not be enslaved. It was presumed, however, that Negroes brought to Virginia were already in a state of slavery.¹³³ The principle that conversion did not affect the status of the slave was affirmed by Maryland legislation in 1664, 1671, and 1692, and by Virginia in 1667. The same principle was embodied in Locke's "Fundamental Constitutions" for the Carolinas in 1669.¹³⁴ The status of the issue of slave parents was first settled by Virginia in 1662, through adoption of the principle that the child should follow the condition of the mother. Although contrary to the common law, the principle was adopted by all of the Southern commonwealths, with the exception of Maryland during a part of the colonial period.¹³⁵ The Maryland act of 1663 declared that children were to be slaves "as their fathers were," and that children of a free-born Englishwoman by a slave father should be slaves, the mother to serve the master of the slave during the lifetime of the latter. The rule of *partus sequitur ventrem* was adopted in 1681, and reasserted in 1715.¹³⁶

For a few years after Bacon's Rebellion enslavement of Indians was lawful in

¹²⁷ See above, p. 316.

¹²⁸ Northampton County Records, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, IV, 407; cf. Russell, J. H., *The Free Negro in Virginia*, 24-29.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 29-37.

¹³⁰ *Slavery in Virginia*, 28.

¹³¹ For the argument of two Southern jurists, see Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, I, 195-207; Cobb, T. R. R., *Inquiry into the Law of Negro Slavery*, 65-67.

¹³² *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XIII, 546.

¹³³ British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts*, 32789, f. 353 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

¹³⁴ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XIII, 505; cf. *ibid.*, II, 272; Jernegan, "Slavery and Conversion in the Colonies," in *American Historical Review*, XXI, 506; Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, I, 293, 294 n.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 231; Cobb, T. R. R., *Inquiry into the Law of Negro Slavery*, 68-71.

¹³⁶ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), I, 533; VII, 203; Wheeler, J. D., *Treatise on the Law of Slavery*, 3 n.; Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, I, 249-250. For contrasts in the economic and social status of slaves as compared with servants, see Chaps. XXI-XXII.

Virginia. Most of the Indian slaves, however, were either imported from abroad or bought from the natives themselves, who sometimes sold their captives or even their own children into slavery.¹³⁷ In the Carolinas enslavement was extensively practiced. As early as the administration of Governor West the colonial authorities were interested in the Indian slave trade. The native tribes were encouraged to make war on one another and to sell their prisoners to the colonists. Many of these slaves were shipped to the West Indies in exchange for Negroes.¹³⁸ In his secret expedition against St. Augustine Governor Moore commissioned certain of his followers to take as many Indians as they possibly could. A large number were captured and sold into slavery as a result of Moore's expedition against the Apalachees in 1704, and in the subsequent expeditions against the North Carolina Indians 800 were captured and enslaved. In 1707, as we have noted, there were 1,400 Indian slaves in South Carolina.¹³⁹ Although the kidnapping of friendly Indians, practiced by the traders, was forbidden, the Charleston market was usually open to captive allies of the French. In 1700 the French found the Carolinians buying slaves among the Chickasaws. Nearly a decade later Thomas Nairne wrote, "Our friends the Talapoosies and Checacas imploy themselves in making slaves of such Indians about the lower parts of the Mississippi as are now subject to the French. The good prices the English traders give them for slaves encourage them to this trade extreamly."¹⁴⁰ In June, 1722, the South Carolina Council passed a resolution to pay the Creeks £50 per head for each Yamasse slave brought in, above ten years of age.¹⁴¹ An act was passed in 1760 by the North Carolina Assembly allowing any person serving against the Indian allies of the French to enslave captives. In 1776 John Drayton urged the enslavement of captive Cherokees.¹⁴²

In desirability, however, Indian slaves were generally considered inferior to Negroes. Their capture was difficult, their escape relatively easy, and experience showed them to be crafty, untrustworthy, and dangerous. Strachey declared that they required twice the food necessary to support an English laborer.¹⁴³

ADVANTAGES OF NEGRO LABOR IN COMPARISON WITH THAT OF WHITE SERVANTS

It might appear that from the standpoint of absolute efficiency white servants would have proved markedly superior to savages brought from Africa, ignorant of the English language, of European moral and sanitary standards, and so

¹³⁷ Ballagh, *Slavery in Virginia*, 35; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 54-56; Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland*, Chap. II.

¹³⁸ Chalmers, G., *Political Annals* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 314; Rivers, *Sketch of South Carolina*, 106, 125, 131-133, 137; Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, I, 132.

¹³⁹ Rivers, *Sketch of South Carolina*, 199, 208, 251 n., 255. See above, p. 328.

¹⁴⁰ Logan, J. H., *Upper South Carolina*, I, 180-195; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1708-1709, p. 422. For a more circumstantial account of the part played by the Indian slave trade in the development of the Carolinas, see Crane, *Southern Frontier*, *passim*.

¹⁴¹ *Council Journals*, 1722, p. 17 (Manuscript in South Carolina State Library, Columbia).

¹⁴² *North Carolina Laws* (Iredell), 193; Gibbes, *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, II, 29. Concerning the enslavement of Indians in New England, see Moore, G. H., *Slavery in Massachusetts*, 48, 50; Steiner, *Slavery in Connecticut*, 9-11.

¹⁴³ *Historie of Travaile*, 77; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 54.

untrained in industrial technique that they must be instructed as to which end they were to take hold of a hoe or a wheelbarrow. On the contrary, Negro slavery involved certain relative advantages that caused it largely to replace white servitude. Colonial agriculture demanded little except physical strength, endurance, and such dexterity in the use of hand tools as the Negro readily acquired.¹⁴⁴

It was believed that under the severe conditions of rice and indigo cultivation, Negro labor was superior to white labor. Hewatt, though bitterly opposed to slavery, asserted that "white servants would have exhausted their strength in clearing a spot of land for digging their own graves."¹⁴⁵ Experience has shown, however, that this element of superiority was not important in the tobacco and upland cotton industries. Peytraud has gathered considerable evidence to prove that climate was not an important obstacle to the employment of white laborers even in the West Indies.¹⁴⁶

Opinions varied as to the relative merits of white and Negro laborers as determined by traits of character. Parkinson observed in 1798 that white free laborers were saucy, independent, and unreliable. They absented themselves when they pleased and "allow you for their time."¹⁴⁷ When it is remembered that large numbers of servants were criminals, it is obvious that many of them must have proved incorrigible. Their greater intelligence rendered them potentially more dangerous than Negroes. The privilege of making legal complaint that the servants possessed made it necessary for the master to be more careful in his treatment and gave him less latitude in punishment.¹⁴⁸

The relative undesirability of servants was especially marked in the greater ease with which they made their escape. John Urmstone declared, "White servants are seldom worth the keeping and never stay out the time indented for." In fact, North Carolina became a place of refuge for runaway servants from Virginia and South Carolina.¹⁴⁹ Danger of loss of slaves by running away was greatest in sparsely settled regions. Early in the colonial period Maryland and Virginia suffered much annoyance through connivance of Indian tribes in the escape of Negroes, and South Carolina and Georgia lost many slaves through escape into Florida, under Spanish encouragement.¹⁵⁰ With increasing density of population, ultimate escape became more difficult, but numerous advertisements for runaways indicate that escape was by no means infrequent.¹⁵¹

Women servants were not generally employed in field labor, and therefore were

¹⁴⁴ Jacobstein, *Tobacco Industry in the United States*, 19. The relative efficiency of Negro slaves and free white laborers in Southern agriculture are considered in Chap. XX.

¹⁴⁵ *South Carolina and Georgia*, I, 120. A similar point of view was expressed in the *State Gazette of South Carolina* (Charleston), Aug. 17, 1786; *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), Sept. 10, 1766.

¹⁴⁶ *L'Esclavage aux Antilles Françaises*, 19-26; cf. also Stokes, *Constitution of the British Colonies*, 415.

¹⁴⁷ *Tour*, II, 420.

¹⁴⁸ Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 10, 59.

¹⁴⁹ Bassett, *Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina*, 79-81.

¹⁵⁰ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), II, 224; XXXIV, 353; XXXVI, 583; *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, II, 269, 310; Giddings, *Exiles of Florida*, 97.

¹⁵¹ For instances, see *Georgia State Gazette or Independent Register* (Augusta), Jan. 26, 1788; *South Carolina Gazette and General Advertiser* (Charleston), Apr. 12, 26, May 20, 1783; *Times and Alexandria Advertiser* (Virginia), July, 1797-Nov., 1798, *passim*; *Columbian Mirror and Alexandria Gazette* (Virginia), June 15, 1793.

not classed as tithables.¹⁵² In this respect servitude was defective not only as a system of labor, but also as a system of immigration, for it favored the selection of men rather than of families. The household duties of Southern plantations were not so multifarious as to demand the labor of a large number of women. They could be employed to better advantage in the farming regions with their diversified industry, than in strictly plantation regions. The greater value of the servant for military service was a consideration that influenced public authorities rather than the planters themselves.

One of the principal elements of cost of servants in the seventeenth century, especially in the first half, was the risk of sickness and death in "seasoning." We have already noted the excessive rate of mortality during the early years of Virginia. De Vries asserted in 1633 that during the summer months people lately arrived from England died "like cats and dogs."¹⁵³ Gradually, however, seasoning ceased to be a source of great mortality. In 1671 Governor Berkeley reported, "All new plantations are, for an age or two, unhealthy, till they are thoroughly cleared of wood . . . but there is not oft unseasoned hands (as we term them) that die now whereas heretofore not one of five escaped the first year." In 1685 Burton declared, "Few die of the Countrie disease called Seasoning." In the earlier part of the eighteenth century doctors began to use *Cortex Peruviana* (quinine), and it was found that "It seldom or never fails to remove the Fits."¹⁵⁴ Although newly imported slaves were relatively free from the heavy mortality incident to acclimatization, they were liable to death from nostalgia and suicide or from diseases brought with them from Africa. The writer of a pamphlet published in 1762 says that one half the Negroes imported into Jamaica died of seasoning, and that the proportion was one fourth in Barbados. About 1790 William Beckford estimated that in Jamaica the loss of newly imported slaves would be one fourth during the first five years. During this period the amount of work obtained was comparatively small on account of their inexperience and the necessity of treating them with tenderness to avoid loss by nostalgia.¹⁵⁵ About 1740 a writer familiar with conditions in South Carolina and Georgia asserted that the value of an unseasoned slave's life might not be computed at more than seven years' purchase. Slaves under twenty-five years of age were believed to be less likely to die of grief than those over middle age. It was necessary to take great pains to keep up the spirits of Negroes. Slave captains provided native food, and native singers and dancers. Opponents of the trade declared that ships' officers used whips to compel Negroes to dance for exercise.¹⁵⁶ In general, however, the element of risk from escape or death was greater for the

¹⁵² Beverley, R., *History of Virginia*, 236; Hartwell, Blair, & Chilton, *Present State of Virginia and the College*, 52.

¹⁵³ *Voyages*, 54, 109; Brown, A., *First Republic*, 381, 612. Concerning the difficulty of seasoning in Maryland, see Father White's letter to Lord Baltimore, Feb. 20, 1638, in Maryland Historical Society, *Fund Publications*, No. 28, p. 202; Danckaerts & Sluyter, *Journal*, 194.

¹⁵⁴ Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 335; Crouch, *English Empire in America*, 122; Plantagenet, *New Albion* (Force, Tracts, II, No. 7), p. 5; Beverley, R., *History of Virginia*, 270.

¹⁵⁵ Long, *History of Jamaica*, II, 431-434; Benezet, *Short Account of that Part of Africa Inhabited by the Negroes*, 39; Beckford, *Descriptive Account of Jamaica*, II, 341-343.

¹⁵⁶ Martyn, *Impartial Inquiry* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 168; Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, II, 129-133; Pinckard, *Notes on the West Indies*, I, 102-109; Blake, *Slavery and Slave Trade*, 127.

slave than for the servant, for the planter had a larger sum invested in the labor of the former.¹⁵⁷

Expenses of maintenance in the colonial South were very small. About 1760 Israel Acrelius estimated the annual expense per slave at £8 in Delaware, a region where slaves were as well provided for as servants. Just before the Revolutionary War the expense was estimated at £2 13s. sterling for South Carolina and £5 for Georgia. In 1792 Jefferson estimated about £6. Several years later the expense on William Washington's estate in South Carolina was from \$12 to \$13 per month,¹⁵⁸ but this was at a time when high prices of rice induced planters to depend on purchasing subsistence. The cost of maintaining a servant was probably a little, though not materially, greater than that of a slave. The difference was principally in clothing, for servants were clothed after the style of their masters in character of garments, if not in quality. Slaves were usually clothed during mild weather in loose linsey-woolsey, with no shoes and stockings.¹⁵⁹

COSTS OF IMPORTATION AND LENGTH OF SERVICE OF SERVANTS AND SLAVES

Throughout the colonial period there was a progressive demand for more labor than could be satisfied by natural increase. The extra supply must be secured from the migration of free laborers, the servant trade, or the slave trade. It was the good fortune of the Northern Colonies that they received gratis a supply of laborers. One of the earliest arguments brought against slavery in New England was the thrifty contention that slaves tended to keep out whites, who would defray their expenses of immigration.¹⁶⁰ Conditions in New England, however, afforded little opportunity for private capitalists to profit by importing labor because of the noncapitalistic character of agriculture and handicrafts, and the fact that ocean commerce did not lend itself to employment of slave labor. The commercial character of a large proportion of Southern agriculture and the progressive demand for Southern staples made it profitable to enlarge the labor supply by importation. Slavery and the plantation, in turn, tended to discourage somewhat the spontaneous immigration of free laborers. It was rarely customary to pay wages to the servant or to advance him a sum of money, although occasionally skilled artisans or tutors and clerks stipulated in the indenture for wage payments.¹⁶¹ The North Carolina servant law of 1741 recognized this tendency by providing that in case the alleged skill should prove fictitious, the court might readjust the terms of the agreement.¹⁶² A practice probably widely pursued is described in an early account of Maryland as follows: "The usuall terme of binding a servant, is for five yeers; but for any artificer, or

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Computation that the Importation of Negroes is not as Profitable as that of White Servants, quoted by Moore, G. H., *Slavery in Massachusetts*, 106-108.

¹⁵⁸ Acrelius, *History of New Sweden*, 168; *American Husbandry*, I, 427; Jones, C. C., *History of Georgia*, I, 510; Washington, *Letters on Agriculture*, 69; La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, II, 446.

¹⁵⁹ Beverley, R., *History of Virginia*, 236; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 59, 105-107.

¹⁶⁰ Weeden, *Economic and Social History of New England*, II, 520.

¹⁶¹ Smyth, J. (of Nibley), *Papers* (N. Y. Public Library, Bulletin, III), 212. See also Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, I, 354-356.

¹⁶² *North Carolina State Records*, XXIII (Col. Laws), 195.

one that shall deserve more than ordinary, the Adventurer shall doe well to shorten that time and adde encouragements of another nature."¹⁶³ In so far as competition influenced the contract, it was manifested mainly in the length of term of service, in agreements with respect to advances of food and clothing, and in amount of freedom dues. In Pennsylvania the length of the term appears to have varied to a considerable extent in response to competitive forces.¹⁶⁴

The normal first cost of the servant, therefore, as represented by money outlay, was rarely more than cost of passage and commissions of middlemen. The cost of transport during most of the seventeenth century varied from £5 to £6 sterling. It was sometimes necessary also to furnish clothing and other requirements, and to pay commissions of procurement. Probably £10 to £12 represented the approximate cost of importing a servant.¹⁶⁵

A second element of cost was freedom dues. These varied considerably. When no contract existed they were determined by "custom of the country" or by statute. There was probably a strong tendency for contractual dues to follow the legal ones, which in turn were largely based on custom.

In Virginia, during the seventeenth century, freedom dues for men consisted of food and clothing for one year and sometimes seed, tools, and arms. At the end of the century 30 or 40 shillings was allowed for clothing.¹⁶⁶ In Maryland the act of 1638/9 provided that freedom dues should consist of three barrels of corn, a hilling hoe, weeding hoe, and felling axe. Men were to receive also "One new cloth sute one new Shirt one pair of new Shews one pair of new Stockins and a new monmouth Capp." Each maid servant was entitled also to "one new petty coat and wast coat one new smock one pair of new Shoes one pair of new Stockings and the Cloths formerly belonging to the Servant." Detailed specifications were changed from time to time.¹⁶⁷ According to Bruce, freedom dues in Virginia were equivalent to about £10 sterling. It is doubtful if they ordinarily were worth so much. In 1701 it was declared that in Maryland they were worth about £6, but in Virginia "not so much." In the former Province a judicial inquiry in 1648 estimated the value of freedom dues at 429 pounds of tobacco,¹⁶⁸ probably worth from £4 to £6. The North Carolina servant law of 1715 provided that each servant should receive three barrels of corn and two complete new suits of apparel of the value of at least £5 or, in lieu of one suit of apparel, a serviceable gun. The act of 1741 required freedom dues of £3

¹⁶³ *Relation of Maryland*, 1635 (Hall, Narratives), 100.

¹⁶⁴ Geiser, *Redemptioners and Indentured Servants*, 52.

¹⁶⁵ Virginia Company of London, *Abstract of Proceedings*, I, 140; *idem*, *Court Book*, I, 396; Norwood, *Voyage to Virginia* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 10), p. 4; Williams, E., *Virginia . . . Richly and Truly Valued* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 11), p. 10; Wilson, S., *Account of Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 35; *Relation of Maryland*, 1635 (Sabin Reprint), 54; Ford, W. C., *Washington as an Employer of Labor*, 65-67; Plantagenet, *New Albion* (Force, Tracts, II, No. 7), p. 32; Bullock, *Virginia Impartially Examined*, 35; *Letters and Papers of the Verney Family* (Camden Soc., Publications, No. 56), p. 160; letter of an agent to the wife of Sir Edward Verney, in Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 109.

¹⁶⁶ Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 41-43; cf. Beverley, R., *History of Virginia*, 238; Hammond J., *Leah and Rachel* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 14), p. 11; Ballagh, *White Servitude in Virginia*, 62.

¹⁶⁷ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), I, 80, 97; XXII, 445; cf. also *ibid.*, XXX, 286.

¹⁶⁸ *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 42; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1701, p. 693; *Maryland Archives* (Prov. Court), IV, 361, 470-471.

proclamation money and one suit of apparel.¹⁶⁹ The South Carolina law of 1687 specified as freedom dues "one suite of Apparell, one barrel of Indian Corne, one Axe, and one Hoe."¹⁷⁰

Thus, the entire money outlay for servants consisted of about £10 to £12 for original charges and from £5 to £10 in freedom dues at the end of the term. Intermediate charges were for food and other necessary expenses, together with interest on the original outlay, probably largely compensated by the fact that freedom dues came at the end of the period.

Conditions of supply of slaves in Africa varied widely. At times it was possible to gather them with little expense on the coasts or along the rivers. Frequently the trader found his supply of slaves already accumulated. African kings carried on a regular business in supplying slaves to the dealers. There were slaves captured in tribal wars or condemned for crime. Native kings commuted penalties into slavery and extended punishment to unimportant offenses. Some of the natives had lost freedom by gambling. Tempting commodities offered by the trader induced mothers to sell their children. Sometimes a native king would sell his own villagers.¹⁷¹ In the later colonial period it was necessary to depend mainly upon the interior of the Continent for the supply, which was brought by native dealers to the coast. The costs of obtaining a supply were at times increased by exactions of native kings. At Juda, for instance, it was necessary to pay an export duty of nineteen slaves for a three-masted ship, and fourteen for a two-masted vessel.¹⁷² There were fees to be paid to middlemen who aided in purchasing a cargo and presents to resident officials. Resident factors, whose duty it was to obtain the supply and store them until the ships came, sometimes cheated their employers, selling slaves to "interlopers" on their own account.¹⁷³ From 1698 to 1712 the Royal African Company was permitted to tax the independent traders on their cargoes. Later the British Government defrayed the expenses of factories, taxing the trade in compensation.¹⁷⁴

The actual cost of slaves on the African coast varied, but it was no inconsiderable amount after competition became keen. A sturdy Anamahoe slave might be purchased on the Gold Coast in 1749 for £9 or £10 and resold for £29 or £30 in the British West Indies, but in 1776 the same Negro cost £27 18 s., selling for nearly £50. About 1693 slaves averaged approximately 35 to 40 livres a head on the French African coast, but by 1784 it was necessary to pay about 500 livres.¹⁷⁵ In the latter part of the eighteenth century Raynal estimated the cost

¹⁶⁹ *North Carolina State Records*, XXIII (Col. Laws), 63, 196.

¹⁷⁰ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), II, 31.

¹⁷¹ These various statements are based on the following: Benezet, *Short Account of that Part of Africa Inhabited by the Negroes*, 8-11, 16-20; *idem*, *Observations on the Inslaving, Importing and Purchasing of Negroes, etc.*, 4-8; *idem*, *Guinea and the Slave Trade*, 19, 88-92, 99; Mayer, *Capt. Canot; or, Twenty Years of an African Slaver*, 91-93; Raynal, *Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, 29-33; Bridges, *Annals of Jamaica*, I, 490; Blake, *Slavery and Slave Trade*, 108-126; Snelgrave, *New Account of Guinea and the Slave Trade*, 85-89, 158; Williams, G., *Liverpool Privateers and Slave Trade*, 582.

¹⁷² Benezet, *Guinea and the Slave Trade*, 19, 27, 93-98.

¹⁷³ Peytraud, *L'Esclavage aux Antilles Françaises*, 97; Houstoun, *Works*, 140-146.

¹⁷⁴ Pitman, *Development of the British West Indies*, 64.

¹⁷⁵ Peytraud, *L'Esclavage aux Antilles Françaises*, 102.

of a slave in Africa at £13 2s. 6d., declaring it had quadrupled in the past twenty years.¹⁷⁶ In 1714 a British tract advocating the reestablishment of the Royal African Company argued that competition of independent traders, loss of prestige due to lack of unified policy, and encroachments of the French and Dutch had raised the price of slaves on the coast from £2 10s. to £3 per head to nearly £20 per head.¹⁷⁷ In 1827, after the trade had become illegal and was pursued illicitly, a slave on the coast cost about \$40, but shrewd traders sometimes obtained them for \$18 to \$20.¹⁷⁸ As the easily accessible supply became smaller, larger proportions of old and decrepit slaves were included in cargoes. Native traders, as well as European merchants, became adepts at making up Negroes so as to deceive the unpracticed eye. Wrinkled and decrepit Negroes were bloated with drugs to make them fat, and "sweated with powder and lemon juice, and oiled to impart a gloss to the skin."¹⁷⁹

Regulations reduced mortality but increased the cost of importation. There is evidence that in the latter part of the colonial period expenses were so high that they sometimes equalled or exceeded returns. In fact, France was compelled to subsidize the trade, granting the first bounty in 1671.¹⁸⁰ During the disorganization of the Seven Years' War it was found necessary to increase the bounty. French traders became so discouraged that the Governor of Martinique suggested the French Government assume the task of supplying the French West Indies.¹⁸¹

The trade was exceedingly hazardous. In addition to the ordinary dangers of seafaring there was the added peril of insurrection. It was often necessary for the crew to kill large numbers of Negroes before an insurrection was suppressed. Sometimes epidemics swept the crowded holds, causing a loss of half or two thirds of a cargo. Various authorities estimated the loss at 5 to 8 per cent.¹⁸² The trade was so highly speculative that it was possible to determine its profitability only after a considerable number of voyages. The profits of a successful voyage were enormous. Instances occurred during the colonial period where receipts for a cargo of slaves were ten times all the expense, yet thousands of dollars might be lost on a single voyage.¹⁸³ In 1827, when it was necessary to incur much expense and risk in violating international restrictions, an account shows an average expense of more than \$166 per slave, with no allowance for unfortunate voyages. However, a considerable part of the expenses consisted of commissions

¹⁷⁶ *Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, IV, 31, 34.

¹⁷⁷ *Some Observations Shewing the Danger of Losing the Trade of the Sugar Colonies*, 8.

¹⁷⁸ Mayer, *Capt. Canot; or, Twenty Years of an African Slaver*, 73, 87 n.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 94; Pinckard, *Notes on the West Indies*, I, 108; *Practical Rules for the Management and Medical Treatment of Negro Slaves in the Sugar Colonies*, 40-42; Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, IV, 146.

¹⁸⁰ Edwards, *British West Indies*, II, 118-122; Peytraud, *L'Esclavage aux Antilles Françaises*, Chap. II.

¹⁸¹ Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in the United States*, 87-89; cf. *Maryland Gazette or the Baltimore Advertiser*, Sept. 29, 1789; Peytraud, *L'Esclavage aux Antilles Françaises*, 68-70.

¹⁸² Pitman, *Development of the British West Indies*, 68; Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, IV, 146; Peytraud, *L'Esclavage aux Antilles Françaises*, 113-115.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 102-104; Mayer, *Capt. Canot; or, Twenty Years of an African Slaver*, 101, 246, 252-260. For itemized accounts of expenses and receipts for particular voyages, see Williams, G., *Liverpool Privateers and Slave Trade*, Chap. VI.

and fees to factors, sailors, and officers in proportion to number of slaves sold at the end of the voyage, thus distributing the risk. Average returns were probably well above the expense and loss, if we may judge by the pertinacity with which the business was pursued. The trade was the source of a large part of the commercial capital of England and New England, and largely responsible for the extension of England's sea power.¹⁸⁴

COMPARATIVE COSTS OF SLAVES AND OF SERVANTS DELIVERED IN THE COLONIES

Human labor power, whether black or white, was much cheaper in the earlier part of the colonial period than later. About the middle of the seventeenth century an adult slave in Virginia was worth about £18 to £20. Values gradually increased until the close of the century.¹⁸⁵ Since most of the slaves in that period were brought by way of the West Indies, the course of prices there is probably a fairly good indication of the trend in British North America. The contract of the African Company (1662) called for the delivery of slaves at Barbados for £17 a head, and at Antigua and Jamaica for £18 and £19 respectively. In 1669 the average price reported was £20, but in 1672 Negroes from twelve to forty years of age were quoted at £15 in Barbados, £16 in the Leeward Islands, £17 in Jamaica, and £18 in Virginia. In 1672 the Company agreed to supply the Leeward Islands with slaves in cargo lots at an average price of £16, on condition that payments be made in money rather than produce, and in instalments covering a period of six months.¹⁸⁶ There was naturally a differential between the Continent and the Islands on account of greater distance of the former from sources of supply. In 1676 the Company sold a cargo in Virginia at an average of £18 sterling. In 1678 the average price per head of 1,425 Negroes sold in Jamaica by the Company was £14 10s. Two years later 484 slaves averaged nearly the same price, but when bought as individuals the price was £20 to £22 per head. In 1687 the Company agreed to renew the contract for the Leeward Islands on the same terms as mentioned above for an average price of £15 per slave. In 1689 complaint was made that the Company had increased the average price in the West Indies to £20.¹⁸⁷

During the eighteenth century prices further increased. From 1680 to 1698 prices of newly imported slaves in Virginia ranged from £18 to £25 per head. From June 24, 1699 to October 12, 1708, Negroes imported by the Company sold at £20 to £30 per head, while those imported by private traders brought £20 to £35.¹⁸⁸ In Maryland male Negroes sold for about £30 and females about

¹⁸⁴ Sartorius von Waltershausen, *Die Arbeits-Verfassung der Englischen Kolonien*, 100. For a description of the details of the slave trade, see Phillips, U. B., *American Negro Slavery*, 26-45.

¹⁸⁵ For various quotations, see Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 88.

¹⁸⁶ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1661-1668, pp. 120, 229; 1669-1674, p. 444; Pitman, *Development of the British West Indies*, 130.

¹⁸⁷ Memorandum of Mar., 1762, in *Jamieson Papers* (Manuscripts, Library of Congress [No. 314 in pencil]); Collins, E. D., "Colonial Policy of England," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1900, I, 165; Pitman, *Development of the British West Indies*, 64, 130.

¹⁸⁸ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1316, p. 15 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); cf. quotations of "prime" hands for Virginia, collected by P. A. Bruce *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 90-92. These are not representative for cargo lots.

£25 or £26.¹⁸⁹ The War of the Spanish Succession caused prices to be considerably increased. In a British tract published in 1714 it is stated that on account of higher prices on the African coast prices in the West Indies had increased from £14 to £18, and the prices during the last years of the monopoly to £30 to £40. It was later admitted, however, that the war had been largely responsible. In 1714 a Boston merchant reported that Negroes were not to be obtained under £45 to £50 per head.¹⁹⁰ After the war prices went considerably lower for a time. In 1721 a cargo of the finest Bombesa men slaves had been imported and sold in Virginia at an average of £17 per head. In 1722 men brought £20; women £18; girls 10 to 12 years old £10. In 1723 a cargo of "single choice men" averaged £20, though the best brought £40.¹⁹¹

During the next quarter of a century prices probably advanced considerably. About 1741 the average for unseasoned Negroes in Georgia was £25 to £30 sterling. By the middle of the century average prices of newly imported Africans in the Colonies were £30 to £35, while prime domestic hands were worth £40 to £60.¹⁹² There was apparently a further increase between the middle of the century and the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. In the closing years of this period newly imported Africans in the American Colonies averaged £40 to £50, while prime field hands were £50 to £80.¹⁹³

In short, these scattering quotations indicate that as compared with about the middle of the seventeenth century the level of slave prices had increased from 25 to 30 per cent by the beginning of the eighteenth century, had approximately doubled by the middle of the eighteenth century, and in the years just preceding the Revolution was probably three times as high.

Principally on account of the shorter term of service, prices of servants tended to be considerably lower than prices of slaves. Average prices of servants compiled by Bruce from inventories of estates are as follows:¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁹ Report by Governor Seymour, in Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1708-1709, p. 150.

¹⁹⁰ *Some Observations Shewing the Danger of Losing the Trade of the Sugar Colonies*, 8; *North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register*, II, 160.

¹⁹¹ Discussion of slave values in appraising an estate, reprinted in *Southern Planter*, II, 40; cf. *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXXVII, 83.

¹⁹² Martyn, *Impartial Inquiry* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 168; Rivers, *Sketch of South Carolina*, 251 n.; Monette, *Discovery and Settlement of the Mississippi Valley*, I, 227; Jones, H., *Present State of Virginia*, 38; Cheyney, "Condition of Labor in Early Pennsylvania," in *The Manufacturer*, Feb. 2, 16, 1891; Bridges, *Annals of Jamaica*, I, 499; Kalm, *Travels*, I, 393; Acrelius, *History of New Sweden*, 168; Ford, W. C., *Washington as an Employer of Labor*, 8; Williams, G., *Liverpool Privateers and Slave Trade*, 529.

¹⁹³ *Jamieson Papers*, Correspondence of 1771-1772, *passim* (Manuscripts, Library of Congress); Wallace, D. D., *Henry Laurens*, 78, 87; Williams, G., *Liverpool Privateers and Slave Trade*, 529; Milligen, *Description of South Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, III), 479; McCrady, "Slavery in the Province of South Carolina," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1895, p. 669; *American Husbandry*, I, 228; II 166; Ford, W. C., *Washington as an Employer of Labor*, 8; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, VI, 739; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXI, 395-405; Henry's Map of Virginia in 1770, in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XIV, 85; Habersham, *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, VI), 216. For statements somewhat inconsistent with the above evidence, see Virginia, State Board of Agriculture, *Report (House Journal and Documents, 1842-43, Doc. 12)*, p. 52; Scotus Americanus, *Information concerning North Carolina* (North Carolina Historical Review, III), 615.

¹⁹⁴ *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 51.

Unexpired term	Male servants	Female servants
	£	£
1 year	2 to 4	1 to 3
2 years	6 to 8	3 to 5
3 years	8 to 14	4 to 8
4 years	11 to 15	8 to 12
5 years	12 to 16	12 to 14
6 years	13 to 17	15 or less

According to Bancroft, the services of a redemptioner for a full term were worth in 1672 an average of £10, as compared with £20 to £25 for a slave.¹⁹⁵ About 1720, Palatines, indentured from four to five years, sold in Pennsylvania for about £10. About 1759 the value of a servant was estimated at £7.¹⁹⁶ Governor Sharpe of Maryland wrote in 1755 that the contractor for the sale of convicts was receiving from £8 to £20 sterling per head for his wares although the cost of transport was only £6.¹⁹⁷ In the latter part of the eighteenth century prices ranged from £2 to £4 per year of service. According to Schaper, prices in South Carolina averaged £6. In 1779 one of the contractors engaged in supplying servants testified that he paid the English Government £5 a head for convicts and sold them in Virginia and Maryland for £10. Skilled artisans brought £15 to £25.¹⁹⁸

Scattering evidence suggests a probable increase during the colonial period in the price level of white servants, corresponding to the increase in value of slaves, in part, no doubt, reflecting the larger influence of contract as compared with coercion. In 1664 the French West India Company was supplying servants to its island colonists at £4 10s. to £6 15s. sterling per head. In 1703 the price of servants imported into Jamaica in time of peace was £12 for Irish servants and £14 for those from other parts of the British Isles, but about 1774 Jamaica planters had to offer annual wages of from £35 to £40, in addition to passage money, in order to obtain enough servants to satisfy the deficiency laws.¹⁹⁹

It is obvious that ordinarily prices of servants were but little in excess of expenses of transport and allowance for losses in "seasoning;" that the cost of transporting slaves was not much greater than for servants; but, serving for life, their prices were several times as high.²⁰⁰

These facts reflect the essential economic advantages of slave labor over that of servants, advantages that made European capital flow readily into the slave trade. The law of force enabled merchant and planter to appropriate whatever return might be enjoyed from the Negro's labor above the cost of importation and subsistence. In the case of indentured servants, free to contract for the conditions of their servitude, this surplus was normally not appropriable by the

¹⁹⁵ *United States*, I, 125.

¹⁹⁶ Geiser, *Redemptioners and Indentured Servants*, 45; Acrelius, *History of New Sweden*, 168.

¹⁹⁷ *Correspondence* (Maryland Archives, VI), 295, 300.

¹⁹⁸ Cheyney, "Condition of Labor in Early Pennsylvania," in *The Manufacturer*, Mar. 16, 1891, p. 7; Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina*, 301; Ford, W. C., *Washington as an Employer of Labor*, 15.

¹⁹⁹ Long, *History of Jamaica*, II, 267 n., 289-291.

²⁰⁰ See above, pp. 364-375.

owner of the servants nor by the merchant who sold them into bondage. The servant did not need to surrender more of his prospective labor surplus than was necessary to remunerate the merchant for the expense of transporting him and a normal profit. Under free competition the remainder of the surplus tended to accrue to the servant. If the planters had received more than the necessary return on the capital required to import servants, competition of planters for servants would have tended to raise their prices. This increase would have stimulated the demand of merchants, and they would have been compelled to offer extra inducements in shorter terms, larger freedom dues, or an initial payment.

The general economic superiority of the slave as compared with the servant may be viewed through the eyes of the colonial planter somewhat as follows: About the beginning of the eighteenth century a servant for a four-year term could be obtained for £10 to £15, while adult slaves could be had on the average for £18 to £20. The services of the slave were for life, as compared with four years for the servant, and the descendants of the slave would also belong to the planter. In spite of the cost of raising them, slave children were of some value at birth.²⁰¹ The slave would be more difficult to train to perform field labor, but when broken in, was probably as efficient for field cultivation as a servant, and generally more tractable. Women slaves could be employed as field hands, but women servants must find their place largely in domestic labor. The cost of maintaining a slave was somewhat less than for servants, and there was no expense for freedom dues. Viewing the relative advantages of the two classes of labor and considering how much more rapidly the number of slaves multiplied in proportion to the number imported, it is not difficult to understand why slavery largely supplanted servitude in Southern agriculture.

Did the surplus embodied in the slave accrue under normal competition to the merchant classes or to the planter? In theory the latter probably did not receive a very large share of it. Normally the cargo of slaves on arrival was not likely to be lower in price than Negroes in America, allowing for the superiority of the latter in training and adaptation to climatic conditions. In short, it is probable that planters tended to bid for new Negroes as much as they could afford to pay. Enough of the surplus must be allowed to induce the planter to employ slaves rather than servants, but, as we have noted, the competition of servant labor probably did not compel the merchant to surrender a very large proportion of the surplus above costs of slave importation. It is highly probable, however, that on account of the inadequate marketing facilities of the period and obstacles to free competition the labor surplus of the slave above cost of importation, maintenance, and necessary costs of employing them, tended to be divided between merchant and planter.²⁰²

²⁰¹ See below, p. 664.

²⁰² The economic significance of the competition of slave labor and free labor is discussed in Chap. XX.

CHAPTER XVII

THE COLONIAL LAND SYSTEM

Attempts to Establish the Manorial System, 372. Group Settlement and the Town, or Village, System, 377. General Characteristics of Colonial Land Tenure, 381. Quitrents, 382. Commercial Influences in Early Policies of Distribution, 385. Headrights, 386. Other Methods of Granting Land Resembling the Headright, 391. Sale Policies, 392. Minor Policies of Distribution, 394. Special Limitations on the Distribution of Land, 395. Procedure in Granting Land, 396. Seating, 397. Engrossment of Land, 399. Land Values, 403. Tenancy and Tenant Contracts, 406. Influence of Land Policies on Development of Plantation Economy, 408.

In England landownership was the key which unlocked the door of economic, social, and political privilege. Naturally, the abundance of free land in the New World suggested to the minds of Englishmen the idea of establishing hereditary landed estates.¹ Economically this ideal depended upon the possibility of securing a substantial revenue from landownership, but in the New World the quantity of land was far in excess of the possibility of immediately employing it. Although in time rentals became possible in the more favorably located and more densely peopled regions, for a considerable period after first settlement increasing liberalization of conditions for acquisition of land tended to limit the possibility of obtaining economic rent. Consequently the manorial system gave way to the plantation system, wherein unfree labor, and not land, was the main source of income for a leisure class. Various attempts, however, were made in colonial land policies to limit arbitrarily the available, as contrasted with the potential, supply of land.

It is possible to distinguish three characteristic land systems in the Southern Colonies, each embodying distinct socio-economic ideals—the manorial system; the town, or village, system; and the system which, for lack of a better name, may be designated as commercial. Two of these systems were ancient, embodying ideals that looked to the past, ultimately proving unadapted to economic conditions in the South. The third reflected the ideals and practical necessities of the period, embodying also some of the more recent changes in English land tenure.

ATTEMPTS TO ESTABLISH THE MANORIAL SYSTEM

Lord Baltimore's Maryland Palatinate and John Locke's Grand Model for South Carolina were planned with a view to establishing the manorial system in the New World, reflecting English aristocratic ideals.

The earlier "conditions of plantation" issued by the Maryland Proprietors provided that the larger landholdings should be erected into manors. At first the minimum size was 1,000 acres, but subsequently was increased to 3,000.²

¹ Byrd, *Writings* (Bassett), Intro., p. xi.

² *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), III, 48, 233-237; cf. Stockbridge, "Archives of Maryland as Illustrating the Spirit of the Times," in *Md. Hist. Soc., Fund Publications*, No. 22, p. 10.

The conditions of 1648 provided for a grant of 2,000 acres of "good land," lying "all together in some one place" at a yearly rental during the first seven years of 40 shillings sterling or an equivalent value in commodities, and for the next fourteen years 40 bushels of wheat or £6 sterling, at the choice of the Maryland Proprietor. Thereafter the rental was to consist of a twentieth part of "the Annual yield and profitts of every such Mannor" or £10 sterling at the option of the Proprietor. One sixth of the land in one body was to be set forth in a demesne and never separated or leased for more than seven years. The remainder might be rented for any number of years, but subject to a quitrent. Manorial grants were subject to the payment of alienation fines to the Proprietor.³

The term *manor* was applied to numerous tracts belonging to the Proprietor, frequently merely lands reserved in order to confine settlement within certain limits and minimize the danger of Indian forays. At least one proprietary manor was used as an Indian reservation. In 1670 it was stated that several instructions had been heretofore issued to the governor and surveyor-general to set aside two proprietary manors of 6,000 acres each in every county.⁴ In 1671 the governor was instructed to set apart a proprietary manor of 6,000 acres in each county. Two years previously 10,000 acres had been reserved on the freshes of the Potomac river. Steps were taken to make a proprietary manor of the entire western part of the Province beyond Fort Cumberland. Mention is made from time to time of many other proprietary manors. There is record of a sale of 100,000 acres in 1727, comprising 27 manors.⁵

In the earlier years available tenants were few; and the proprietary manors, ineffectively administered, were subject to depredations and encroachments by squatters and stockmen. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, however, it had become easier to obtain tenants, and a more careful system of management, under the supervision of stewards, was instituted.⁶ In 1683 instructions were sent to lay out in each manor a demesne farm of 200 acres and to rent the remainder in holdings not to exceed 200 acres each. The tenant was to have the choice of a lease of thirty-one years, or for three lives, at a yearly rental of 100 pounds of tobacco or 1 barrel of corn, or to have "firm grants to them and their heires for Ever" at the yearly rent of 200 pounds of tobacco per hundred acres.⁷ In 1757 Governor Sharpe recommended that instead of giving a steward a tenement free of rent in payment for his services, he should be allowed a commission on the annual rents collected.⁸ In 1754 proprietary manors were being leased for not to exceed twenty-one years, but during the last few years of the lease tenants were inclined to expand the acreage of tobacco, seriously exhausting the soil. Sharpe proposed a clause restricting the acreage of tobacco during the last three years.⁹ About a decade later land was becoming scarce, and the selling

³ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), III, 223, 458.

⁴ *Ibid.*, V, 74.

⁵ Kilty, *Land-Holder's Assistant and Land-Office Guide*, 59, 63, 95-98, 106, 241, 263-265; Wilhelm, *Local Institutions of Maryland*, 32; Johnson, J. H., *Old Maryland Manors*, 7.

⁶ See Gould, *Land System in Maryland*, 92-98.

⁷ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XVII, 231.

⁸ Sharpe, *Correspondence* (Maryland Archives, IX), 62.

⁹ *Ibid.*, VI, 38.

price relatively much higher than the rentals, which scarcely equalled half the interest that could be had from the money obtainable by sale, not to speak of the "Abuses of Tenants in the Commission of waste." The Proprietor was advised to sell, retaining his rights to quitrents, alienation fines, and escheats. The advice was heeded, and in 1766 orders were issued to offer proprietary manors for sale. By 1776 all had been disposed of except 70,000 acres.¹⁰

There were also a good many private manors,¹¹ some of which reproduced the customary forms of the English manorial system. Thus, the records of the court leet and the court baron for St. Clement's Manor between the years 1659 and 1672 made public some years ago by Mr. John Johnson, indicate a fairly close resemblance to English manorial courts. The leet court made and administered police ordinances, regulated loafing, supervised markets and trade, enforced game laws, levied *deodand*, or fines upon accidents to life or limb, and elected constables, ale-tasters, affeerers, and bailiffs. The tenant did fealty for his land in the court baron, which settled disputes between the lord and the tenants, adjudged actions for debt between tenants, and regulated transfers of land.¹² When the country became more fully settled, however, county courts assumed the functions formerly executed by the manorial courts.¹³ The lords of manors claimed certain special privileges, including trial by peers, summons by special writ to each meeting of the assembly, and rights to stray cattle and to the escheat of tenements.¹⁴

The evidence of the existence of some of the manorial customs, however, seems scarcely to justify Mr. Lewis Wilhelm's assertion that the "mediaeval manorial institution, transplanted to Maryland, took kindly to the soil of the New World and became of vigorous growth."¹⁵ Mr. John Johnson gives the impression that the manor was a prevalent form of organization until after the introduction of slavery, when it was supplanted by the plantation system. There is no evidence, however, that the characteristic economic features of the manorial system prevailed extensively in Maryland. Indeed, tenancy itself does not appear to have been prevalent in the earlier years of the Colony, when the manorial system is supposed to have possessed greatest vitality.¹⁶ Even when the engrossment of large bodies of land made it necessary for the small farmer to lease his lands, rent in most instances was very low.¹⁷ In short, the records of colonial Maryland indicate that English manorial institutions were artificially introduced into the Maryland wilderness, that some of the outward forms were observed for a time, and that these institutions fulfilled certain temporary requirements of local gov-

¹⁰ *Calvert Papers*, II, 241-244; *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XXXII, 134; Johnson, J. H., *Old Maryland Manors*, 8.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 7, 25; Ingle, *Local Institutions in Virginia*, 31-32.

¹² Johnson, J. H., *Old Maryland Manors*, 12-17.

¹³ Hall, C. C., *The Lords Baltimore and the Maryland Palatinate*, 184.

¹⁴ Wilhelm, *Local Institutions of Maryland*, 31; Kilty, *Land-Holder's Assistant and Land-Office Guide*, 132.

¹⁵ *Local Institutions of Maryland*, 30. For a somewhat similar view, see Johnson, B. T., *Foundation of Maryland*, 44.

¹⁶ *Old Maryland Manors*, 21; Gould, *Land System in Maryland*, 68, 89.

¹⁷ For instances, see Kilty, *Land-Holder's Assistant and Land Office Guide*, 226; Johnson, J. H., *Old Maryland Manors*, 19.

ernment, but, on the whole, Maryland was a plantation community, differing little in essentials from the neighboring Colony of Virginia except in the fact that the careful policy of the proprietary authorities resulted in less land engrossment, smaller estates, and, ultimately, higher land values and a more numerous tenantry.¹⁸ Indeed, in the records of the time there is a constant reference to farms as "plantations," and to farmers as "planters."¹⁹ Mr. Clarence P. Gould believes, however, that the term *manor* as applied to a large tract of land exerted a certain amount of sentimental influence toward preventing subdivision.²⁰

The Proprietors of the Northern Neck established a number of so-called manors for themselves and members of their families and friends, but they probably reproduced the characteristics of the English manorial institution even less than did the Maryland system.²¹

The Grand Model, prepared by John Locke for the guidance of the Carolina Proprietors, provided for an aristocratic hierarchy based on landownership. The eldest of the Proprietors was given the title of palatine, and each of the others an office with a high-sounding title. The Province was to be divided into counties, and a county was further subdivided into 8 seigniories, 8 baronies, and 4 precincts, each of the several kinds of units to contain 12,000 acres. A precinct was to comprise 8 colonies. The 8 seigniories in a county were to be assigned to the Proprietors; and the 8 baronies to the hereditary nobility, composed of a landgrave for each county, having an estate of 4 baronies, and 2 caciques each having 2 baronies. After 1701 all estates were to become inalienable.²²

So far as concerns the distribution of titles and of land, this ludicrous plan was put in operation. Twenty-five landgraves were appointed, of whom eleven were provincial governors, and the others friends of the Proprietors, or "persons of worth" rewarded for special services to the Province. Twelve of the caciques were appointed, of whom all but three came to reside in the Colony.²³ Craven, Colleton, and Berkeley counties were regularly divided into squares of 12,000 acres. Under the guise of various titles, the Proprietors reserved enormous quantities of land for themselves, a practice that constituted one of the elements of discontent leading to the Revolution of 1719.²⁴

The aristocratic policy intensified in the Carolinas the tendency to land engrossment and speculation more or less characteristic of all the Southern Colonies. According to Mr. W. Roy Smith, the total grants under the policy included the

¹⁸ This general view is held by Clarence P. Gould in his monograph, *The Land System in Maryland*, 89-101. It was earlier expressed by James Curtis Ballagh. "Southern Economic History—The Land System," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1897, pp. 116, 119.

¹⁹ See various documents reprinted in Scharf, *History of Maryland*, I, 142, 146, 212, 245; Herman & Waldron, *Journal* (Abstracts, in Hazard, *Annals of Pennsylvania*), 287-296; List of members of the Assembly of 1638, in Streeter, "Papers relating to the Early History of Maryland," in Md. Hist. Soc., *Fund Publications*, No. 9, pp. 57-61; Danckaerts & Sluyter, *Journal*, 193-212.

²⁰ *Land System in Maryland*, 90.

²¹ Harrison, F., *Virginia Land Grants*, 161.

²² Fundamental Constitutions, in Carroll, *Historical Collections*, II, 361-366; cf. also South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 325.

²³ McCrady, *South Carolina under the Proprietary Government*, App., p. 717; *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, I, 137-138, 145, 149.

²⁴ Oldmixon, *British Empire*, I, 339; Rivers, *Sketch of South Carolina*, App., p. 336; Proceedings of the People of South Carolina, in Carroll, *Historical Collections*, II, 159.

greater part of the area of the Province. Some of the claims, however, were never asserted, and most of them passed into the hands of heirs or assignees. The grants were so much in excess of what could be settled and utilized that it became impossible for the holders to meet the quitrents specified, and special abatements and exemptions became necessary. Many of the claims were not asserted until the Carolinas had become populous, and lands valuable. It is estimated that from 1719 to 1731 nearly 800,000 acres were taken up under these belated claims.²⁵ The colonial assembly attempted to restrict the process by requiring each of the claimants to fulfill his obligation to establish 100 settlers on each 12,000 acres before asserting claim to another 12,000. Later a vigorous but unsuccessful attempt was made by the surveyor-general to prevent the confirmation of these claims.²⁶

With the object of transplanting a manorial system in the New World provision was made in the Fundamental Constitutions for manors to consist of not less than 3,000 nor more than 12,000 acres, one third to be retained as demesne land. The remainder might be leased for a period not exceeding three lives, or thirty-one years. The land was to be worked by hereditary villeins (leetmen), who were subject to the law of the manor without appeal. On marriage any leetman must be granted ten acres for life by the lord of the manor on condition of a yearly rental of not more than one eighth of the gross produce.²⁷ The Second Charter granted power to the Proprietors to establish a court baron and a court leet on each manor as agencies of local government.²⁸

It was found impossible, however, to establish this musty relic of the past amidst the primitive conditions of the frontier. The sturdy pioneers resisted to the utmost the attempts to control their freedom. In 1693 the Proprietors were forced to abandon the enforcement of the Fundamental Constitutions, although they continued to appoint landgraves and caciques. In 1698, when the Fundamental Constitutions were revised, the odious clauses providing for leetmen were omitted. Even with this change the Proprietors failed to persuade the assembly to adopt the new plan.²⁹

For a time the purely formal titles were employed, doubtless conferring a certain amount of social prestige. We hear of Mr. Landgrave Smith's house in Charleston, Mr. Landgrave Bellenger's plantation at Goose Creek, Mr. Thomas Colleton's barony, Mr. Landgrave West's plantation on Ashley River, Landgrave Morton and Landgrave Axtel near Wilton, or New London, and of other landgraves and cassiques.³⁰ As late as 1726 Samuel Horsey was appointed a landgrave, with the usual grant of 48,000 acres. In the same year Thomas Lowndes

²⁵ *South Carolina as a Royal Province*, 34-36; Salley, *Commissions and Instructions . . . to Public Officials of South Carolina*, 27, 212.

²⁶ Rivers, *Sketch of South Carolina*, 352-357. For an account of the struggle see W. R. Smith, *South Carolina as a Royal Province*, 36-51.

²⁷ Fundamental Constitutions, in Carroll, *Historical Collections*, II, 367. Concerning instructions as to leetmen on Shaftesbury's Locke Island Manor, see South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 443-445.

²⁸ Second Charter, reprinted in *North Carolina Laws* (Iredell), 6.

²⁹ Rivers, *Sketch of South Carolina*, 186.

³⁰ Oldmixon, *British Empire*, I, 341. Concerning other instances, see article by Henry A. M. Smith, "Baronies of South Carolina," in *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, XII-XIII.

purchased a landgraveship.³¹ In 1738 the last Landgrave Smith died.³² Apparently but few landgraves and caciques were appointed in North Carolina for "want of Landgraves and Caciques"³³—that is, persons suitable for appointment.

Excepting for the persistence of high-sounding titles, however, the manorial system gained even less foothold in the Carolinas than in Maryland. Mr. Henry A. M. Smith's study of the baronial grants reveals no evidence of the prevalence of manorial forms or tenures.³⁴ There appears to be no record of the holding of a court leet or a court baron. Popular opinion opposed even the right of the hereditary nobility to constitute the upper house of the assembly, and this privilege was finally curtailed.³⁵ The term *barony* was applied for many years to some of the larger holdings, even though unoccupied. Other baronies were soon subdivided for sale. In still other cases feeble attempts were made to occupy and operate baronial holdings. Cypress Barony, for instance, was sold in 1707 for £800. It consisted of a dwelling house, kitchen, barn, and dairy and milk house. It was stocked with 6 Negro men, a Negro boy, 5 Negro women, 2 suckling young children, a Negro girl, 800 head of cattle, 2 teams of oxen, 2 carts, a plow, a harrow, and 5 new saddles.³⁶ Evidently it was merely one of the stock ranches that prevailed in the early period of settlement, operated under plantation organization. In short, despite the grandiose "Orders and Constitutions," the economic life of the Carolinas, during the first several decades after the establishment of those Colonies, was characterized by the struggles of small farmers and planters to gain a foothold in the wilderness. Some of the feudal grants had been made the basis for the establishment of plantations.³⁷

GROUP SETTLEMENT AND THE TOWN, OR VILLAGE, SYSTEM

A second type of experiment in land policy, involving the attempted transplantation of English institutions, was the village system. In the early years of all the Colonies efforts were made to establish towns, reflecting a desire in some cases to promote urban commercial centers, and in other cases to develop a rural village system of compact agricultural settlement. In practice the two aims are not always distinguishable.

Jamestown, Virginia, was essentially a compact military post and center of government and commerce. It is probable that St. Marys, Maryland, was established for the same purposes, although instructions issued in 1636 provided for the laying out of ten acres within the limits of the town for each original adventurer and five acres for subsequent immigrants up to August 30, 1638.³⁸ Commercial aims predominated in the futile legislative attempts in Virginia

³¹ Documents reprinted in South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, I, 174, 198.

³² Poyas, *Olden Time of Carolina*, 13.

³³ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 333. For recorded instances, see *ibid.*, 342, 697, 705, 935; II, 299.

³⁴ "Baronies of South Carolina," in *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, XII-XIII.

³⁵ Oldmixon, *British Empire*, I, 332.

³⁶ Smith, H. A. M., "Baronies of South Carolina," in *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, XII, especially pp. 5-7.

³⁷ Newe, *Letters from South Carolina* (American Historical Review, XII), 324.

³⁸ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), III, 48.

during the seventeenth century to establish port towns.³⁹ The desire to establish compact towns on the frontier for greater military security was expressed in the special legislation in 1679, subsequently disallowed, granting Captain William Byrd (I) a large tract on approximately the present site of Richmond, on condition of seating 50 armed men and a number of tithables not exceeding 250.⁴⁰ In 1701 Virginia passed an act for establishing group settlements on the frontier, each to consist of at least 20 fighting men on reservations of from 10,000 to 30,000 acres. The entire grant was to be held by the members of each society as tenants in common. A town site was to be laid out in each tract, in which each head of a family was to be allotted a half acre for residence, besides 500 acres in outlying parts of the grant. The grants were conditional on the maintenance of one able-bodied fighting man for each holding of 500 acres.⁴¹ This was one of the earliest of a series of attempts to establish a township system by taking advantage of the desire for racial or religious homogeneity. Of this character was Spotswood's settlement of Palatines at Germanna;⁴² the unfortunate colony of Palatines established by De Graffenried at Newbern, North Carolina;⁴³ and the compact Moravian community, Wachovia, established about the middle of the eighteenth century on a grant of 100,000 acres purchased from Lord Granville.⁴⁴

In addition to their desire to reproduce the manorial system, the Carolina Proprietors wanted to establish agricultural villages and port towns, partly to serve as centers of trade, but principally for military security. In providing for the settlement of the immigrants who arrived in the *Blessing*, in the first year of the Ashley River settlement, 25 acres were set aside for a town. Each family was assigned "four poles of land within the Towne for a Towne Lott, and five acres without the Towne for a planting lott."⁴⁵ Instructions for the establishment of certain port towns provided that each should be surrounded by six tracts of 12,000 acres each, to be known as *colonies*, as distinguished from the baronial grants. Each colony was to contain a town, and every free settler to be allotted a tract 300 feet square in the town, besides 80 acres in the same colony, and 400 acres in some of the other five colonies. James Towne was laid out for immigrants from New York according to these instructions. In 1676 the Proprietors ordered the establishment of three towns in the Albemarle region.⁴⁶

The ideal of compact settlement reappeared from time to time. In 1729 the King ordered eleven townships to be laid out, each to contain 20,000 acres, and every settler to be assigned an in-lot and an out-lot. Accordingly, Welsh were

³⁹ See p. 419.

⁴⁰ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), II, 453; cf. Turner, F. J., "Old West," in Wis. State Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, 1908, p. 199.

⁴¹ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), III, 204-208.

⁴² Documents bearing on the history of the Germans in Madison County, Virginia, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XIV, 136. (These Germans later moved to Madison County.)

⁴³ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 756.

⁴⁴ Spangenberg, *Extracts from Journal* (Southern History Assn., Publications, II), 99; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, V, 1144-1163.

⁴⁵ South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 311, 315; Rivers, *Sketch of South Carolina*, 371; cf. also *ibid.*, 358, 365, 387.

⁴⁶ South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 315, 343, 368-370; Instructions to Percivall, in 1674, in Rivers, *Sketch of South Carolina*, 358, 365-367; South Carolina, *Journal of the Grand Council*, 1671-1680, pp. 19, 21, 27; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 231.

settled at Queensborough; Germans at Saxe-Gotha, Orangeburg, New Windsor, Amelia, and Fredericksburg; Swiss at Purysburg; and Scotch at Williamsburg and Kingston.⁴⁷ Some of these towns maintained for a time a fairly compact community life, in some cases due to common religious interests and more or less ecclesiastical control. Where there was no such bond the coherence was much less definite.⁴⁸ In course of time, however, the rural town system in South Carolina was largely absorbed by the plantation system.

A more elaborate experiment with the town system of organization was made in Georgia, where, as we have noted, military dangers and the philanthropic ideals of the founders dictated a compact type of settlement.⁴⁹ The experience of South Carolina had shown clearly that the town system would soon disintegrate if subjected to the competition of the plantation system favored by a liberal land policy. Accordingly, the founders of the Colony instituted a restrictive policy. All lots were granted *in tail male*, and in case of failure of male heirs the lot was to revert to the Trustees. A widow was entitled during her life to the "mansion" and one half of the land improved by her husband. Daughters marrying a person not possessing a lot were entitled to receive one. Leasing was forbidden without special license, and all lots must remain separate and divided so that each would contain one male suitable for military service. The land must be planted, cleared, and fenced within ten years. Landownership imposed the obligation of jury service and guard duty, and a landholder temporarily absent must provide a substitute.⁵⁰

The majority of the early settlers were located in towns, the organization of which is illustrated by that of Savannah, described by a contemporary as follows:⁵¹

"Each freeholder has a lot in town sixty foot by ninety foot, besides which he has a lot beyond the common, of five acres for a garden. Every ten houses make a tithing, and to every tithing there is a mile square, which is divided into twelve lots, besides roads: each freeholder of the tithing has a lot or farm of forty-five acres there, and two lots reserved by the Trustees in order to defray the charge of the public. The town is laid out for two hundred and forty freeholds; . . . every forty houses in town make a ward; . . . each ward has a constable, and under him four tithing men. Where the town lands end, the villages begin; four villages make a ward without, which depends upon one of the wards within the town . . . [In case of war, a square is] left in every ward, big enough for the out-wards to encamp in."

The organization of Ebenezer was characterized by some of the features of the ancient village system. The town was divided into 160 small squares, each with ten building lots. On one side lay a large pasture for cattle, and on the other a

⁴⁷ *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, II, 122; Whitney, *Government of the Colony of South Carolina*, 60-63; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, I, 107; Gregg, *Old Cheraaws*, 45-55.

⁴⁸ For instance, see the unfortunate experience of Williamsburg Township as described by H. T. Cook. *Pee Dee Basin*, 53-55.

⁴⁹ Oglethorpe, *New and Accurate Account of South Carolina and Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 56, 58-60; Martyn, *Account showing the Progress of Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, II), 276, 291; Oglethorpe, *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, III), 49.

⁵⁰ Moore, F., *Voyage to Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 80-83; *Colonial Records of Georgia* (Proc. of Pres. & Assts.), VI, 36; Stephens, W., *State of the Province of Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, II), 80; *idem*, *Journal* (Colonial Records of Georgia, IV), 603.

⁵¹ Moore, F., *Voyage to Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 97.

pasture for sheep and goats. Livestock were pastured in common under the care of the herdsman, and outlying cattle were under the care of two other herds-men. Considerable sums contributed by the European branches of the church constituted the basis for an extensive common property, consisting of rice mills, gristmills, sawmills, and silk filatures. A part of the common funds was invested in land. During the first two or three years the colonists were divided into groups of six families, the members of each group working in common.⁵²

From the very beginning the system of land tenure adopted by the founders of Georgia proved unworkable. The colonists early demanded a removal of restrictions on inheritance by daughters and on the widow's dower. In 1739 it was found necessary to make further concessions respecting restrictions on inheritance in the female line. The regulations concerning leasing and encumbrance were found to be exceedingly burdensome, making it practically impossible for the colonists to obtain credit. By 1740 the authorities were compelled to withdraw most of these restrictions.⁵³ Secretary Stephens remarked, "The same Act of Grace a few Months ago, would have produced a hundred Acres at least of Corn more than we can now find is planted."⁵⁴ Finally, in 1750 all restrictions upon bequest of land were withdrawn, and inheritance was made absolute. Little by little also the earlier conservative policy of distributing land was abandoned.⁵⁵

In the French villages on the upper Mississippi land tenure resembled somewhat the European village system. In several of the villages the cultivated land was in common fields, and there were also grazing commons.⁵⁶ At St. Genevieve the common field consisted of about 15,000 acres enclosed by a single fence. The land was allotted by village authorities to the various families. Allotments were held in fee simple, and might be sold or bequeathed; but the owner must observe regulations in regard to their use on penalty of forfeit. He was required to keep in good repair that part of the common fence contiguous to his allotment, times of planting and reaping were regulated, and even the character of buildings and improvements was specified, probably in the interest of fortification. Outside of the enclosure were common fields for pasture and the procuring of wood.⁵⁷ In time, however, considerable inequality in ownership of property developed although there were but few whose holdings were sufficiently large to be considered plantations.⁵⁸

⁵² Strobel, *The Salzburgers and Their Descendants*, 91, 128; Martyn, *Impartial Inquiry* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, I), 178; Oglethorpe, *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, III), 24.

⁵³ *Colonial records of Georgia* (Minutes of Com. Coun. of Trustees), II, 7, 336; Stephens & Everhard, *Brief Account of Georgia*, and Tailfer, Anderson, & Douglas, *Narrative of Georgia* (both in Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, II), 97, and 234-239; Oglethorpe, *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, III), 79; Banks, *Economics of Land Tenure in Georgia*, 12.

⁵⁴ *Journal* (Colonial Records of Georgia, IV), 361.

⁵⁵ *Colonial Records of Georgia* (Journal of the Trustees), I, 544; *ibid.* (Minutes of Com. Coun. of Trustees), II, 500. See below, p. 390.

⁵⁶ Billon, *Annals of St. Louis*, 21, 92; Breese, *Early History of Illinois*, 173-176; Schultz, *Travels on an Inland Voyage*, II, 54.

⁵⁷ *Loc. cit.*; Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, 127; Monette, *Discovery and Settlement of the Mississippi Valley*, I, 184; cf. also Beuckman, "The Commons of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Prairie du Rocher," in *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, I, 405-412; Violette, "Spanish Land Claims in Missouri," in Washington University, *Studies*, VIII, *Humanistic Series*, 195-198.

⁵⁸ Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, 141; cf. Harris, *Negro Servitude in Illinois*, 3.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF COLONIAL LAND TENURE

When Jamestown was settled English land tenure was in transition. Villeinage had largely disappeared, although here and there were local survivals. Feudal tenures were not abolished until 1660, when they were reduced to socage tenure, which existed here and there in England at the time Jamestown was settled. The newer form differed from tenure by knight's service in that military service was not a condition of the grant, and from tenure *in capite* by the substitution of quitrents for customary services.⁵⁹

The charter of 1606 granted land to the Virginia Company in socage tenure; and in 1616, when the time arrived to fulfill the promise to distribute land for each share of Virginia Company's stock, these individual grants were also made to "be holden of his Maiestie, as of his Manour of East Greenwich, in Socage Tenure and not in Capite."⁶⁰ This policy was followed in later royal charters granting lands to great proprietors, as well as in grants to private individuals. Quitrents were required in nearly all land grants in the Southern Colonies, although sometimes merely a nominal recognition of fealty. In the feudal institutions introduced into Maryland and the Carolinas, alienation fines were required.⁶¹ Burgage tenure and copyhold were rarely employed, though there were a few instances of the latter among the Maryland Indians, but primogeniture and entails were prevalent. In general, however, land in the British Southern Colonies was granted under few limitations.⁶² In Louisiana land grants were perhaps freer from feudal elements than in the British Colonies, being essentially in fee simple. Primogeniture was generally absent. From an early time, however, the sale of land was subject to the consent of provincial authorities.⁶³

In the Anglo-American Colonies it was generally considered that all land was originally the property of the King, and that valid titles must be derived directly or indirectly from royal grant. This implied the nonrecognition of titles acquired by individuals from Indians except when confirmed by royal authority, but continual difficulties were experienced through settlement by squatters on nonceded lands, and occasionally private individuals negotiated the cession of Indian lands, and then sought recognition of the title.⁶⁴ Probably the most notable instance was the purchase late in the colonial period by Henderson and Company of vast areas of land in Kentucky.⁶⁵

⁵⁹ Hasbach, *The English Agricultural Laborer*, 20-31.

⁶⁰ Brown's *Genesis*, II, 779.

⁶¹ See below, pp. 382-385.

⁶² Brown's *Genesis*, I, 68; Ashley, *English Economic History and Theory*, I, 18-25; cf. Sato, *Land Question in the United States*, 14; Bassett, "Landholding in the Colony of North Carolina," in *Law Quarterly Review*, XI, 164; Halle, *Baumwollproduktion*, I, 100; Wilhelm, *Local Institutions of Maryland*, 21.

⁶³ Dart, "Legal Institutions of Louisiana," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, II, 81; *idem*, "Cabildo Archives," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, III, 84; Louisiana, *Records of the Superior Council* (Louisiana Historical Quarterly, IV), 330.

⁶⁴ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), I, 248; *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), Nov. 16, 1768; Martin, F. X., *History of North Carolina*, I, 130; Records of a court held at Pamlico, Nov. 22, 1704, in *North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register*, I, 441; cf. also Kennedy, E., *Quit-rents and Currency in North Carolina*, 6.

⁶⁵ Various known as the Henderson Company, the Louisa Company, and the Transylvania Company. Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, 191-196 & nn.

QUITRENTS

In addition to reservation by the crown of a share in certain mineral resources and occasionally additional mineral reservations in proprietary land patents, practically all grants, whether by royal or by proprietary authority, were subject to payment of quitrents, or annual charges of invariable amount during the life of the grant. In practice quitrents were generally in lieu of a land tax, although legally it was possible to impose such a tax, which was done by Virginia as an emergency measure in 1755.⁶⁶ In a number of special grants quitrents were merely nominal, as, for instance, a peppercorn for a considerable area. Occasionally, in order to promote new settlements, an exemption was granted for a number of years. Moreover, royal governors and representatives of proprietary interests were unable to resist the temptation to promote their private and political fortunes by making exorbitant grants and failing to reserve quitrents.⁶⁷

The Virginia Company provided for a reservation of quitrents in its land grants at the rate of 2 shillings per hundred acres, and after the dissolution of the Company this rate was retained until abolished by the Revolutionary War. In the Northern Neck, a proprietary colony, the quitrent was fixed at the same rate.⁶⁸ Early Virginia grants were subject to exemption during the first seven years, but on account of the influence of this policy in promoting engrossment of land for speculation, Governor Berkeley was instructed in 1662 to omit the exemption.⁶⁹ In 1684 the governor acknowledged the remission of quitrents for several years, but declared that the Colony had received assurance in 1677 that quitrents would not be demanded for twenty-one years; nevertheless, they had been demanded, by whose authority he did not know.⁷⁰ In order to encourage settlement in the frontier counties of Brunswick and Spotsylvania, it was again provided in 1722 that grants should be exempt for seven years.⁷¹

In Maryland and the Carolinas the Proprietors varied rates with a view to increasing revenues. In the former Colony the earlier Conditions specified a rent at the rate of 20 pounds of "good wheat" per hundred acres. For settlers coming after 1635 the rent was fixed at the Virginia rate of 2 shillings per hundred. In 1669 it was increased to 4 shillings except in certain pioneer areas, and in 1733 to 10 shillings. This was found to discourage sales, and in 1738 the rate was reduced again to 4 shillings, but the sale price was increased. This general rate continued until the Revolution. Officials were instructed to impose higher quitrents where they believed conditions would permit, but in practice this was rarely done.⁷²

Quitrents in Maryland were payable in sterling, but such payments were dif-

⁶⁶ Harrison, F., *Virginia Land Grants*, 10, 132-134. Cf. distinction between a fee farm rent and a quitrent. Sharpe, *Correspondence* (Maryland Archives, XXXI), 505.

⁶⁷ Great Britain, *Representations of the Lords Commissioners . . . on the State of the British Colonies in North America*, 40.

⁶⁸ Harrison, F., *Virginia Land Grants*, 127.

⁶⁹ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1704-1705, p. 493; cf. Harrison, F., *Virginia Land Grants*, 18, 30.

⁷⁰ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1681-1685, p. 640.

⁷¹ *Idem*, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, III, No. 14.

⁷² *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), III, 47-48; V, 55; XVII, 239; XXVIII, 25; (Assem. Acts), XXXIX, 504; Gould, *Land System in Maryland*, 10.

ficult on account of scarcity of specie. In 1671 the colonists made a bargain with the Proprietor to accept the payment of quitrents and alienation fines in tobacco at the rate of 2 pence per pound, usually an overvaluation, on condition of paying an export duty of a shilling per hogshead of tobacco, subsequently increased to 18 pence to offset the increasing size of hogsheads. In 1717 the Proprietor agreed to accept an export duty of 2 shillings a hogshead in lieu of all quitrents. Although the return from the tobacco duty was but half or less of the rent roll, the Proprietor was relieved of the vexations, uncertainties, and heavy expenses of collecting rents. In 1733, however, the assembly repealed the arrangement, largely because tobacco growers of the Western Shore were dissatisfied with having to pay the export duty in order to relieve Eastern Shore farmers who were rapidly abandoning tobacco in favor of grain. The people soon had cause to regret the return to quitrent payments; for they were collected partly by farming them out and partly by rent receivers on commission, leading to numerous irregularities and some instances of oppression. Gradually, however, the system of collection was improved, the worst abuses were eliminated, and the increasing abundance of money caused payments to appear less burdensome.⁷³

The first instructions of the Carolina Proprietors with regard to the settlement on Ashley River fixed the quitrent rate at a penny per acre, or more than four times the Virginia rate, no payments to become due until 1690.⁷⁴ A number of large grants were made to individual Proprietors or their friends for such nominal rents as a peppercorn or an ear of Indian corn. Later provisions requiring payments in money and the forfeiture of grants in arrears caused so much distress and discontent that the Proprietors provided as an alternative to earlier terms the privilege of acquiring land by a small composition payment, with a quitrent payable in commodities at the rate of 9 pence, and later a shilling, per hundred.⁷⁵ In the Albemarle section of North Carolina the earliest grants had been made at the Virginia rate of 2 shillings per hundred, and the Carolina Proprietors made a number of early grants at $\frac{1}{2}$ penny per acre. In 1679 it was provided that though the lower rates would be accepted for lands already granted, new grantees must pay 1 penny per acre, beginning in 1684. In 1708 a rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ penny per acre was provided for. Somewhat anomalous were the instructions to Hyde in 1711 to sell grants of 640 acres bearing a quitrent of 10 pence yearly per hundred, but in 1730 the rate was made 4 shillings per hundred in both Carolinas.⁷⁶ In 1732 Governor Burrington, of North Carolina, was complaining that quitrents in that Colony were higher than in Virginia and other Colonies.⁷⁷

⁷³ For detailed account of these various adjustments, see *ibid.*, 33, 51. See also *Calvert Papers*, II, 72-76.

⁷⁴ South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, V, 122.

⁷⁵ *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, I, 112, 117-119, 137, 151; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 556; V, 94; Smith, W. R., *South Carolina as a Royal Province*, 28-31; *South Carolina Laws* (Trott), Pt. I, 541-559.

⁷⁶ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1677-1680, p. 323; Morgan, L. N., "Land Tenure in Proprietary North Carolina," in *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, XII, No. 1, p. 57; *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, II, 176; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 696; Bond, "Quit-rent System in the American Colonies," in *American Historical Review*, XVII, 501; Kennedy, E., *Quit-rents and Currency in North Carolina*, 7.

⁷⁷ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, III, 337.

The Georgia Trustees were required by charter to pay the King a rent of 4 shillings proclamation money on lands granted to settlers, payments to begin ten years after the date of grants. When Lord Carteret ceded his interest to the Trustees, it was agreed that he should receive a rent of 6 pence proclamation money to begin ten years after grants to settlers, the payment probably to be deducted from the payment for the King. The early grants to small holders by the Trustees carried a quitrent of 2 shillings sterling per fifty acres. At the prevailing ratios to proclamation money, this allowed the Trustees only a small margin over their obligation to the King and to Lord Carteret. Grantees were not required to begin payments until ten years after the grant. In making grants to individual adventurers paying their own way, the Trustees followed no consistent policy as to amount of rent or time when payment was to begin, but on such grants rates tended to be much higher than for small holders, ranging up to as much as 20 shillings sterling per hundred acres. When time for payment arrived the need for lowering rents had become apparent, and the Trustees entered into negotiation with the British authorities for a reduction of their obligation in order that they might in turn reduce the obligations of settlers. Nothing was accomplished, however, either in changing the rates or in collecting rents before the close of Trustee control. New grants under the royal government specified 2 shillings per hundred acres, as in Virginia.⁷⁸

In all the Colonies collection was found extremely difficult. Quitrents were never popular, and every possible form of evasion and resistance of collection was practiced. There was much controversy over the question of payment in commodities rather than in money, and over the rates at which such commodities should be taken, colonial legislatures seeking to overvalue them. Quitrents were also evaded by obtaining large grants without locating the grants or taking out patents. Harassed administrative officials, unable to collect and frequently unable to repossess the settler's land for nonpayment,⁷⁹ were forced to temporize by recommending stay laws and remissions of arrearages in return for promises of better behavior.⁸⁰ A considerable part of what was collected was not net revenue. Tobacco and other articles of the worst quality were tendered and accepted, and were frequently disposed of at far below their true value. Costs of collection also made heavy deductions from total receipts.⁸¹

Undoubtedly, in well developed areas of commercial agriculture the charge was relatively light as compared with even moderately heavy land taxes. In

⁷⁸ McCain, *Georgia as a Proprietary Province*, 249-256; Flippin, "The Royal Government in Georgia: V, the Land System," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, X, 3.

⁷⁹ For a good illustration, see statement of difficulties encountered by farmers of quitrents in Maryland. Sharpe, *Correspondence* (Maryland Archives, XIV), 214.

⁸⁰ For a more detailed record of these experiences in the several Colonies, see Gould, *Land System in Maryland*, Chap. II; Smith, W. R., *South Carolina as a Royal Province*, Chap. III; Bond, "Quit-rent System in the American Colonies," in *American Historical Review*, XVII, 504; Sioussat, "The Breakdown of the Royal Management of Lands in the Southern Provinces, 1773-1775," in *Agricultural History*, III, 74; Kennedy, E., *Quit-rents and Currency in North Carolina*, 8; Harrison, F., *Virginia Land Grants*, 50, 137, 143-145; Morgan, L. N., "Land Tenure in Proprietary North Carolina," in *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, XII, No. 1, p. 56.

⁸¹ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1702, p. 558; 1710-1711, p. 169; London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1319, p. 443 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); cf. Harrison, F., *Virginia Land Grants*, 145.

1728, for instance, the total yield of quitrents from South Carolina was estimated at only £37 10 s. sterling, representing about one half of the area in private hands and an average of 1 shilling 6 pence sterling per thousand acres.⁸² In North Carolina quitrents for the period 1741-1744 averaged nearly £1,000 a year, probably in currency, but in the next four years the average fell to a little over £323.⁸³ In Maryland the total rent due in 1724 was estimated at £5,225 12s.; but it was not being collected, as the export duty had replaced it.⁸⁴ At the outbreak of the Revolution, quitrents in Virginia, the most efficiently administered royal Colony in this respect, yielded only £10,000 to £15,000 per year.⁸⁵ In 1708 the annual income for the Northern Neck, of Virginia, mainly from quitrents, amounted to £584 13s. 2d.⁸⁶ In self-sufficing frontier areas quitrents were frequently a severe hardship when collected, but the conditions of collection were peculiarly difficult in such areas. Theoretically also quitrents should have discouraged land speculation and engrossment without utilization, but it is doubtful if the system of collection was sufficiently effective to seriously restrain those tendencies. In Maryland, for instance, speculators evaded payment by taking out land warrants, which were transferred from hand to hand without being patented.⁸⁷

COMMERCIAL INFLUENCES IN EARLY POLICIES OF DISTRIBUTION

Commercial influences were dominant in formulating the policy under which Virginia was settled, for the London Company was the embodiment of the commercial spirit that was rapidly dissolving the remnants of feudalism.⁸⁸ Consequently the land policy developed in Virginia embodied the newer characteristics of English land tenure, and reflected the ideals of a landed aristocracy to a far less degree than was the case in certain other Colonies.

Although the Virginia Company had at its disposal an enormous area of land, it was inclined in the earlier years of settlement to husband its land resources and to dispose of them carefully. The first method of distributing land was in connection with the promotion of the Company. Stock, sold at the rate of £12 10 s. per share, conferred the privilege of receiving a part of the public domain, finally fixed at 100 acres. Another 100 acres was promised after the "seating" of the first, which must be accomplished within three years. Five hundred acres had been suggested in 1609 as a possible dividend, but later the Company indicated that the suggestion was "not of promise, but of hope."⁸⁹ It is estimated that

⁸² British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts*, 33028, f. 185 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

⁸³ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, V, 101.

⁸⁴ Gould, *Land System in Maryland*, 36.

⁸⁵ Harrell, "Some Neglected Phases of the Revolution in Virginia," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2 series, V, 165.

⁸⁶ Harrison, F., *Virginia Land Grants*, 96.

⁸⁷ Gould, *Land System in Maryland*, 62-67. See below, p. 396.

⁸⁸ See list of subscribers, which included not only numerous guilds, but also many individual merchants and the nobility and gentry having commercial interests. Brown's *Genesis*, I, 228 n.; II, 542 n., 549 n.

⁸⁹ Virginia Company of London, *Abstract of Proceedings*, I, 153; *idem*, *Court Book*, II, 181; Tazewell, "Acquiring Land in Virginia in Early Times," in *Virginia Historical Register*, II, 190; Johnson, R., *Nova Britannia* (Force, Tracts, I, No. 6), p. 24.

about two thirds of the stockholders took up their lands either in person or through agents.⁹⁰

Mr. Fairfax Harrison has shown that the two principal methods of conveying land from public to private ownership in colonial Virginia, the headright and the treasury right, were the logical development of the conception of a corporate right to the control of the territory granted by charter to the Virginia Company. After the downfall of the Company the Virginians through many years successfully asserted the theory of succession to the Company's right to the public domain; and though grants were commonly made in the King's name, the function of granting the land was preserved as a colonial prerogative.⁹¹

HEADRIGHTS

The headright grew out of the conception of acquiring a share in the Company by adventuring one's person. It was but a step from this to allowing the right for the importation of others, introduced in 1618 as a means of stimulating immigration. At that time 50 acres were granted for the transportation of one individual, with a second 50 acres after the "seating" of the first;⁹² but after the period of the Company the amount granted for each individual imported was limited to 50 acres. After the downfall of the Company there was a period of uncertainty as to the status of land grants. Another decade passed before the privileges of newcomers were determined. Finally, in 1634 the privy council authorized the governor to make grants to newcomers, providing they were freemen, such as had been authorized prior to the dissolution of the Company.⁹³

During the seventeenth century headrights became the principal method of acquiring land in Virginia except in the Northern Neck, but in actual practice the system was changed greatly from the original conception. In original theory based on the transport of one's own person as a method of providing land for the employment of the immigrant's labor, the system was logically extended to include members of one's family and household servants. It was easy, however, to stretch the theory to include grants on account of white servants imported, and then slaves. Furthermore, the sea captain or merchant who brought in the servant or slave acquired the right in the first instance and sold it to planters.⁹⁴

At times land was granted the servant on the expiration of his term, either out of or in addition to the headright acquired by the person who imported him. During the period of the Virginia Company it was sometimes customary for servants to receive part or all of the land belonging to the headright. In 1626 former servants of the Company were provided for out of public land.⁹⁵ About the middle of the century Bullock asserted that in addition to the headright of

⁹⁰ Andrews, C. M., *Land System in the American Colonies* (Palgrave, *Dictionary of Political Economy*, II), 558.

⁹¹ *Virginia Land Grants*, 9.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 16; Instructions to Yeardley, 1618; in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, II, 157.

⁹³ Harrison, F., *Virginia Land Grants*, 18-26.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 126.

⁹⁵ Smyth, J. (of Nibley), *Papers* (New York Public Library, Bulletin, III), 210-212, 278-280, 290-292; Virginia Company of London, *Abstracts of Proceedings*, I, 36, 39-42; Decisions of the Virginia General Court, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, IV, 157.

the master, each servant received 30 acres,⁹⁶ but in 1655 Hammond declared that the idea that servant dues included 50 acres "is an old delusion."⁹⁷ In 1690 instructions to Governor Howard directed that every servant receive a patent for 50 acres on attaining his freedom, but the provision was not passed by the assembly.⁹⁸ Ballagh says it was probably regarded thereafter as a legal claim, and it was so regarded in 1705.⁹⁹ From 1640 until 1663 the Maryland servant law provided that freedom dues should include 50 acres, of which 5 should be cleared land. The law proved such a hardship to the planters that it was soon repealed. From 1646 until 1683, when the Conditions of Plantations were abolished, the servant might obtain land from the proprietary government.¹⁰⁰ In the Carolinas, at various periods, servants were granted small areas out of the public lands.¹⁰¹

The metamorphosis of the headright system in Virginia was completed by the fraud and evasion that developed in its administration. Men crossing the ocean several times claimed land under the headright for each trip. Sea captains obtained headrights on account of their sailors. Sometimes the same individual swore out headrights in each county. In other cases the ship captain, merchant, and planter, each in succession, secured headrights for bringing in the same individual. Sometimes planters jointly purchased the same servant and received two headrights. When other methods failed, names were presented copied from old record books or from tombstones. Finally the secretary of the Colony began to sell headrights at from 1 to 5 shillings apiece.¹⁰²

By the close of the seventeenth century the need for reform was apparent. In 1699 the Virginia Council forbade the granting of lands for the importation of Negroes. Five years later the British authorities, seeking to prevent the employment of the headright for acquiring land without utilization, instructed Governor Nott to grant 100 acres to "whoever will sit down and plant on any vacant piece of land" and the same amount for "each labouring person" brought in within three years of patent. It is probable the proposal was not found workable, for four years later instructions were sent to resume the old method "notwithstanding late instructions."¹⁰³ In 1705 the Virginia Assembly attempted to correct the abuses of repeaters and of the sale of headrights by ship captains, and to eliminate headrights for slaves; but the act was vetoed by the crown.¹⁰⁴ Later, Governor Spotswood introduced certain administrative reforms. However, the headright was being rapidly superseded by the treasury right as the principal

⁹⁶ *Virginia Impartially Examined*, 63.

⁹⁷ *Leah and Rachel* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 14), p. 11.

⁹⁸ Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 42.

⁹⁹ *White Servitude in Virginia*, 85-87; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1704-1705, p. 493.

¹⁰⁰ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), I, 97; Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland*, 23; Kilty, *Land-Holder's Assistant and Land-Office Guide*, 38-40, 55.

¹⁰¹ See below, p. 389.

¹⁰² Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1697-1698, p. 389; Hartwell, Blair, & Chilton, *Present State of Virginia and the College*, 16; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 518-526.

¹⁰³ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1699, p. 315; 1704-1705, p. 494; 1708-1709, p. 194.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 1706-1708, p. 406; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), III, 304.

source of Virginia land grants, and before 1715 had ceased to be an important method of acquiring land.¹⁰⁵

In 1649 Charles II, then in exile, granted the territory between the Rappahannock and the Potomac, known as the Northern Neck, to a group of courtiers. The Proprietors were unable to assert their claims until after the Restoration, and in the meantime a considerable part of the territory had been granted under Virginia headrights, which continued to be issued until 1669. After a long struggle the Proprietors finally succeeded in establishing their control, but their system of land grants never included the headright principle.¹⁰⁶

The earliest terms offered by the Maryland Proprietors were made exceedingly liberal in order to divert the tide of immigration to the new Province. The first adventurers, who incurred the risks of initial colonization, were treated more liberally than later comers, and for military reasons larger grants were offered for men capable of bearing arms than for other classes of immigrants. In the earlier years there was also a tendency to discriminate in favor of manors by offering more land per head when a considerable number of persons were imported than was given to the individual who brought merely his family. The Conditions of Plantations issued in 1633 offered 1,000 acres for transporting and settling 5 men. In the second "Conditions," of 1636, the amount for every 5 men imported by the first adventurers was increased to 2,000 acres, while adventurers transporting less than 5 received only 100 acres for each man, a similar amount for a wife and for each servant, and 50 acres for each child under sixteen. Adventurers of the years 1634 and 1635 were granted 2,000 acres for every 10 men imported.¹⁰⁷ In the various Conditions up to 1649 discrimination was continued in favor of those importing a considerable number. In that year the conditions were for the first time made equal for large and small adventurers, at the rate of 100 acres for each person transported.¹⁰⁸ By 1658 the Proprietors had lowered the headright to the Virginia standard of 50 acres.¹⁰⁹

In spite of the Proprietors' close and shrewd control over the land office, the headright system in Maryland appears to have become subject to some of the abuses that developed in Virginia; accordingly, in 1683 it was abandoned in favor of a policy of sale. The Proprietor gave as a reason that headrights "of late years have been most of them bought up of Merchants and Commanders, transporters of Servants into this Province by the Collectors the [that] book the Entries of Shipping and the Deputy Surveyors of this Province who often disposed of the same to the poor inhabitants at excessive Rates, and by the dishonesty of some dealers many denies such Rights have been twice sworne to." From this time forward the headright was occasionally employed in order to stimulate settlement in frontier districts.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ Harrison, F., *Virginia Land Grants*, 42.

¹⁰⁶ See *ibid.*, Chap. II.

¹⁰⁷ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), III, 47-49; Kilty, *Land-Holder's Assistant and Land-Office Guide*, 29-31; *Relation of Maryland* (Sabin Reprint), 46-48.

¹⁰⁸ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), III, 99-101; Kilty, *Land-Holder's Assistant and Land-Office Guide*, 29-30, 38-40, 45-48.

¹⁰⁹ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), III, 469.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, V, 54, 390; XXVIII, 25; cf. Gould, *Land System in Maryland*, 12; Kilty, *Land-Holder's Assistant and Land-Office Guide*, 56-61.

In the Albemarle section of the Carolinas land was granted under the Virginia headright before the Proprietors had formulated a land policy, and the terms were subsequently confirmed.¹¹¹ In 1679 John Harvey, President of the Council of Albemarle, was authorized to grant 60 acres to each free person over sixteen years of age, 60 acres for each able-bodied male servant, and 50 acres for each other servant.¹¹²

In the rest of the Carolinas the Proprietors employed the headright as a means of encouraging sufficient immigration to insure military security and a working force. The amount of land granted varied according to degree of risk and value of the person for military purposes. The terms were more liberal in the newer Clarendon district than in the older Albemarle district, and still more liberal for the proposed settlement south of Cape Romania; less liberal for those who came in the second year than for those who adventured before January, 1665, and still less liberal for those who arrived in the third year.¹¹³ Each freeman who came to the settlement on Ashley River before March 25, 1670, was to receive 150 acres for himself, 150 acres for each able-bodied male servant, 100 acres for each woman servant or male servant under sixteen years, and each servant was to receive 100 acres on the expiration of his term. Every free person who arrived after that date, but before March 25, 1672, was to receive 100 acres for himself and each male servant, 70 acres for each woman servant or male servant under sixteen years, and 70 acres for each servant on the expiration of his term. Those who arrived after March 25, 1672, were promised 70 acres for themselves and each male servant and 60 acres for each woman servant or male servant under sixteen. On the expiration of their terms servants were to be granted 70 acres.¹¹⁴ These conditions were modified from time to time, principally by reducing the number of acres granted for the different classes of immigrants.¹¹⁵

In 1718 the Proprietors abandoned the policy of sale, making the headright the principal method of granting land, on the same basis as in Virginia, namely, 50 acres for each person imported.¹¹⁶ Occasionally special headright privileges were offered as inducements for frontier settlement.¹¹⁷ Serious abuses of the headright principle developed, apparently of the same general character as in other Colonies. Instead of being the basis of promoting compact settlement, it was employed as an instrument for engrossment of speculative holdings.¹¹⁸

¹¹¹ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, III, 550; V, 93-105.

¹¹² Morgan, L. N., "Land Tenure in Proprietary North Carolina," in *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, XII, No. 1, pp. 53-55.

¹¹³ Instructions issued by the Proprietors, in *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 86; V, 93; Kennedy, E., *Quit-rents and Currency in North Carolina*, 6.

¹¹⁴ Rivers, *Sketch of South Carolina*, 348; *South Carolina Historical Society, Collections*, V, 212.

¹¹⁵ Rivers, *Sketch of South Carolina*, 337, 402; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 169; III, 550; V, 94; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1677-1680*, pp. 323, 360; Wilson, S., *Account of Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 31.

¹¹⁶ *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, I, 191. See also *North Carolina Colonial Records*, III, 101; V, 96; cf. Turner, J. K., "Slavery in Edgecombe County," in *Duke University, Historical Papers*, XII, 6.

¹¹⁷ For instance, in the De Graffenried project. Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1708-1709*, p. 445.

¹¹⁸ Salley, *Records in the British Public Record Office relating to South Carolina, 1685-1690*, p. 131; Bassett, "Landholding in the Colony of North Carolina," in *Law Quarterly Review*, XI, 160; Smith, W. R., *South Carolina as a Royal Province*, 31, 41, 49.

From the beginning, as we have noted, the Georgia Trustees followed the policy of granting as much as 500 acres to capitalists who agreed to settle 10 servants.¹¹⁹ Up to January, 1752, the Trustees had granted but 45,330 acres, of which 41,000 acres consisted of 500-acre lots, and the remainder of smaller grants.¹²⁰ Between the termination of the Trustee control and the arrival of Governor Reynolds the number of grants increased greatly by reason of the extensive immigration following the removal of restrictions on slavery. For 1751 grants totalling only 6,910 acres were recommended, but the following year they increased to 75,040 acres, of which 54,000 consisted of 500-acre grants. In 1753 the total acres granted were 19,537, and in the following year, 21,395.¹²¹ The 500-acre tract became virtually a headright granted for each member of a family, including infants, and even, it is said, for collateral relatives, absentees, and fictitious names, although at times the colonial authorities manifested some degree of conservatism in refusing certain applications because the petitioners were personally undesirable or could not show sufficient means to develop and improve the land. As a result of this lavish policy, Governor Reynolds reported in 1755 that all the best lands of the Province had been distributed.¹²² The greedy plantation interests of South Carolina sought to acquire holdings in the territory south of the Altamaha river, added to Georgia in October, 1763. Six months previously the Governor of South Carolina had made large grants south of the Altamaha to South Carolina citizens, contrary to the protest of the Governor of Georgia. Virtually all of it was held in an undeveloped state by South Carolina absentee owners. The British Board of Trade decided that the Governor of South Carolina had no right to make these grants, and under instructions from the Board the General Assembly of Georgia passed an act in 1765 requiring grantees to show proof that they had settled the land in the proportion of one person to each fifty acres, as a condition of having the titles officially recorded. Some twenty grants varying from 400 to 3,000 acres were subsequently recorded.¹²³

The ideal of promoting a town system of close settlement was still reflected in an act passed as late as June, 1766, which provided the allotment of a township to any group of forty or more Protestant families of good character. Survey costs and other fees were remitted, and the settlers exempted for ten years from taxes, except on slaves.¹²⁴

The act of 1777 considerably modified the character of the Georgia land policy. The former maximum of 500 acres was abolished. Each head of a family was allowed 200 acres and an additional 50 acres for each member of his family, on condition of occupancy. Headrights were allowed for slaves up to the number of ten.¹²⁵ Thus, little by little was the Colony of Georgia forced by the irre-

¹¹⁹ See above, p. 380.

¹²⁰ Compiled from *Colonial Records of Georgia* (Minutes of Com. Coun. of Trustees), II, *passim*.

¹²¹ Compiled from lists in George White's *Historical Collections of Georgia*, 32-37.

¹²² *Colonial Records of Georgia* (Proc. of Pres. & Assts.), VI, *passim*; cf. Flippin, "The Royal Government in Georgia: V, the Land System," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, X, 4, 11.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 12-15; McLendon, *Public Domain of Georgia*, 19-29.

¹²⁴ *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), June 4, 1766.

¹²⁵ *Georgia Laws* (Prince, 1837), pp. 517-519; quoted by Banks, *Economics of Land Tenure in Georgia*, 15.

sistible pressure of economic conditions to abandon the early conservative land policy and to follow the example of other Southern Colonies by adopting a more liberal policy of distribution.

The headright policy was extended to Florida after British occupation. By a proclamation of 1764, 100 acres might be granted to every master or mistress of a family settling in the Province, and 50 acres for every other person belonging to the family at the time of the grant.¹²⁶

As already noted, the policy of granting small tracts to new immigrants was early employed in Louisiana.¹²⁷ About the close of the Latin period the headright policy provided for grants of 200 acres for each man and wife, 50 for each child, and 20 for each slave. Furthermore, it had been long customary to recognize preëmption rights based on occupancy and to permit these rights to pass by inheritance.¹²⁸

OTHER METHODS OF GRANTING LAND RESEMBLING THE HEADRIGHT

Somewhat akin to the headright policy, but distinct in economic consequences, were the large grants to individual promoters or to land companies undertaking to import and settle a given number of colonists. This policy had its precedents in grants to the Virginia Company and the larger proprietors; but in the case of the land companies conditions with respect to settlement were usually more specific, and the grants carried no political authority.

A considerable number of grants were made, as we have noted, to encourage the establishment of settlers in compact towns. Other large grants involved merely the aim of colonization by small farmers. A notable instance is that of Henry McCulloh, of London, who in 1738 was given two grants of 72,000 acres and 60,000 acres respectively, situated on the upper waters of the Cape Fear river. McCulloh was allowed exemption from quitrents for ten years on condition that he settle several hundred persons skillful in making naval stores, lands unsettled after a specified period to revert to the crown. Under the first grant McCulloh transported 195 persons.¹²⁹ A more ambitious colonization scheme was formulated by him in connection with other associates. They were assigned a reservation of 1,200,000 acres on the headwaters of the Pedee, Cape Fear, and Neuse rivers, undertaking to settle 6,000 Swiss and other foreign Protestants within ten years, under exemption from quitrents during the period. The lands were to be taken up on the basis of 200 acres for each person settled thereon, unsettled areas to revert to the crown at the end of the period. The colonizers proposed to make surveys, lay out townships, and build houses in advance of settlement; and to pay transport charges and provide settlers with provisions for one year, together with necessary tools and equipment. Little came of this ambitious scheme except a complicated series of land claims.¹³⁰

¹²⁶ Stork, *Account of East Florida*, 82-87.

¹²⁷ See above, p. 338.

¹²⁸ United States, President Jefferson, *Account of Louisiana*, 26; Berquin-Duvallon, *Travels in Louisiana and the Floridas* (Davis), 160.

¹²⁹ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, IV, 162-164, 212, 1079; cf. Kennedy, E., *Quit-rents and Currency in North Carolina*, 9.

¹³⁰ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, IV, 1079; VI, 574, 773; VIII, 63.

With the opening of the territory west of the Blue Ridge there was frequent resort to this type of policy. In 1730 John and Isaac Van Meter were granted 40,000 acres in the northern part of the Valley of Virginia, and five years later John Lewis was granted 100,000 acres. A year later patent was issued for a manor of Beverly, containing 118,091 acres near the present site of Staunton, and Benjamin Burden (or Borden), an agent of Lord Fairfax, was granted 500,000 acres on condition of settling 100 families within ten years. In 1745 James Patton, who for many years had been engaged in the redemptioner trade, was granted 120,000 acres on the upper James. In 1748 a grant of 800,000 acres was made to the Loyal Company, which by 1773 had surveyed and disposed of over 200,000 acres. Upwards of 500,000 acres were granted to the Ohio Company, whose aggressions in the transmontane territory helped to precipitate the French and Indian War.¹³¹ The various grants carried the obligation to establish a specified number of settlers within a given period and generally exemption from quitrents for from seven to ten years.

The policy did not tend toward the creation of plantations, as did the headright system. The region was too remote from market to favor a commercial agriculture. The concessionaires were compelled to sell at low prices, mostly to pioneer farmers. In the later colonial period land in western Virginia was to be had from the colonial government or from large land companies for the occupancy. Under the policy of the former, building a cabin and raising a crop entitled the settler to 400 acres and preëmption right to purchase 1,000 acres adjacent at a nominal price. Thus was the headright broadened into the principle of homesteading by occupation and use. Among the settlers themselves, pending official approval, custom recognized such claims as "tomahawk rights," "corn rights," and other criteria of preëmption.¹³²

SALE POLICIES

In 1699 a method of granting land in Virginia known as the *treasury right* was inaugurated, destined to supplant the headright as the principal source of land grants.¹³³ The treasury right, as Mr. Fairfax Harrison has shown, was a revival in legal theory of the right of acquiring land under the Virginia Company by purchase of stock, the Commonwealth of Virginia being regarded as a lineal descendant of the Company. The value of 50 acres was reckoned at the current market value of headrights, namely 5 shillings, and this continued to be the accepted rate throughout the colonial period.¹³⁴ Since the authorities for some time had been selling headrights for uniform fees, the treasury right provided legality for a practice already in vogue. In the Northern Neck the Proprietors

¹³¹ Letter of Governor Dinwiddie with reference to method of taking up land in Virginia, London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1327, pp. 53-57 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, IV, 56; Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, 50-52 & nn., 58; De Hass, *Early Settlement of Western Virginia*, 43; Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia*, 41-43, 51-53, 82. On the development of land companies after the Revolution, see p. 632.

¹³² Doddridge, *Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania*, 129-133; Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia*, 116; De Hass, *Early Settlement of Western Virginia*, 42, 88.

¹³³ Great Britain, *Calender of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1706-1708, p. 207.

¹³⁴ *Virginia Land Grants*, 48, 134; Great Britain, *Calender of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1706-1708, p. 207; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), X, 42.

substituted composition payments for headrights. While somewhat different in legal theory from the treasury right, the composition fine in the Northern Neck remained at uniform rates, being fixed at 5 shillings per hundred acres for grants of less than 600 acres and at 10 shillings per hundred for grants in excess of that amount.¹³⁵ This device did not make for small holdings, as might appear, for it could be easily avoided by breaking a large intended grant into several smaller ones. Thus, in both of the Virginia jurisdictions the charge for land was not adjusted to the value, but was more in the nature of an unvarying fee, quitrents being the principal source of expected revenue.

The shrewd self-interest of the Maryland Proprietors led them to increase both sale prices, or "caution money," and quitrents, from time to time as the increasing value of land made it practicable. In 1683 the payment was fixed at 100 pounds of tobacco per fifty acres, and increased the following year to 120 pounds, with somewhat more liberal provisions for certain frontier districts.¹³⁶ In 1717 the price was made payable in money instead of tobacco, and in 1738 fixed at £5 sterling per hundred acres as a minimum, colonial authorities being instructed to use discretion in charging higher prices for land of more than ordinary value.¹³⁷

The Carolina Proprietors were also inclined to adjust sale prices somewhat in accordance with value of land. In March, 1684/5, the Proprietors sent instructions that if any one preferred not to assume the obligation of paying quitrents they were willing to "quit out for 12d. per aker." During the next two years there were numerous sales of land to Huguenots as well as headright grants bearing quitrents. In 1687 the Proprietors wrote that in view of the large number who preferred to purchase their land rather than to pay quitrents, they authorized sale at the rate of 1 shilling per acre.¹³⁸ In 1691 Governor Ludwell was authorized to sell up to 6,000 acres on payment of a shilling per acre.¹³⁹ It was provided in 1695 that lands "neare the Settlements" should be sold at £20 per thousand acres, with a quitrent of 12 pence per hundred acres. More remote lands, "neare the mountains," were to be sold at £10 per thousand, with a quitrent of 6 pence per hundred.¹⁴⁰ This general standard of prices seems to have prevailed for a number of years, although on account of administrative irregularities the Proprietors were compelled to keep the land office closed for long periods.¹⁴¹ In 1718, as we have noted, they discontinued the policy of sale in favor of headright grants, but in 1730 instructions were sent by the royal authorities to sell lands at £20 per thousand acres.¹⁴² By this time, however, most of the public lands to which

¹³⁵ Harrison, F., *Virginia Land Grants*, 129.

¹³⁶ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), V, 390-395; XVII, 142; Kilty, *Land-Holder's Assistant and Land-Office Guide*, 121.

¹³⁷ Gould, *Land System in Maryland*, 9.

¹³⁸ Salley, *Records in the British Public Record Office relating to South Carolina, 1685-1690*, pp. 29, 50-137 *passim*, 227.

¹³⁹ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, V, 94; cf. Salley, *Records of the British Public Record Office relating to South Carolina, 1685-1690*, p. 292.

¹⁴⁰ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), II, 96-102; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 556; IV, 308; V, 94; *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, I, 151.

¹⁴¹ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, II, 33; IV, 296-322; V, 95; cf. Smith, W. R., *South Carolina as a Royal Province*, 31; Franklin, "Agriculture in Colonial North Carolina," in *North Carolina Historical Review*, III, 543. See below, p. 632.

¹⁴² *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, I, 191; II, 175-179; cf. Turner, J. K., "Slavery in Edgecombe County," in Duke University, *Historical Papers*, XII, 6.

Indian title had been extinguished had passed into private hands. Just before the Revolutionary War instructions were sent the governor to dispose of remaining crown lands in lots of not more than 1,000 acres at public sale to the highest bidder. The policy of sale was also employed in the North Carolina territory retained by the Earl of Granville, comprising more than half the present boundaries of the State, but after 1766 the land office in this proprietorship was closed.¹⁴³

In Florida the proclamation of 1764 providing for headright grants also permitted the purchase of additional land needed by any family at the rate of 5 shillings per fifty acres, as in Virginia.¹⁴⁴

Competition between the various Colonies in the sale of land necessitated low prices, for high prices or quitrents in one Colony tended to divert the stream of immigration to other Colonies.¹⁴⁵

MINOR POLICIES OF DISTRIBUTION

While headright and purchase were the principal methods of acquiring land, there were also a number of minor methods. Escheated land was acquired through discovery and proof. In Virginia it early became the established practice to grant such lands for a composition fee of 2 pounds of tobacco per acre. Theoretically, the possession of the land at the time the escheat was "discovered" conferred a preëmption right, but actually it became a matter largely of official favoritism, and an important means of land engrossment.¹⁴⁶ In Maryland escheats became a considerable source of revenue to the Proprietors, who customarily allowed a preëmptive right to the discoverer for about two thirds the value of the land, and at times a reduced quitrent.¹⁴⁷

Land was also acquired through resurveys, ostensibly made to correct imperfect surveys, but often employed as a means of substituting virgin land for worn-out land.¹⁴⁸ This practice was regulated by law in some of the Colonies. By an early act of the South Carolina Assembly, for instance, the amount of surplus lands that the owner might secure free of charge was limited to one fourth of the original grant.¹⁴⁹

The Virginia Company made grants of land as a reward for special services to the enterprise,¹⁵⁰ and subsequently this policy was followed from time to time in the various Colonies. In 1734 the Governor of Maryland was authorized to grant lands for special services in amounts not exceeding 1,000 acres. Land was granted from time to time to encourage the erection of mills and other public works. The persons who surveyed the Virginia-North Carolina boundary line are said to have

¹⁴³ Smith, W. R., *South Carolina as a Royal Province*, 51-53; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, IV, 655-663; Bassett, "Landholding in the Colony of North Carolina," in *Law Quarterly Review*, XI, 161; Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, 79; Sioussat, "Breakdown of the Royal Management of Lands in the Southern Provinces, 1773-1775," in *Agricultural History*, III, 74.

¹⁴⁴ Stork, *Account of East Florida*, 82-87.

¹⁴⁵ For instance, see *North Carolina Colonial Records*, III, 432.

¹⁴⁶ Harrison, F., *Virginia Land Grants*, 129-131.

¹⁴⁷ Gould, *Land System in Maryland*, 28-30.

¹⁴⁸ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XXVIII, 341; Kilty, *Land-Holder's Assistant and Land-Office Guide*, 133-136.

¹⁴⁹ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), III, 48. Later omitted. *Ibid.*, 303.

¹⁵⁰ Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, I, 469, 515-516.

received upwards of 400,000 acres for this service.¹⁵¹ Analogous to these were grants in recognition of military service. Instances of special grants to encourage settlements on dangerous frontiers have already been noted.¹⁵² The use of land for military bounties was provided for in Virginia at the outbreak of the French and Indian War. In Florida the British Government authorized bounty grants ranging from 5,000 acres for a field officer to 50 for a private, with exemption from quitrents for ten years. Grants ranging as high as 20,000 acres to individual officers were made in the Natchez district after 1763.¹⁵³

Official favoritism was an important source of large grants not authorized in the established policies. In the early decades of the Carolinas the Proprietors granted a large proportion of the available area either to themselves or to their friends.¹⁵⁴ Administrative officials frequently exceeded their powers in issuing land patents. In the controversy between Governor Burrington of North Carolina and his predecessor, Sir Richard Everard, it was alleged by the former that Everard had made a practice of issuing blank patents, the amount of land being filled in by the patentee. In some cases as much as 5,000 acres were contained in grants that should have been limited to 640 acres. The supporters of Everard declared that frauds practiced by Burrington had resulted in the illegal disposal of more than 500,000 acres, of which Burrington himself was believed to hold 50,000.¹⁵⁵ In 1761 complaint was made that the Governor of North Carolina and other officials had made exorbitant grants for the benefit of themselves and their associates.¹⁵⁶ Maryland seems to have been comparatively free from these administrative lapses, because of the hardheaded business policy pursued by the Proprietors. Individuals, however, secured considerable bodies of land through fraudulent surveys.¹⁵⁷

SPECIAL LIMITATIONS ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF LAND

In addition to the requirements already described, there were a few special restrictions on the acquisition of land. Early in the seventeenth century the Maryland Proprietors were at times chary of land grants to "foreigners," limiting grants to persons of British or Irish descent except on special authorization by the Proprietor.¹⁵⁸ In the latter part of the seventeenth century acts of Parliament forbade charter proprietors in America disposing of land without royal consent to other than natural-born subjects of His Majesty. Maryland also prohibited the granting of lands to corporations, probably fearing the evils of clerical engrossment. Early Maryland acts required the heir-at-law to an estate to reside

¹⁵¹ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXXIX, 507; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, III, 432; IV, 266.

¹⁵² See above, p. 89. Harrison, F., *Virginia Land Grants*, 51-54.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 54; Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, 145; Fairbanks, *History of Florida*, 213; Mississippi, Agricultural and Geological Survey, *Report* (Wailles, 1854), pp. 57, 59.

¹⁵⁴ *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, I, 192.

¹⁵⁵ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, III, 432, 495, 501; V, 95. For Burrington's defense, see *ibid.*, 296 *et seq.*; cf. also Bassett, "Landholding in the Colony of North Carolina," in *Law Quarterly Review*, XI, 160.

¹⁵⁶ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, VI, 584.

¹⁵⁷ Gould, *Land System in Maryland*, 19-24.

¹⁵⁸ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), III, 99, 222; V, 55; XVII, 239.

requirements were deemed legally sufficient no matter how large the grant.¹⁶⁹ Thus, they were merely nominal for large grants and failed utterly to accomplish the original aim of promoting compact settlement. An attempt was made in the Virginia land act of 1705, subsequently vetoed by the crown, to reform the system. Reform was accomplished later, under Spotswood's direction, by an act of 1713, which sought to meet the valid objection that a good deal of land was not suited for cultivation¹⁷⁰ by providing for a classification. In the case of land partly cultivable and partly suited only for pasture the grantee was required to clear, tend, and work at least 3 acres for every fifty patented, or in lieu thereof to clear and drain 3 acres of swamp or marsh; and for the pasturable portion, to maintain 3 head of cattle or 6 sheep or goats for a period of three years. In case the land was suited only for pasturage the grantee was required for each fifty acres to keep the number of head of stock mentioned above and to build a good house at least 20 feet long by 16 broad. If the land was unsuited either to cultivation or to grazing, the employment of one able hand per hundred acres in quarrying or mining for three years was requisite. Some years later seating requirements were re-defined to provide for a minimum expenditure for improvements, fixed at £10 and later reduced to £5, in lieu of specified forms of improvement. In the Northern Neck there were no seating requirements after 1687.¹⁷¹

Seating requirements appear to have been similarly ineffective in other Colonies. A Maryland act of 1650 provided that in case grantees of manors failed to comply with conditions regarding settlement, the Proprietor might cause such lands to be leased, appropriating the fine and the first year's rent. In 1663 an act applying to Baltimore County declared that this frontier territory was characterized by extreme military weakness by reason of the prevalent engrossment and nonsettlement of land. It was provided that unless the lands were seated within a definite period they might be taken up by anyone undertaking to seat them.¹⁷² In the Carolinas instructions were sent from time to time to the colonial governors to promote the fuller utilization of land held by grantees,¹⁷³ but seating requirements were so loosely applied as to be of almost negligible influence. The earlier seating provisions in Georgia were especially rigorous. The grantee was required to erect a house within two years under penalty of forfeiting £1 sterling annually and losing the grant after ten years. In the case of the 500-acre tracts the grantee must clear and cultivate 3 acres for every fifty of arable land and keep a certain number of stock for grazing land. More rigorous requirements were issued in 1755, but they proved too onerous and were later modified. Enforcement was not effective, resulting in the extensive areas of undeveloped holdings.¹⁷⁴ In Louisiana also an attempt at stimulating the utilization

¹⁶⁹ Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 553-556; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), II, 244; Hartwell, Blair, & Chilton, *Present State of Virginia and the College*, 18.

¹⁷⁰ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), III, 313; IV, 37. For a statement of this objection, see letter of Governor Dobbs, of North Carolina, to the Board, in *North Carolina Colonial Records*, V, 362.

¹⁷¹ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), IV, 39, 81; V, 424; Harrison, F., *Virginia Land Grants*, 132.

¹⁷² *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), I, 63, 288, 499.

¹⁷³ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, V, 96.

¹⁷⁴ Flippin, "The Royal Government in Georgia: V, the Land System," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, X, 3-5; Jones, C. C., *History of Georgia*, I, 162. See below, p. 403.

of grants was made by an edict of 1728, providing for voiding claims to land granted in concessions on condition of settlement where possession had not passed and the land was not utilized. In the case of lands held under title a fine was to be imposed for failure to utilize the holding.¹⁷⁵

ENGROSSMENT OF LAND

In all the British Colonies of the South, except Georgia during the period of the Trustees, many characteristics of land policy operated to promote engrossment. The headright system was favorable to the acquisition of land by the large capitalist. Low rates of sale, especially in Virginia and the Carolinas, played into the hands of those capable of buying up huge tracts. The generally nominal requirements with regard to seating and their loose enforcement; low quitrents and exemptions from quitrents or noncollection for long periods; the issuance of warrants that might be held and traded in for years without suing out patents; loose land-office administration in the issuance of warrants, surveys, and granting of patents; and above all, the large amount of favoritism in the granting of huge bodies of land by the crown, by various Proprietors, and by colonial administrative agencies worked inevitably in the direction of excessive concentration in ownership.

In all of the British Southern Colonies the tendency toward concentration was probably increased by the entailing of estates and the observance of primogeniture, practices generally upheld by law until forbidden by legislation of the Revolutionary period.¹⁷⁶ It seems probable that the rule of primogeniture was less extensively followed than in England. The practices of dividing up estates among children was common, for the ease with which land was acquired made it possible to provide liberally for all children. Early in the seventeenth century Hugh Jones noted this tendency among the Virginia gentry, remarking that the practice was not unlike the rule of gavelkind in England.¹⁷⁷ The latter rule of descent, prevailing in the county of Kent, in the mother country, was familiar to the colonial lawyers. There is a difference of opinion among authorities over the question whether the colonial charters containing the phrase "as of our Manour of East Greenwich" legally transferred the rule of gavelkind, which prevailed in Kent where the royal manor was located, or whether the phrase was employed merely to emphasize the abolition of tenure *in capite*. Apparently the former view did not materially influence legal opinion in the Southern Colonies.¹⁷⁸ In North Carolina, and perhaps other Colonies, there was probably a tendency to discourage entails of unimproved estates, and an act of 1749 empowered a tenant in tail to convey by deed if the land was less than £50 in value.¹⁷⁹ In

¹⁷⁵ Dart, "Legal Institutions of Louisiana," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, II, 96.

¹⁷⁶ *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), V, 162; *North Carolina Laws* (Iredell), 280; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), VI, 356; IX, 226; Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford), I, 49; II, 103-105, 240; Bassett, "Landholding in the Colony of North Carolina," in *Law Quarterly Review*, XI, 164.

¹⁷⁷ *Present State of Virginia*, 61; cf. Halle, *Baumwollproduktion*, I, 31.

¹⁷⁸ Morris, R. B., "Primogeniture and Entailed Estates in America," in *Columbia Law Review*, XXVII, 38-41.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 33, citing *North Carolina Colonial Records*, VI, 745-747; Bassett, "Landholding in Colonial North Carolina," in Duke University, *Historical Papers*, II, 57.

Maryland also opposition to the English Statute de Donis developed as early as the beginning of the second quarter of the eighteenth century.¹⁸⁰ It was very common in Virginia and North Carolina to pass special legislative acts for the docking of entails and vesting estates in particular individuals in fee simple.¹⁸¹ Nevertheless, the practice of entailing estates under the rule of primogeniture was a common one. Ballagh thinks that legally the system of entails in Virginia was possibly even stricter after 1705 than in England.¹⁸²

The tendency toward engrossment was also intensified by reluctance to alienate land and by a tendency toward intermarriage among large landholders. John Fontaine relates that when he sought to purchase land from Mr. Beverley the latter refused to sell outright, but agreed to a lease for 999 years.¹⁸³

The amazing administrative laxity that contributed to engrossment in Virginia and the Carolinas was partly due to the emphasis on quitrents as a source of public revenue. The idea of securing revenue from rentals was more familiar to the European mind than the idea of profits from sale. Revenues from quitrents were increased by rapid distribution of public land. Indeed, near the close of the seventeenth century it was declared that in Virginia the government had been actively conniving at land frauds in order to increase quitrents.¹⁸⁴ Defenders of the loose methods of granting land, and particularly large grants, justified these policies on the ground that they compelled the inclusion of inferior lands, such as swamps and sand barrens. It was held also that restrictive policies in one Colony would be futile because of competition for settlers by other Colonies.¹⁸⁵

It was beginning to dawn on the royal authorities, however, that the exceedingly lavish policy in distributing public lands resulted in disadvantages not sufficiently offset by increasing a rent roll ineffectively collected, and that for military and commercial reasons public policy would be best subserved by the development of a numerous population.¹⁸⁶ The Hartwell, Blair, and Chilton report made it clear that even from a revenue standpoint the administration of land policy in Virginia was extremely ineffective. It was pointed out that in actual revenues the establishment of one planter on every fifty acres would result in returns from tobacco duties 200 times as great as would be derived from the same area unoccupied, even if quitrents should be fully collected. Accordingly, the Virginia act of 1705 to reform the headright system was vetoed by the crown because the possible number of patents to a single individual was not limited, with the result that lands would "soon be in hands of the rich, and not settled."

¹⁸⁰ Sioussat, *English Statutes in Maryland*, 58-60; Dulaney, *Right of the Inhabitants of Maryland to the Benefit of the English Laws* (*ibid.*, App. II), 104.

¹⁸¹ Virginia, *Legislative Journals of the Council* (McIlwaine), II, 803-805; cf. Morris, R. B., "Primogeniture and Entailed Estates in America," in *Columbia Law Review*, XXVII, 33.

¹⁸² *White Servitude in Virginia*, 87 n.; Wilhelm, *Local Institutions of Maryland*, 20.

¹⁸³ *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, 267.

¹⁸⁴ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, III, 431; V, 363; Hartwell, Blair, & Chilton, *Present State of Virginia and the College*, 16.

¹⁸⁵ See Robertson, W., *Account of the Manner of Taking up and Patenting Land in Virginia* (William and Mary Quarterly, 2 series, III), 139-142.

¹⁸⁶ Great Britain, *Representations of the Lords Commissioners . . . on the State of the British Colonies in North America*, 1721, p. 41; Andrews, C. M., *Land System in the American Colonies* (Palgrave, *Dictionary of Political Economy*, II), 558.

Objection was also made because seating requirements did not apply to each specific fifty acres.¹⁸⁷

Governor Spotswood endeavored by administrative measures to confine the headright to the importation of white settlers and to servants on the expiration of their terms, but his vigorous efforts did not seriously interfere with the progress of land engrossment. In fact, he was striving not so much to restrain engrossment as to discourage the holding of large tracts out of use. He himself had acquired the ownership of some 85,000 acres by 1727, which he made vigorous efforts to settle.¹⁸⁸ When the royal authorities attempted to stipulate that in the newly organized counties of Brunswick and Spotsylvania grants should be limited to 1,000 acres, Spotswood protested that it would deprive him of 59,786 acres recently acquired. Some of his successors, particularly Gooch and Dinwiddie, also favored large grants conditioned on the importation of settlers,¹⁸⁹ and the extensive employment of this policy during the next fifty years indicates a tendency in London to accept their point of view.

The experience of other Colonies in the South was more or less similar to that of Virginia. Almost from the beginning the Maryland Proprietors were cautious about permitting lavish grants. The Conditions of Plantation of 1684 restricted the size of grants to not more than 500 acres.¹⁹⁰ We have already noted, however, they they also had their troubles on account of engrossment without taking out patents and paying quitrents.¹⁹¹ In 1670 the Carolina Proprietors instructed the governor of the settlement on Ashley River to make no grants in excess of 660 acres except to the colonial aristocracy.¹⁹² The Proprietors sent instructions in 1699, and again in 1702 and 1713, forbidding the governor to grant more than 500 acres to any one person without special authority. The first mentioned instructions also specified that a grant should escheat unless settled within four years. In 1709 instructions, renewed several times subsequently, provided that no land should be granted in excess of 640 acres without special authority.¹⁹³ The well-meant intentions of the Georgia promoters to prevent engrossment, as we have noted,¹⁹⁴ were swept into the discard by the requirements of plantation expansion in the last two decades of the colonial period. In East Florida the earlier policy of lavish land grants was beginning to cause the British authorities apprehension before the close of the period of their control, and by 1783 there was a move to limit grants to 500 acres, against which Governor Tonyn protested vigorously.¹⁹⁵

¹⁸⁷ *Present State of Virginia and the College*, 17; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1706-1708, p. 406.

¹⁸⁸ Virginia, *Journals of the Council*, Executive Sessions, 1737-1763 (*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XIV), 229; *idem*, *Calendar of State Papers*, I, 49; Harrison, F., *Virginia Land Grants*, 38-41.

¹⁸⁹ Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, III, Nos. 14, 129; Harrison, F., *Virginia Land Grants*, 41.

¹⁹⁰ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XVII, 239.

¹⁹¹ See above, p. 396.

¹⁹² *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 186.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 556, 706, 832; *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, I, 149, 156, 162; *North Carolina Laws* (Iredell), 20.

¹⁹⁴ See above, p. 390.

¹⁹⁵ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/560, p. 527 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

Colonial governors, however, frequently felt justified in violating these maximum limits. Thus, in 1733 Governor Burrington, of North Carolina, reported that the conditions of the turpentine industry had led him to exceed the maximum. About 1755 the requirements of herding in the western part of North Carolina led Governor Dobbs to advise the British authorities that on account of the small grants "the rich think it not worth their while to settle, without a range for their Cattle." He recommended that the size of grants be unlimited.¹⁹⁶

The actual extent of engrossment varied in the several Colonies. The tendency does not appear to have been so extensive in Maryland as farther south. According to the study of land assessments by Professor Gould, the average size of holdings about the middle of the eighteenth century varied in the different counties from 250 to 475 acres. There were a few large holdings. About the middle of the century Edward Lloyd owned 36,292 acres in different counties, and Richard Bennett, probably the greatest landholder in Maryland, owned over 30 plantations. On the whole, Maryland was a Province of moderate holdings and small plantations. The median average acreage of the 67 largest plantations in Talbot County was about 462.¹⁹⁷ Nevertheless, about the close of the seventeenth century engrossment was sufficiently extensive for Governor Nicholson to declare that it was responsible for the exodus of young English colonists and freed servants from Maryland, as well as from Virginia, to other Colonies.¹⁹⁸

In Virginia there was a progressive tendency in the direction of an increasing size of grants until after the third quarter of the seventeenth century, as shown by Bruce's tabulation of land patents. The process appears to have reached its culmination from 1666 to 1679. At that period there were 12 estates ranging from 10,000 to 20,000 acres, 25 from 5,000 to 10,000 acres, 154 from 2,000 to 5,000, and 220 from 1,000 to 2,000. From 1679 to 1695 there was a decrease in the average, but the increase was resumed during the next five years.¹⁹⁹ A strong tendency toward land engrossment was manifested in expansion up the Potomac and in occupation of lands in the Pamunkey Neck and about Blackwater Swamp, opened up as a result of the Indian war of 1677.²⁰⁰ Engrossment was carried even further in the eighteenth century, in spite of the interest about the beginning of the century in restraining it. The lavish policy of land grants in the Northern Neck, as well as the extremely low price of treasury warrants throughout Virginia, contributed to the tendency. Thus, William Fitzhugh, who as agent for the Northern Neck enjoyed unusual opportunities to acquire land, owned about 50,000 acres at his death. William Byrd (II) owned as much as 100,000 acres, and Robert Carter left 300,000 acres.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁶ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, III, 431; V, 362.

¹⁹⁷ *Land System in Maryland*, 77-82.

¹⁹⁸ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1693-1696, p. 511; 1701, p. 693; cf. D'Avenant, *Works*, II, 27; Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland*, 9; *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), III, 255; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, III, 337.

¹⁹⁹ Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 528-532.

²⁰⁰ Harrison, F., *Virginia Land Grants*, 34.

²⁰¹ Will of William Fitzhugh, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, II, 277-279; Tyler, *Land Systems of the Southern Colonies* (in *The South in the Building of the Nation*, V), 50; *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XIII, 45.

In the Carolinas, as we have noted, the loose policy of the manorial grants, as well as headright and sale policies, operated to permit engrossment to such an extent that it became difficult for the small farmer to acquire land in the eastern part of the Province.²⁰² In North Carolina the tendency toward engrossment probably prevailed to a less extent than in South Carolina, for manorial grants were less numerous in the former, but many irregularities prevailed even in North Carolina, and from time to time the authorities complained of engrossment. During the Revolutionary War a traveller observed that there were many holdings ranging from 20,000 to 100,000 acres.²⁰³

The earlier, restrictive land policy in Georgia prevented before the Revolutionary War the extreme degree of engrossment that prevailed in some of the other Colonies. At the outbreak of that struggle there were a few great estates. Lieutenant-Governor Graham possessed over 25,000 acres. Governor Wright owned 11 plantations.²⁰⁴ There were, however, many holdings of 2,000 to 5,000 acres, and extensive absentee ownership. By 1773 the area of the Province was 6,695,429 acres, but there were not less than 1,400 plantations and 120,000 acres of improved land; yet, there were said to be only 300,000 acres not granted that were suited for cultivation, and that in the more remote sections. The country was dotted with numerous small absentee holdings, as a result of the earlier policy, some with unconfirmed titles.²⁰⁵

After 1763 the accessible portion of Florida was soon covered with large holdings.²⁰⁶ In November, 1776, Governor Tonyn reported the large grants up to that date as follows: 44 grants of 20,000 acres each, of which only 7 had been settled; 2 of 12,000 acres each, of which 1 had been settled; 41 of 10,000 acres each, of which 6 had been settled; 1 of 6,000 acres, yet unsettled; and 24 of 5,000 acres each, of which but 2 had been settled. Andrew Turnbull had received 20,000 acres, and additional grants totaling 20,000 acres were listed for members of his family.²⁰⁷ In the same month the governor wrote that until the Indians could be induced to cede additional lands no plantable lands would be available for the royalists who were beginning to come to the Colony.²⁰⁸ According to Romans, West Florida was more equally divided than East Florida.²⁰⁹

LAND VALUES

Taking the Southern Colonies as a whole, the various land policies did not seriously restrict the supply of land, although in time inertia of population and the tendency toward engrossment caused the better lands in older settled districts to appear scarce. The hostility of Indian tribes restrained expansion to some

²⁰² Rivers, *Sketch of South Carolina*, 443; *New Voyage to Georgia* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, II), 53.

²⁰³ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I, 186; III, 101; XXIII (Col. Laws), 42; Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 132.

²⁰⁴ Phillips, U. B., "Public Archives of Georgia," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1903, I, 445-446.

²⁰⁵ Flippin, "The Royal Government in Georgia: V, the Land System," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, X, 7-9, 15-17.

²⁰⁶ Fairbanks, *History of Florida*, 219; Doggett, *Dr. Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony*, 95.

²⁰⁷ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/557, pp. 51-53 (Transcripts, Library of Congress).

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

²⁰⁹ *East and West Florida*, 117.

extent,²¹⁰ for although the irrepressible squatter might penetrate areas still within the scope of Indian tribal rights, the majority of settlers were compelled to await extension of the frontier through successive treaties of cession. Difficulties of transport as expansion moved westward constituted another influence tending to increase demand for land in more accessible districts. Nevertheless, the availability of frontier lands prevented extremely high values.

In the coastal plain of Virginia and North Carolina round prices for plantations or general per acre prices were seemingly extremely low. Thus, in 1689 Fitzhugh offered to buy 80,000 acres in the Northern Neck for only £177 10s. About three years earlier a French refugee was offered 10,000 acres in Rappahannock County, including fourteen houses, at an average price of 4 shillings per acre. In 1732 Governor Burrington wrote, "A very little Money will purchase a vast Quantity of Land in North Carolina." The highest price ever given for an improved plantation was equivalent to the value of only £60 sterling. Ordinary improved plantations could be bought for 30 to 40 pistoles.²¹¹

Throughout the Colonies south of Maryland there were large areas of sandy uplands in the coastal plain, some of them partially exhausted, or of wet lands which could be purchased for a few shillings per acre or less.²¹² In 1781, for instance, the average assessed value of all lands in five counties of eastern Virginia ranged by counties from \$1.50 to \$1.67.²¹³

In spite of these low averages, however, land available for use under the economic conditions of the period had become scarce by the outbreak of the Revolution. Most of the available "good" land had been taken up. In Virginia private sale prices were much above the rates charged for government lands, which by this time consisted of left over areas mostly of inferior quality. Small tracts previously overlooked, lying between surveys, were being sought out.²¹⁴ Toward the close of the eighteenth century travellers observed that land values tended to become higher in the general farming districts of the back country than in plantation districts where a process of land engrossment had occurred.²¹⁵ Thus, in the last decade of the eighteenth century lands in Fairfax County, Virginia, about ten miles from the Potomac and from Alexandria were reported to be worth from 20 to 40 shillings per acre. Lands on the opposite side of the Potomac, said to be in no way superior, were rated at £4 to £5, a difference attributed to the smaller size of farms and denser population in Maryland. Lands in Montgomery County, Maryland, ranged from £1 2s. 6d. to £5.²¹⁶ In Fred-

²¹⁰ Ballagh, "Southern Economic History—The Land System," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1897, p. 126.

²¹¹ Fitzhugh, W., *Letters* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, II), 370-372; Durand, *Frenchman in Virginia*, 61, 68; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, III, 337, 430.

²¹² Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 88; Cooper, *Some Information respecting America*, 88; Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, I, 152.

²¹³ Sussex, Southampton, Prince George, Charles City, and James City counties. Ruffin, "Communication to the Virginia State Agricultural Society," in its *Journal of Transactions*, I, 20.

²¹⁴ Harrell, "Some Neglected Phases of the Revolution in Virginia," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2 series, V, 159.

²¹⁵ Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, II, 184; Washington, *Letters on Agriculture*, 51; Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 88.

²¹⁶ Washington, *Letters on Agriculture*, 42, 51.

erick County, Maryland, just east of the northern continuation of the Blue Ridge, lands ranged from £3 to £8 per acre, averaging about £6, while in Fauquier, Prince William, and Albemarle counties, Virginia, somewhat similarly located with respect to the Ridge, the price ranged from £1 to £1 10s.²¹⁷

Land values, of course, varied according to the grade of land in a particular area, especially in the distinction between upland and alluvial, as well as on account of the contrasts between plantation areas and farming areas. In Loudoun, said to be the best farming county in Virginia, bottom lands on the river sold for £3 to £5 and interior lands, £1 10s. to £3. In Berkeley, Washington's correspondent reported, the average prices of four grades of land ranged from £1 10s. to £4.²¹⁸ According to William Strickland's general survey, river bottom lands on the lower Rappahannock were valued at £1 11s. 6d., and uplands some distance from the river at 18s. to £1 2s. 6d. On the lower James alluvial lands were valued at £1 10s. to £4 10s. Above the falls river lands were £4 10s. Although these bottom lands in plantation areas were nearly as high as the best uplands in the Shenandoah valley, the former were not relatively as valuable as the comparative nearness to market apparently justified. A few miles from the James uplands were worth £1 10s. to £2 5s. "The best red land in the counties of Orange, Albemarle, and Amherst, than which, none in nature is more fertile, or better adapted to clover and wheat" were valued at 18 shillings. West of the Blue Ridge good land in Rockbridge County sold for £4 10s. The general run of lands, "including rocks and woods," sold at £1 10s. In the country around Winchester values ranged from £2 5s. to £4 10s., and near the town as high as £7 10s. Upon the Shenandoah the usual price was £1 11s. 6d.²¹⁹

The apparent tendency for the values in general farming regions to exceed those of plantation districts probably reflected in part the differences in fertility of piedmont and intermountain soils as compared with the less fertile and less durable upland soils of the coastal plain. The tendency is also explicable in terms of the larger demand for land in districts of small farming through the increase and inertia of population, as contrasted with districts where land was engrossed in large bodies far beyond the ability of owners to utilize it.

In the limited area available for rice and sea-island cotton the price of land became high. In the last years of the eighteenth century tide swamps in a high state of cultivation sold for \$100 to \$170 an acre. Inland swamp lands under cultivation, then gradually becoming obsolete, were valued at from \$20 to \$50. Good sea-island cotton land in Beaufort District, South Carolina, sold for \$40 to \$60. In the same region ordinary pine lands might be purchased for \$6 to \$10. Rice and sea-island cotton lands in Georgia were somewhat less valuable than in South Carolina until after the close of the colonial period.²²⁰

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 44, 52, 57. The report for Albemarle County is approximately confirmed by another statement as of 1790. Virginia, State Board of Agriculture, *Report (House Journal and Documents, 1842-43, Doc. 12)*, p. 51.

²¹⁸ Washington, *Letters on Agriculture*, 53-54.

²¹⁹ Strickland, *Report to the [British] Board of Agriculture (Farmers' Register, III)*, 205.

²²⁰ Drayton, *View of South Carolina*, 110; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, II, 541; Janson, *The Stranger in America*, 357; Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, II, 50.

Lands west of the coastal plain in the Carolinas were still too recently settled to command more than nominal values. For instance, between Guilford and Salem, North Carolina, the average price of first quality land uncleared was about \$2 an acre.²²¹

TENANCY AND TENANT CONTRACTS

In the earlier stages of development in particular regions such tenancy as existed was due in large part to engrossment rather than to high land values. During the early years of Virginia tenancy was largely a product of the policy of immigration employed in the later years of the Virginia Company.²²² In Maryland proprietary reservations and in South Carolina land engrossment in the early years led to some renting. The desire to occupy improved land or land safe from Indian attack made some persons willing to be tenants. Thus, as early as 1680 land cleared and fenced in eastern South Carolina was said to rent for 10 shillings an acre. Often tenants were poor whites who were allowed to occupy the land for a nominal consideration. In the Virginia back country, settled largely by Irish and Germans, there were many white hirelings employed as croppers. They furnished nothing but their labor, eating with their employers and receiving a share of the crop.²²³

In the latter part of the eighteenth century tenancy in Maryland and northern Virginia became more common and rents increased considerably. In Maryland, from 1720 to 1765, rents ranged in amount from 10 shillings to £10 per hundred acres. About 1750 a plantation of medium size and fair quality might be rented for £5 to £8 currency a year.²²⁴ In the latter part of the eighteenth century, according to George Washington, land commonly rented in Virginia at £8 to £10 currency per hundred acres. In the prosperous general farming regions of Loudoun County the rentals of the newer leases were from £10 to £20 currency per hundred acres. In the older leases the rate was from £2 to £5, indicating a notable increase during the past twenty or thirty years.²²⁵ Parkinson was offered an improved farm of 400 acres in Maryland for 4 shillings currency per acre annually. A farm three miles from Baltimore rented for £1 currency per acre.²²⁶

In southern Virginia and the Carolinas tenancy was much less common, and rents were lower. In 1785 it was asserted that there were no tenants in Caroline County, Virginia, nor could the landlords secure them, because of the great abundance of land.²²⁷ In 1726 a traveller in North Carolina declared that there was practically no tenancy in that Colony.²²⁸ William Byrd (II) ascribed a practice

²²¹ Watson, *Men and Times of the Revolution*, 255.

²²² See above, p. 315. Also Instructions to Yeardley, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, II, 157; Decisions of Virginia General Court, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, IV, 157.

²²³ Wilson, S., *Account of Carolina* (Salley, Narratives), 167; Fitzhugh, W., *Letters* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, II), 274; Tatham, *Essay on Tobacco*, 101.

²²⁴ Gould, *Land System in Maryland*, 69.

²²⁵ Washington, *Letters on Agriculture*, 52-53.

²²⁶ *Tour*, I, 51, 72, 160.

²²⁷ Joyce, *Letter from Caroline County, Virginia* (Richmond Daily Dispatch, Aug. 16, 1877).

²²⁸ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, II, 633.

of leasing land in North Carolina for a small consideration to runaway servants from Virginia to the fact that landlords took advantage of their necessity.²²⁹

Occasionally landlords leased property at nominal rentals on condition that the tenants care for or gradually improve the property. Sometimes tenants agreed to open up new plantations, meanwhile paying a nominal rent.²³⁰ In a contract with one Christopher Hardwick, Washington agreed to furnish 240 acres, a good slave the first year, three more the second, and two more out of the profits of the enterprise; to supply certain designated livestock; to advance the funds required for the erection of the necessary buildings, except one tobacco house and one dwelling house to be erected at Washington's expense; and to advance funds for purchasing tools and clothing for slaves and for other incidental charges. Hardwick agreed to buy a half interest in the slaves and stock, and to defray half the cost of the buildings, except the tobacco house and dwelling house, and to contribute half of incidental expenses of operation. After ten years there was to be an equal division of slaves, stock, and utensils, the land reverting again to Washington.²³¹

Sometimes developed plantations were leased together with the slaves or servants, the rent being fixed at so much per laborer. Thus, Jefferson leased his plantation at £11 currency per hand.²³² In 1788 Robert Carter leased his Gemini plantation, consisting of 1,230 acres and 15 slaves, for an annual rental of £65 specie, payable in products. The tenant agreed to fence 320 acres, to plant a small number of apple trees, and to furnish the landlord small quantities of wood and charcoal. The tenant was required to feed and clothe the slaves according to certain specifications and to pay doctor and midwife bills. He agreed to leave as many acres sowed to fall grain at termination of the lease as he had found at its beginning.²³³ In 1743 a North Carolina lease for 850 acres with six slaves and all stock and farm implements called for a rental of £200 currency the first year and £300 in succeeding years.²³⁴ Not infrequently developed plantations, with slaves and stock, were leased for a share of the crops, to overseers who assumed full responsibility.²³⁵ In 1686 the usual agreement was for a rental of two thirds, the overseer assuming responsibility for feeding and clothing the laborers.²³⁶ About the close of the eighteenth century the one-third share system was commonly employed in tobacco regions. The rent of the land alone was valued at one third of the crop, the furnishing of provisions and materials at one third, and the labor at one third. When laborers were leased with the land, the labor of a woman was estimated as worth three fourths, and the labor of a boy one half, the share assignable to a common male hand.²³⁷

²²⁹ *Writings* (Bassett), 47.

²³⁰ Kilty, *Land-Holder's Assistant and Land-Office Guide*, 219-222. For instance, see Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 39.

²³¹ Ford, W. C., *Washington as an Employer of Labor*, 36-38.

²³² Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford), IV, 417.

²³³ *Papers* (Memorandum Books, 1788-1789), III, 1-5 (Manuscripts, Library of Congress).

²³⁴ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, IV, 679.

²³⁵ Gould, *Land System in Maryland*, 68.

²³⁶ Durand, *Frenchman in Virginia*, 97-99.

²³⁷ Tatham, *Essay on Tobacco*, 101.

The practice of renting estates to overseers and others on shares should be distinguished from the custom of employing overseers on a share basis.²³⁸

Long leases were common, and the influence of English example is shown in the prevalence of leases for seven years, twenty-one years, and for one or more lives.²³⁹

INFLUENCE OF LAND POLICIES ON DEVELOPMENT OF PLANTATION ECONOMY

On the whole, colonial land policies created conditions favorable to the development of the plantation system, although they were not the motivating forces that brought the system into existence. In fact, there were areas of the South where, in spite of the abundance and cheapness of land and even extensive engrossment, the plantation system failed to develop. In general, the laxity of the regulations governing the acquisition of land favored concentration of landownership in the hands of persons controlling capital, influence, and ability requisite for the development of large-scale organization; the cheapness and abundance of land made it easier for American staples to meet competition; and cheap land was a condition favorable, though not indispensable, to the successful employment of servile labor.²⁴⁰ The headright system, which made possible the acquisition of land as an incident of the importation of labor, was positively favorable to the plantation system. According to McCormac, servants were imported into Maryland during the first fifty years more on account of the land received than on account of the labor. Thereafter labor was the primary object, and the land received was merely incidental—so much so, in fact, that planters sometimes failed to take up land under the headright in order to avoid paying quitrents.²⁴¹

²³⁸ See below, p. 545.

²³⁹ Gould, *Land System in Maryland*, 68; Fitzhugh, W., *Letters* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography), I, 408; II, 23; III, 8; Washington, *Letters on Agriculture*, 52.

²⁴⁰ See below, pp. 475-477.

²⁴¹ *White Servitude in Maryland*, 17, 46.

CHAPTER XVIII

CREDIT AND MARKETING

The Rôle of Credit in the Development of Agricultural Capitalism, 409. Uses of Credit, 411. Importance of Credit in Colonial Development, and Sources of Credit, 413. Conflicts of Debtor and Creditor Interests, 415. Direct Commercial Relations between Tobacco Merchants and Planters, 417. Irregularity and Uncertainty of Early System of Casual Trading, 419. Development of Commercial Specialization and the Factorage System, 421. Disadvantages of the Consignment System in the Tobacco Colonies, 423. Gradual Displacement of Consignment by Direct Purchase of Tobacco, 425. The Commercial Mechanism of the Carolinas and Georgia, 428. Colonial Dissatisfaction with the Mechanism of Marketing, 430.

THE RÔLE OF CREDIT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURAL CAPITALISM

The plantation system, as we have noted, was a product of the new commercialism of western Europe, and employed in the task of colonization and the promotion of immigration. The investment of capital was required to defray the initial expenses of colonization, and to advance the expenses of transoceanic immigration for laborers, both white and black, who lacked the necessary means. The possibility of producing in parts of the South certain commodities not extensively grown in western Europe provided a commercial basis for the investment of capital with a view to a money return. In the New World it was normally possible for labor to produce a surplus above the expenses of subsistence, and consequently to command a comparatively high value, which was frequently a subject of comment.¹ Because of the large supply of virtually free land the landowner as such was unable to appropriate any considerable proportion of the surplus as rent, but slavery provided an institution whereby the capitalist could appropriate the surplus product of labor above expenses of immigration and subsistence.² Such were the conditions that made Southern agriculture an especially attractive field for the investment of capital.

In the earlier stages of settlement, as we have noted, the activities of promoting industry were carried on by nonresident capitalists who undertook not only to invest but also to venture their capital in the New World—that is, the capitalist was also the enterpriser. When this method of economic organization not only had failed but also had become unnecessary, the “adventurer,” or “undertaker,” came himself to the Colony to superintend his enterprises.³ Some of these individuals undoubtedly brought with them all or a part of the requisite capital, but a large proportion were supplied from sources primarily interested in investment through lending rather than in adventure of capital. The relation of the credit system to the economic life of the South and the West Indies was therefore so intimate and influential that it comprises an important key to the economic history of the period.

¹ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, V, 315; Great Britain, P. R. O., C. O. 5/540, f. 353 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 187.

² See above, pp. 310, 370–372.

³ See pp. 321, 341.

Even judging by rates of loan interest, capital was more productive in the Colonies than in England. During the greater part of the colonial period loans on good security brought from 8 to 10 per cent in the Southern Colonies.⁴ Just before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War lower rates seem to have obtained. The legal rate both in South Carolina and in Georgia was lowered to 8 per cent. James Habersham wrote in 1765 to an English correspondent that this rate could be "as well if not better paid by a Carefull Person either in the commercial or planting way here, than £5 per Ct. [5 per cent] with you."⁵

As in all new countries, the rapidity of industrial expansion was very closely dependent upon the possibility of procuring foreign capital, for "notwithstanding the extensive credit commonly allowed the planting interest by the merchants, the number of borrowers always exceeded the lenders of money."⁶ This dependence is further shown by the condition of those parts of the country where credit was not readily obtained. Thus, the Irish who settled in Williamsburg Township, South Carolina, "remained for several years in low and miserable circumstances . . . at length they applied to the merchants for negroes, who entrusted them with a few, by which means they were relieved from the severest part of the labour . . . and gradually they acquired fruitful estates."⁷

The plantations comprised most of the wealth in the Colonies capable of hypothecation, and slaves and land the principal bases of credit. The small farmer could not hypothecate his own labor, for it was free and its future services were not capitalized. Even more important, in a wilderness separated by thousands of miles from the sources of credit, was the fact that the planter was a man of influence and reputation in the community. Moreover, the colonial credit system operated mainly in favor of the larger and more influential planters. The superior credit of the large planter made it necessary for the small planter and farmer to obtain credit advances through his more influential neighbor. Hence in many instances the large planter became a retailer of credit, having obtained his capital from the merchant on sufficiently favorable terms to make a profit out of the transaction. Early in the eighteenth century the statement was made concerning Virginia that on every river of the Province "there are Men in Number from ten to thirty, who by Trade and Industry have got very compleat Estates. These Gentlemen take care to supply the poorer sort with Goods and Necessaries and are sure to keep them always in their Debt, and consequently dependant on them."⁸ Moreover, as we have noted, planters were frequently the principal undertakers of the Indian trade, employing the traders and furnishing the necessary advances.⁹ The disadvantage of the small producer is suggested in an argument against the introduction of Negroes into the Colony of Georgia, as follows:¹⁰

⁴ Burke, Edm., *European Settlements in America*, II, 215; Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, II, 183; Atwood, *History of Dominica*, 73; *American Husbandry*, II, 31; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, II, 197; *North Carolina Laws* (Iredell), 75, 79; Raynal, *British Settlements and Trade in North America*, 127.

⁵ *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, VI), 37. See also Fries, *Moravians in Georgia*, 53.

⁶ Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, II, 184.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 63.

⁸ Oldmixon, *British Empire*, I, 322.

⁹ See above, p. 135.

¹⁰ Georgia Historical Society, *Collections*, II, 281.

"The poor planter sent on charity, from his desire to have negroes, as well as the planter who should settle at his own expense, would . . . mortgage his land to the negro merchant for them, or at least become a debtor for the purchase of such negroes; and under these weights and discouragements would be induced to sell his slaves again upon any necessity, and would leave the province and his lot to the negro merchant. In consequence of which, all the small properties would be swallowed up, as they have been in other places, by the more wealthy planters."

USES OF CREDIT

There were four classes of uses for capital in the agriculture of the colonial South: first, to obtain supplies for the plantation population while developing a plantation or making a crop; second, to defray expenses of marketing; third, to purchase the labor force of the plantation; and fourth, to acquire necessary equipment. In the West Indian sugar industry a large amount of equipment was necessary. Ultimately this necessity developed in the rice industry of South Carolina and Georgia and in the sugar industry of Louisiana; but in the colonial period it was comparatively an unimportant element, and merges largely with the first mentioned need for capital, providing tools and implements, and supplies to maintain the laborers while clearing land and constructing buildings and fences. As we have noted, the cost of acquiring land was largely incidental to the importation of servants and slaves.

Frequently the practice of purchasing supplies on credit and the chronic indebtedness of colonial planters to English merchants have been attributed to extravagance in consumption. Extravagance undoubtedly was a serious fault of many planters, especially in the eighteenth century when they began to ape the manner of life of the English gentry. There was but little opportunity, however, for extravagant standards in the rude border society that prevailed in the greater part of inhabited Virginia and Maryland in the seventeenth century. Even after more elegant modes of living developed, planters were not generally careless and extravagant. Many were zealously engaged in accumulating large fortunes, living mainly on the produce of their estates and reinvesting most of their income in land and slaves.¹¹ In 1764 a writer, deploring the indebtedness of planters, remarked, "Virginia may again see the Halcyon days she knew 20 Years ago, when they . . . feared a Debt in England as the worst of calamitys."¹² Yet, the credit system prevailed from the very beginning of the plantation system and long before habits of extravagance developed. The Dutch merchant De Vries, who visited Virginia in 1635, was convinced of the necessity of employing resident factors to collect debts as soon as tobacco was ready for sale.¹³ Two years later the King ordered Virginia officials to send information as to each planter's indebtedness, in order that some course might be taken "to redeem these our poor subjects." In 1640 the legislation for restricting volume of production of tobacco, already described, recognizing the existence of "the great debts and deep engagements of Divers of the Inhabitants" provided a moratorium

¹¹ Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, II, 182; La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, II, 450.

¹² *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XII, 242.

¹³ *Voyages*, 112.

for two years under which no one could be compelled to pay more than two thirds of his crop to satisfy his obligations. About 1640 Maryland planters were also operating largely on credit.¹⁴ Toward the close of the century Hartwell, Blair, and Chilton remarked on the great inconvenience the merchants were put to in Virginia because they were "obliged to sell upon Trust."¹⁵

The practice of buying supplies on credit was due largely to the general scarcity of capital in a new country. It was one of the methods by which English capital was obtained for investment in the New World. It was also due to the necessity of purchasing a year's supply in advance and to the lack of an effective medium of exchange. It early became customary, therefore, for merchants to advance supplies to planters on a year's credit, on security of the crop. When local stores were substituted for the old direct relations with the British merchant, these stores continued to sell on long credits, based, in turn, on credits of six to twelve months for their purchases from the wholesalers of England and the North. This supply credit came very high. In 1729 it was declared that "sometimes 25 per cent is advanced on our Goods, to make Amends for an 18 Months, or longer Credit."¹⁶

Gradually the practice of purchasing on credit became habitual with all classes of society. The Virginia gentleman followed after his English prototype not only in his manner of living but also in the habit of living beyond his income.¹⁷ In the latter part of the eighteenth century, therefore, the purchase of consumption goods on credit was in considerable measure due to conspicuous and competitive expenditure. At times, indeed, luxurious modes of living were employed as a means of keeping up appearances in order to obtain more credit.¹⁸

By reason of numerous taxes and commercial exactions, the expense of marketing became so great that a considerable outlay was necessary to move the crop—in the case of tobacco several times the value of the crop on the plantation. Moreover, the outlay was necessary for a year, and in extreme cases two or three years. It is probable that even when the planter possessed the necessary capital the rules and customs of the trade made it unprofitable for him to advance the expenses of marketing.¹⁹ At the outbreak of the Revolution the machinery of marketing was still largely financed by British capital. Adam Smith asserts, "The greater part both of the exportation and coasting trade of America, is carried on by the capitals of merchants who reside in Great Britain. Even the stores and warehouses from which goods are retailed in some provinces, par-

¹⁴ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574–1660, p. 250; Virginia, *Acts of the General Assembly, 1639–40* (William and Mary Quarterly, 2 series, IV), 146; Steiner, *Maryland during the English Civil Wars*, Pt. II, 9.

¹⁵ *Present State of Virginia and the College*, 9; cf. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), May 20, 1729.

¹⁶ Dubose, *Reminiscences of St. Stephens Parish* (Thomas, Huguenots in South Carolina), 32; *American Husbandry*, I, 227; La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, II, 408; III, 64; Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, I, 98–100; *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, XXI, 628; Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, II, 299; *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), May 20, 1729.

¹⁷ La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, III, 76; Smith, A., *Wealth of Nations*, I, 333.

¹⁸ Letters of Edward and Samuel Athawes to William Daingerfield, in Virginia, *Calendar of State Papers*, I, 258–260; Burnaby, *Travels in North America*, 26–30; *American Husbandry*, I, 237, 242, 244; Raynal, *British Settlements and Trade in North America*, 127.

¹⁹ *Case of the Planters of Tobacco in Virginia*, 10–12.

ticularly in Virginia and Maryland, belong many of them to merchants who reside in the mother country."²⁰

IMPORTANCE OF CREDIT IN COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT, AND SOURCES OF CREDIT

Credit for the purchase of servants and slaves was less important in Virginia and Maryland than in South Carolina and Georgia. Adam Smith declares: "I have never even heard of any tobacco plantation that was improved and cultivated by the capital of merchants who resided in Great Britain."²¹ In the tobacco Colonies, as we have noted, indentured servants constituted the principal labor basis for the first three quarters of a century, and the first cost of servants was usually not more than one fifth the first cost of slaves. While some credit was employed in these Colonies for purchasing servants, the greater need arose with the development of the slave trade.²² When slaves were being rapidly introduced in the latter part of the seventeenth century and the first quarter of the eighteenth, colonial authorities became deeply concerned on account of the overwhelming indebtedness of the planters.²³ Instructions to the Earl of Orkney mentioned the large indebtedness due the Royal African Company by Virginia planters.²⁴ In order to avoid expense for factorage, the company had offered to sell slaves on contract orders, in lots irrespective of sex and condition, at a flat price, one third payable in cash on delivery, one third in two months, and the remainder in six months. When not bought on contract slaves were sold through resident factors, and immediate payment was required or good security and endorsement by factors.²⁵

When staple crops were developed credit became the very breath of life to the industry of South Carolina and Georgia. After the removal of restrictions on the rice trade, according to Hewatt, "The merchants of London, Bristol, and Liverpool turned their eyes to Carolina, as a new and promising channel of trade, and established houses in Charlestown for conducting their business with the greater ease and success. They poured in slaves from Africa for cultivating their lands, and manufactures of Britain for supplying the plantations, by which means the planters obtained great credit." There was no lack of demand, for "Adventurous planters in Carolina, eager to obtain a number of negroes, always stretched their credit with the traders to its utmost pitch; for as negroes on good lands cleared themselves in a few years, they by this means made an annual addition to their capital stock."²⁶ The expansion of the plantation system on the basis of credit was especially rapid, according to Hewatt, in the period between the French and Indian War and the Revolutionary War. "The merchants of England . . . vied with each other for customers in America, and stretched their credit to its utmost extent for supplying the provinces. Hence every one of them

²⁰ *Wealth of Nations*, I, 346.

²¹ *Ibid.*, I, 158.

²² Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, p. 268.

²³ See above, p. 357, and also Spotswood, *Official Letters*, I, 52; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, III, 116; Michel, *Journey to Virginia* (*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXIV), 116.

²⁴ *Randolph Manuscripts* (*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXI), 351.

²⁵ Collins, E. D., "Colonial Policy of England," in *Amer. Hist. Assn., Annual Report*, 1900, I, 158.

²⁶ *South Carolina and Georgia*, II, 13-14, 57, 127.

were well furnished with all kinds of merchandise. But as the staples of Carolina were valuable, and in much demand, credit was extended to that province almost without limitation, and vast multitudes of negroes, and goods of all kinds, were yearly sent to it."²⁷

In spite of the comparatively small amount of commercial agriculture in North Carolina, a traveller observed just at the close of the colonial period that the planters of that Colony were usually in debt to the merchants.²⁸

For a number of years after the expiration of the control of the Trustees the development of Georgia was limited by inability to obtain credit. As late as 1795-1797 Rochefoucauld observed that a cargo of slaves was brought to Savannah "without the least certainty of a profitable sale, on account of the scarcity of money which generally prevails and because foreign merchants are as little fond of giving credit to those of Savannah, as these are of crediting the planters."²⁹ Hewatt also remarks on the tardiness of the merchants in extending credit to Georgia, but assigns the free development of the credit system to the period of the French and Indian War, when, as a result of the discovery of the adaptability of its lowlands to rice, "the British merchants . . . were no longer backward in extending credit to it."³⁰

In Louisiana, as already noted, credit in the sale of Negroes to planters was early provided.³¹ From time to time official credit was extended.³² The extent of indebtedness of the planters to merchants is illustrated by the following statement issued by the merchants toward the close of the period of French control in reply to a petition of the planters to the King, alleging monopolistic oppression:³³

"Whereas, A number of the inhabitants of this district who, toward the latter part of 1771, solicited and obtained a term of from three to five years for the payment of their indebtedness, promising to pay annually one-third thereof. But whether owing to misfortunes, or other causes, they have generally failed in complying with this engagement, and have, in many instances, cancelled no part of their indebtedness. Now this is to advertise all such and to invite them to come in either to Mr. Alexander Moore, on his plantation; or to Mr. Peter Walker at the landing, on any day between this and the 1st of February next, and give in a statement of their affairs. It will only be in extreme cases that coercion will be resorted to. It is not the design of the creditors to distress or ruin any honest, industrious debtor. As a number have complained that they had no encouragement to work, not knowing what values would be allowed them for their crops by their creditors, we now inform all such that the following prices will be allowed produce now delivered and for the ensuing crop, the articles to be delivered at the landing."

The credit system was not peculiar to the South. It was, in fact, a phase of economic development of all the plantation Colonies, and largely for similar reasons. In the British West Indies most of the estates were "burthened with heavy in-

²⁷ Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, II, 300.

²⁸ Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 131.

²⁹ *Travels*, II, 462.

³⁰ *South Carolina and Georgia*, II, 266.

³¹ See above, p. 335.

³² *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, V, 82; cf. Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 185.

³³ Claiborne, J. F. H., *Mississippi*, 138-140 n.

cumbrances to persons in Great Britain," many of them Jews. Many planters were under "covenants to consign thither annually specifick quantities of sugar and rum."³⁴ Planters were constantly adventuring in the business of sugar production, furnishing a part of the capital and borrowing the remainder, buying Negroes on a credit of twelve or eighteen months. Frequently they risked too much and became bankrupt, and their estates were acquired for a song by creditors, who then employed the former owners as resident managers.³⁵ In San Domingo the necessity of dividing estates in settlement, under the French law of equal partition, increased the need for credit. D'Auberteuil, protesting against the royal order of 1775 requiring colonial debts to be extinguished on pain of imprisonment, declares that colonial indebtedness was not a sign of economic decay, but an essential factor in the extension of cultivation and the expansion of industry.³⁶ The slow development of the Spanish West Indies was attributable largely to the inability of Spanish merchants to furnish adequately long credits. By the early years of the nineteenth century, after the exclusive commercial policy had been abandoned in Cuba, the planting classes had developed extraordinary dependence upon the commercial interest.³⁷

CONFLICTS OF DEBTOR AND CREDITOR INTERESTS

The credit system frequently made the planter an economic vassal of the merchant. Not infrequently accounts between merchants and planters ran for years without being balanced. Keith stated about 1738 that two thirds of the Virginia planters were so deeply in debt that they were not free to change factors.³⁸ According to Ramsay, it was difficult to be sure how much a man's wealth really was, and there were frequently great surprises in the winding up of estates.³⁹ Jefferson declared in 1786 concerning the relationship of planter to merchant:⁴⁰

"No *other law* can be more oppressive to the mind or fortune, and long experience has proved to us that there never was an instance of a man's getting out of debt who was once in the hands of a tobacco merchant & bound to consign his tobacco to him. It is the most delusive of all snares. The merchant feeds the inclination of his customer to be credited till he gets the burthen of debt so increased that he cannot throw it off at once, he then begins to give him less for his tobacco & ends with giving him what he pleases for it, which is always so little that though the demands of the customer for necessaries be reduced ever so low in order to get himself out of debt, the merchant lowers his price in the same proportion so as always to keep such a balance against his customer as will oblige him to continue his consignments of tobacco. Tobacco always sells better in Virginia than in the hands of a London merchant. The confidence which you have been pleased to place in me induces me to take the liberty of advising you to

³⁴ Edwards, *British West Indies*, II, 110; Raynal, *Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, IV, 291; cf. Pitman, *Development of the British West Indies*, 127-136; Collins, E. D., *Colonial Policy of England*, 185.

³⁵ Edwards, *British West Indies*, II, 487; Atwood, *History of Dominica*, 73; Beckford, *Descriptive Account of Jamaica*, II, 352, 357.

³⁶ Hilliard d'Auberteuil, *Considérations sur l'État Présent de la Colonie Française de Saint-Domingue*, II, 286-291, 298-305.

³⁷ Aimes, *Slavery in Cuba*, 28; Humboldt, *Cuba*, 280.

³⁸ *British Plantations*, 185.

³⁹ *History of South Carolina*, II, 396-398.

⁴⁰ *Writings* (Ford), IV, 288.

submit to any thing rather than to an obligation to ship your tobacco. A mortgage of property, the most usurious interest, or anything else will be preferable to this."

Robert Beverley wrote of the Virginia planting class:⁴¹

"But as they have no body that is poor to beggary, so they have few that are rich; their Estates being regulated by the Merchants in *England*, who it seems know best what is Profit enough for them, in the Sale of their Tobacco, and other Trade."

The merchants were compelled to be constantly alert to prevent legislation impairing the security of their credits. It was their influence that dictated the legislation making slaves real property. When the Georgia legislature tried to make slaves personalty, the bill was vetoed on the ground that it impaired the security of debts due British merchants. Nevertheless, the creditor class encountered numerous difficulties in the collection of indebtedness.⁴² In 1729 Maryland found it necessary to legislate against the practice of debtors emigrating to other Provinces after making secret or fraudulent sales or otherwise disposing of their property.⁴³ After the passage of the Stamp Act a Virginia merchant complained that debtors were taking advantage of the resulting confusion to escape from their indebtedness.⁴⁴

The planters also had recourse to politics, and much legislation in favor of debtors was passed, an adequate account of which would require a monograph. As already noted, attempts to improve the quality and restrict the quantity of tobacco were always seriously handicapped by the effect of the expected changes in value of the product on the obligations of planters to merchants and for the payment of public obligations.⁴⁵

Colonial indebtedness also gave rise to struggles over currency inflation, a tendency most frequently manifested in South Carolina. Thus, in order to finance Moore's expedition in 1702, the assembly authorized an issue of bills of credit, providing for a sinking fund by duties on liquors, skins, and furs. Small additional issues became necessary in 1706 and 1707, but thus far comparatively little depreciation had occurred. In 1712 the scarcity of capital led to a project for setting up a bank to lend to planters on the security of land and slaves. A large sum in legal tender bills was issued. In the first year exchange increased to 150 per cent, and in the second year to 200 per cent.⁴⁶ The planters were enabled to liquidate their indebtedness to the merchants in cheap money, resulting in an acute controversy between the merchants, whose cause was espoused by the council, and the planters, whose influence was strong in the lower house. By 1722 exchange had increased to 500 per cent, and the uncertain commercial conditions had resulted in an advance of interest rates to 25 per cent. The popular

⁴¹ *History of Virginia*, 239.

⁴² Habersham, *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, VI), 80; cf. Great Britain, *Statutes at Large* (Ruffhead), VI, 74 (5 Geo. II, c. 7). For a characteristic instance of persistent individual evasion, see *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg, Dixon & Hunter, ed.), Feb. 25, 1775.

⁴³ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXXVI, 460.

⁴⁴ Allason, *Letters* (Richmond College Historical Papers, II), 138.

⁴⁵ See above, Chap. XII.

⁴⁶ Nairne, *Letter from South Carolina*, 35-41; McCrady, *South Carolina under the Proprietary Government*, 524; *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, I, 300-305.

party sought to meet this situation by usury legislation, providing for a legal rate not to exceed 10 per cent.⁴⁷ The experienced colonial administrator, Francis Nicholson, sent to the Province to bring order out of the confusion, was unable to check the tide. In 1722 an additional issue of £40,000 was provided "to please the people," and outstanding issues of £80,000 called in and reissued. Creditors were forced to accept payment for debts in colonial currency. In less than a year exchange rose to 700 per cent. An attempt at an additional issue of £20,000 was defeated in the council, and a petition of a protest by twenty-eight merchants resulted in their imprisonment. The merchants appealed to the British authorities, who ordered the issue of £40,000 repealed and provision made for the retirement of other issues; but the assembly failed to comply. In 1725 a project for an additional issue was prevented only by action of the council.⁴⁸ A long controversy ensued between the council and the lower house, in which the latter, while resisting proposals to provide adequately for retiring outstanding bills, sought to pass measures for fixing commodity prices and rates of exchange. The deadlock continued until 1730, when the commercial interests consented to the calling in of old bills and reissuing a total of £100,000, suspending the provisions for sinking funds.⁴⁹ This amounted in effect to accepting the issues as a permanent element in the currency. The consent of the merchants appears to have been won by the fact that the trade of the Province was largely increased, and in view of the scarcity of specie the currency provided a convenient medium of exchange.

In addition to the attempt of South Carolina in 1712 to establish a bank, there were attempts in other Southern Colonies to provide a system of public credit for the benefit of planters. North Carolina established a loan office in 1729, apportioning loans among the several precincts in proportion to population, but the experiment proved a dismal failure. In 1755 Georgia issued bills of credit which were loaned to citizens at less than prevailing commercial rates.⁵⁰

DIRECT COMMERCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN TOBACCO MERCHANTS AND PLANTERS⁵¹

In Tidewater Virginia and Maryland the proximity of the larger plantations to navigable water was favorable to a system of direct trade. It was more eco-

⁴⁷ Yonge, *Narrative of the Proceedings of the People of South Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 147; *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, I, 300-305; Great Britain, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, B 4, *North and South Carolina*, No. 140 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, II, 162, 197; *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), III, 104-108, 132-134; McCrady, *South Carolina under the Royal Government*, 8.

⁴⁸ South Carolina, *Council Journals*, 1722, pp. 127, 134-140 (Manuscript in South Carolina State Library, Columbia); *List and Abstract of Documents [British] relating to South Carolina*, I, 300-305; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, II, 165.

⁴⁹ McCrady, *South Carolina under the Royal Government*, 80-87.

⁵⁰ My attention was called to these instances by an unpublished manuscript by A. N. Moore, dealing with the history of agricultural credit in the United States. He cites also another unpublished manuscript that I have not seen, namely Earle Sylvester Sparks' *The History of Agricultural Credit in the United States before 1860* (Harvard University Library).

⁵¹ Some of the material in this discussion of colonial marketing was published by the author in an article entitled "The Market Surplus Problems of Colonial Tobacco," in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, 2 series, VII-VIII (Oct., 1927-Jan., 1928). The article was reprinted in *Agricultural History*, II, 1-24 (Jan., 1928).

nomical to ship tobacco direct, rather than to concentrate it at central shipping points, thus avoiding the expense of local transport, storage, and transfer to ships. Ocean-going ships were small, and therefore the delay in gathering a cargo from numerous plantation wharves was not so costly as at a later period when the size of ships had increased.⁵² The early system of importation was likewise direct. It was economical to employ the same commercial agencies for the functions of exportation and importation, for it was nearly as easy for the tobacco ships to bring a return cargo as to come empty. Hugh Jones asserted that no freight was charged on goods shipped from London, and but little freight on goods imported from Bristol, provided the planter would agree to export his tobacco on the ship that imported his supplies.⁵³ The merchant who purchased the planter's tobacco brought with him articles in common demand which he traded for provincial produce—a sort of “Scotch peddling,” as Clayton called it. For articles of an unusual character or quality the planter gave his order to the merchant. Many of the smaller planters and farmers not favorably situated on navigable water purchased their supplies from the larger planters and consigned or sold their tobacco to them.⁵⁴ After the introduction of the public warehouse system the warehouses were frequently located on or near large plantations that had the advantage of location on navigable water.

In spite of the advantages of direct trade, which were sufficiently great to insure its persistence for a century or more, it was attended with many disadvantages. These included uncertainty in arrival of ships; long intervals between voyages; difficulty of obtaining information as to supply, in the absence of points of concentration; the necessity of the merchant spending four or five months collecting a cargo on account of delays through the tardiness of planters, and consequently making the homeward voyage in the stormy season of winter; and difficulties of customs administration and of regulating methods of packing and quality of exports. There were also great disadvantages in the system as a method of importation, such as: the small variety of imported products from which the buyer might choose; the dependence of the planter on the merchant's judgment in buying such articles as shoes, hats, clothing, and jewelry, with resulting misfits, and unsatisfied tastes; and the negligence, poor judgment, or dishonesty of the latter in providing for the wants of the planter.⁵⁵ The vexations in buying by order are illustrated by the following letters written by William Byrd (I) to his London correspondent:⁵⁶

“*Dear Sir, . . . I wrote you about 2 months since by Capt. Morgan which I hope found you well and have made bold to trouble you now for some things for my selfe.*

⁵² Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 391, 524.

⁵³ *Present State of Virginia*, 35.

⁵⁴ Hartwell, Blair, & Chilton, *Present State of Virginia and the College*, 11; Spotswood, *Official Letters*, I, 37, 179; Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, II, 376; Clayton, *Letter giving an Account of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 12), p. 11.

⁵⁵ Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, I, 301–307. Particularly striking are the experiences of William Fitzhugh as indicated in his *Letters* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, I–III), *passim*. Cf. Bassett, “Relation between the Virginia Planter and the London Merchant,” in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1901, I, 551–575. See also legislation to promote earlier packing and shipment of tobacco, above, p. 222.

⁵⁶ *Letters* (Virginia Historical Register, II), 82.

Pray lett the shoes bee a large size bigger than those my Coz. Grendon bought for me last year, for I have not had any would fitt me this 2 years, nor a hatt, since I had those from you, which makes me now desire that trouble of you again . . . ”

“The Saddle you sent mee was too dear. There was no girths and but single furniture, viz. bridle girths, breastplate and crupper, besides only the Stirrup of a Side Saddle (now returned by Capt. Tibbott.) Your Duffields much too light a blew, Beads 5*d*. a pound dearer than others, which are the better than they for our trade. Cloth col’d Plains, Starke naught.”

IRREGULARITY AND UNCERTAINTY OF EARLY SYSTEM OF CASUAL TRADING

In the earlier years, before trade relations had assumed some measure of system and regularity, the uncertainty of the arrival of ships and lack of information concerning the state of the market placed the planter at a serious disadvantage and were the occasion for legislation, already mentioned, to prohibit engrossing and forestalling and to regulate the price of tobacco and the rate of profit on English goods.⁵⁷

The helplessness of planters by reason of the undependable character of early trade was also largely responsible for attempts to establish ports and to require shipmasters to land their goods first at Jamestown or St. Marys. Various other motives were influential in the later acts. The Virginia port act of 1680, disallowed by the crown at the instance of the merchants, was an attempt, dictated by depression, to establish a more systematic means of controlling the quality of tobacco. The Maryland act of 1683/4, annulled five years later, is attributable largely to similar motives.⁵⁸ On the other hand, the Virginia port acts of 1691 and 1705 and the Maryland act of 1706, all of which were suspended or disallowed, were probably originally suggested largely by considerations of customs administration and the colonial desire for a more diversified economic life.⁵⁹ Such legislation, in fact, ran counter to the established economic advantages of direct trade. A Maryland act of 1688/9 to repeal the port act of 1683/4 declared that “instead of being an advantage to our said Province and the Inhabitants therein hath checked the sale and transportation of the said tobaccos wares and merchandize.” In 1705, when Governor Seymour proposed limiting trade to five ports, it was declared that the assembly would never consent to such a law for the sake of landing English goods and shipping tobacco at their own doors.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Instructions to Berkeley, Northampton Grievances, and Instructions to Yeardley, all in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, II, respectively pp. 286, 292, and 395; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 150, 166, 172, 194, 217, 245; *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1642, ch. 29; 1650, ch. 12; 1654, ch. 35. See also above, p. 31.

⁵⁸ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 126, 163, 191, 204, 206, 209–214, 245; II, 471–478, 504; Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, Nos. 398, 429; *idem*, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1677–1680, p. 226; 1681–1685, p. 152; Beverley, R., *History of Virginia*, 61. For detailed accounts of the various port acts, see Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 532, 539–544, 547–557, 559; Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland*, 89; *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XV, 15; XVII, 219, 424.

⁵⁹ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), III, 53–69, 108, 404–432; *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXVII, Pref., p. ix; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1704–1705, p. 479; 1708–1709, p. 538; Byrd, *History of the Dividing Line and Other Tracts* (Wynne), II, 162–165.

⁶⁰ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), VIII, 61; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1704–1705, p. 552.

The repeal in 1644/5 of the Virginia acts against engrossing and forestalling and the declaration that inhabitants were henceforth to be free to buy and sell at their best advantage suggest that increased regularity of trade and establishment of commercial connections had eliminated the worst uncertainties and abuses.⁶¹

For greater safety many of the vessels travelled as a single fleet, consisting at times of fifty or sixty ships. There were times when military and naval policy resulted in stringent orders requiring all ships to travel together under convoy. The arrangement, however, was frequently clumsy and inelastic; for instance, when the impatience of a convoy commander compelled certain ships to return without their lading.⁶² Many vessels travelled independently or in small groups, frequently striving to arrive earlier than the main body. In 1695 Governor Nicholson, of Maryland, wrote that the outport merchants usually arrived earlier than the London ships, making a practice of spreading the news that not much tobacco would be wanted and that it would be cheap. He declared that "the merchants make their own market by such bad news, which is often false."⁶³ Sometimes New England vessels cut in ahead of the outport ships.⁶⁴ The demoralization of prices in 1704-1707 was attributed in part to the fact that four different fleets had proceeded to the Colonies within fourteen months. The so-called "Smokers Fleet" (probably outport ships), which arrived first, placed a high price on British goods. The planters refused to buy, awaiting the arrival of a later fleet, which, however, had brought but a small quantity on account of an impression that the planters would be supplied by the earlier fleet. On returning to England the Smokers Fleet found no market, as the buyers were holding off until a subsequent fleet should arrive. As a result the market was glutted.⁶⁵

The system of casual trading whereby the ship captain came out with a cargo of miscellaneous goods to be traded for farm products or sold on credit, taking tobacco or wheat on consignment, involved great risks on the planter's part in marketing his crop, and compelled the merchant to make a voyage subject to the risk of obtaining a cargo. In making credit advances the danger of incurring bad debts was enhanced, for, being a stranger, the merchant did not know which planters were reliable. On returning with his cargo, the merchant, having no established market, was compelled to seek a purchaser. Moreover, the delay in loading was expensive, especially after the size of ships increased. These difficulties were pointed out by William Fitzhugh, in writing a merchant operating under the old system, as follows:⁶⁶

⁶¹ *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), I, 296; cf. also *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XX, 421.

⁶² Robinson, "Notes and Transcripts of Virginia Records," in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, VIII, 242, 410; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1702, p. 267; 1706-1708, p. 403; Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland*, 91-95; *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), Sept. 3, 1761.

⁶³ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1693-1696, p. 509.

⁶⁴ Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland*, 75.

⁶⁵ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1704-1705, pp. 142-144; cf. *ibid.*, 1706-1708, p. 122.

⁶⁶ *Letters* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, I), 108.

"I apprehend you are mistaken in carrying on any trade in our Parts, by your sending your goods to purchase her own Loading which puts a necessity upon your Dealer to sell for the speed of his market great deal cheaper than you need if you could afford a stock before hand, to lie in some factor's hands in this Country and who would then take the opportunity of his Market and could reduce the whole loading to lie in some certain places to be immediately taken in upon Arrival of your vessel, which those that come to purchase their Loading are forced to go from place to place for, so that the profit of the voyage if you purchase very cheap (which is uncertain) is eaten up by the length of Stay necessarily occasioned by going from place to place to fetch the several parcels of wheat, besides the uncertainty of the Market."

DEVELOPMENT OF COMMERCIAL SPECIALIZATION AND THE FACTORAGE SYSTEM

The remedy for these disadvantages was twofold: first, the merchant must maintain a permanent relation to the market in England; and second, he must have a dependable representative or correspondent in the Colonies. In the course of time there came to be certain British merchants who specialized in foreign trade with particular parts of the New World. Thus, mention is made from time to time of the "Virginia merchants" and the "Carolina merchants," and of "Exchange in the Virginia Walk," in London, suggesting that there was a definite place where Virginia merchants met for trade.⁶⁷ Such a merchant performed various functions. He bought on his own account cargoes of miscellaneous goods in England, which he sent to the Colonies, either to be traded there in the casual manner already described or deposited in a permanent store operated by one of his representatives; he purchased goods in England on the special order of his correspondents in the Colonies—plate, drapery, shoes, tailored clothing; he fulfilled the function of an international banker, holding funds subject to the order of his colonial clients, accepting their bills of exchange, collecting bills drawn on persons in England, and sometimes allowing correspondents to overdraw their accounts; finally, he bought colonial products through his representatives in the Colonies or after arrival in England, or sold on commission products shipped to him on consignment.⁶⁸

The need for a permanent mechanism of marketing in the Colonies was met in part by merchants who resided there, frequently engaging also in the business of planting. There were peculiar advantages in such a combination. From the standpoint of the planter, expenses of marketing were reduced to a minimum and the element of exploitation removed. It was profitable to transport servants cheaply on the return voyage, when the ship was not heavily loaded; and the headrights made it easy to acquire large holdings of land. The products of the plantation might be marketed at the most favorable time and under the best conditions. From the standpoint of the merchant, there was greater certainty of obtaining a cargo; if the tobacco crop failed plantation slaves could be employed

⁶⁷ Lee, W., *Letters*, I, 130; Fitzhugh, W., *Letters* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, I), 277.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 28-30, 32, 35, 105-107, 116, 121, 268-271, 273, 399-403, 407; letters of Edward Athawes to John and Charles Carter, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXIII, 162-172; Lee, W., *Letters*, I, *passim*; Wallace, D. D., *Henry Laurens*, especially Chap. IV; cf. Westerfield, *Middlemen in English Business*, 350-362.

in cutting a cargo of timber products, at the same time clearing new ground.⁶⁹ Typical of the varied activities of the merchant planter are those of William Byrd (I), who was planter, colonizer, wholesale exporter and importer, retail store-keeper, Indian trader, international banker, prospector for ores, and miller.⁷⁰ William Fitzhugh, whose activities were almost as diverse, also wrote briefs on points involved in colonial litigation and managed plantations for nonresident owners in England.⁷¹

In part, the commercial mechanism of the Colonies came to consist of resident factors, who served as representatives of the English merchant. The factorage system, which had been employed many years earlier by the great trading companies, appears to have been introduced into Virginia shortly after the close of the period of the Virginia Company.⁷² The factor's business was to develop a permanent clientele of planters from whom he might purchase farm products or obtain consignments for the English merchant. Through his services trade became more regular, debts were more effectively collected, and the danger of failure or delay in securing a cargo or in disposing of goods brought from England was lessened. Some factors were regular employees of English firms and were paid annual salaries, including bed, board, and necessary charges.⁷³ Others were colonial merchants or planters who agreed for a commission to transact business for British firms.

Thus, the merchant planter, William Fitzhugh, maintained regular correspondence with one or more English merchants. From time to time he consigned to them small quantities of tobacco for sale on commission, or induced his neighbors to do so. Apparently his consignments were merely to pay for various purchases made in England and to maintain the good will of his correspondent, since he offered various excuses for the smallness of his shipments. He was also engaged in shipping tobacco for other planters, much of it bought outright. This type of business proved very precarious, which was necessarily the case so far from the ultimate market, and Fitzhugh made various proposals to English merchants to carry on a factorage business in Virginia.⁷⁴ In one proposal he offered to purchase tobacco on commission of 21 per cent, bearing all expenses of storage, insurance, and other incidental charges prior to loading the tobacco. The following year he offered to purchase tobacco for "16.8d. p.cent," that is, per hundred pounds, or 2 pence a pound. "By this way of Trade," he wrote, "your ship has no stay your men a full employment your goods a certain Sale, your Ship a certain Loading, yourselves but one half of the risque by reason one half the money

⁶⁹ *Perfect Description of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, II, No. 8), p. 5; Wallace, D. D., *Henry Laurens*, 21, 123; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 377-380; Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 137 n., 378; Gould, *Land System in Maryland*, 84; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, II, 234.

⁷⁰ *Letters* (Virginia Historical Register), I, 62, 117; II, 80.

⁷¹ *Letters* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, I), 17-27, 40, 49, 109-113, 253-267.

⁷² Jerdone, *Letter Book* (William and Mary Quarterly, XI), 154; Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1574-1660*, pp. 258, 291, 472; Vries, *Voyages*, 181; Alsop, *Character of Maryland* (Hall, Narratives), 379; Ligon, *History of Barbadoes*, 113; Epstein, *Levant Company*, 118, 127, 146-149.

⁷³ Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 337-379; Beverley, W., *Letters* (William and Mary Quarterly, III), 223.

⁷⁴ *Letters* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography), I, 32-35, 47, 105-107, 116, 273; II, 18, 133; III, 3, 369.

is left in England. No fear of bad or slow Debts, no doubtfull, careless or giddy Factors to overthrow the voyage."⁷⁵ Apparently this offer was declined, and in 1687 Fitzhugh offered either to furnish tobacco at 1½ pence per pound, the price having fallen, or to buy tobacco at an advance of 2 shillings per hundred pounds above the Virginia price, plus an allowance of 15 per cent commission. This probably amounted in all to about 35 per cent commission, and was probably not unreasonable, for the usual commission for buying tobacco was 10 per cent, plus 5 per cent for the sale of English goods. Moreover, storage charges were 3 per cent and insurance 3 per cent; and in employing a factor, the English merchant was out the full amount of capital for the purchase of the tobacco until the ship's return and must assume the risk of bad debts.⁷⁶

In addition to the tendency to differentiate and partially specialize the various marketing functions originally performed by the peripatetic merchant traders, there was also a tendency partially to specialize the function of transport through hiring cargo space.⁷⁷ However, ships were still owned by merchants, the larger vessels being owned mainly in England. Colonial merchants owned a considerable number of small vessels engaged in West Indian trade or coastal trade. In 1708 Virginia boasted the ownership in the Colony of 6 ships, 8 brigantines, and 2 sloops, not counting small coasting shallops.⁷⁸ In 1756 Maryland reported about 60 vessels, with a total tonnage of 2,000.⁷⁹

In spite of the employment of factors and correspondents transportation continued to be more or less casual and uncertain. Thus, in 1761 a Scotch merchant wrote that he was sending a vessel to Charleston to transport rice or, failing to obtain a cargo, then to buy rice. In case freight was lower or rice higher than certain rates given the captain in his instructions, he was directed to proceed to Norfolk and load with tobacco at a freight rate of not less than £7 10s. to Glasgow. Failing this, the captain was to buy a cargo of tar.⁸⁰ Sometimes lumber was taken as freight on a half share basis in lieu of a more valuable cargo.⁸¹

DISADVANTAGES OF THE CONSIGNMENT SYSTEM IN THE TOBACCO COLONIES

The practice of shipping tobacco on consignment continued to predominate in the Tidewater until late in the colonial period, favored by the possibility of shipment from the planter's own wharf. The practice facilitated the obtaining of a premium on sweet-scented tobacco. It was also connected with the practice of buying supplies from the same merchant, and the persistence of the system was increased by the continuing incurrence of indebtedness.

In time serious abuses developed in the consignment system. The planter was at the merchant's mercy and was frequently forced to sell on the merchant's

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 117, 399-402.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 136-139.

⁷⁷ Lee, W., *Letters*, I, 85, 125; Articles of agreement between Neil Jamieson of Norfolk and Alex Baine of Richmond, June 11, 1762, in *Jamieson Papers* (Manuscripts, Library of Congress [No. 246 in pencil]).

⁷⁸ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1708-1709, p. 158.

⁷⁹ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XXXI, 145.

⁸⁰ Letter from John Glassford, of Glasgow, Nov. 20, 1761, in *Jamieson Papers* (Manuscripts, Library of Congress [No. 151 in pencil]).

⁸¹ Memorandum of agreement between Neil Jamieson and Capt. William Mullen, Sept. 12, 1762, and agreement of Neil Jamieson with James Davison and Stephen Bingham, Feb. 24, 1763, both in *Jamieson Papers* (Manuscripts, Library of Congress [Nos. 321, 449 in pencil]).

terms.⁸² Another abuse was the falsification of accounts of sales. In 1785 James Madison complained that both private planters and native merchants had "received accounts of sales this season which carry the most visible and shameful frauds in every article."⁸³ Planters were frequently disgruntled by discounts for inferior quality which they were convinced were not justified. Washington wrote in 1768, "I have lost (at least) four years out of five by my consignments, having better prices offered in the country than my tobacco had sold for in England."⁸⁴ The planter was forced to assume the risks of sale. The planters set up their complaint as follows:⁸⁵

"The Merchants, when they sell our Tobacco for the Home Consumption, think themselves under no Obligation to secure the Duties, but deliver it to the Retailer upon a long Credit, as they pretend; and if he happens to become a Bankrupt, they hold the Planter engaged to repay all the Charges of that Tobacco, including the Duties, and even their own Commissions. By this Means, a Man, whose Misfortune it is to have his Tobacco sold to a Bankrupt, will be brought in Debt to the Merchant Eighteen or Nineteen Pounds a Hogshead besides losing the net Produce."

The planter was also forced to bear the expense of transporting tobacco and of defraying the numerous taxes and petty charges advanced by the merchant. The planters resented the practice of including import duties in the sum on which the merchant's commission was calculated without allowance for drawbacks, and even believed that merchants failed to credit the shipper's account with drawbacks.⁸⁶

These charges, some of which were subject to change without notice, amounted to considerably more than the price of the crop in the Colonies, and sometimes to more than the selling price in England, as illustrated by the following bill of sale for one hogshead:⁸⁷

	£	s.	d.
Old subsidy of 739 pounds tobacco, at 1 d. per pound,			
25 per cent deducted.....	2	—	6 — 2
Custom at 5½ d. per pound, 15 per cent off.....	13	—	19 — 2
	16	—	5 — 4
Entry, land waiters and bill money.....	0	—	1 — 0
Freight.....	2	—	0 — 0
Primage and petty charges.....	0	—	2 — 2
Cooperage and portorage.....	0	—	2 — 6
Cartage home.....	0	—	0 — 9
Warehouse rent.....	0	—	2 — 6
Brokerage.....	0	—	2 — 0
Impost and cocket.....	0	—	3 — 0
Cutting.....	0	—	2 — 0
Commissions, at 2½ per cent.....	0	—	9 — 6
	19	—	10 — 9

⁸² Hume, *Letters* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XX), 409. Concerning a similar dependence in the West Indies, see Beckford, *Descriptive Account of Jamaica*, II, 355-357.

⁸³ Grigsby, *Virginia Federal Convention*, I, 357.

⁸⁴ Washington, *Writings* (Ford), II, 184 n., 206-208 n., 256 n.; Lee, W., *Letters*, I, 73-75.

⁸⁵ *Case of the Planters of Tobacco in Virginia*, 10.

⁸⁶ *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), May 20, June 3, 17, 1729.

⁸⁷ *Case of the Planters of Tobacco in Virginia*, 40. See also *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), May 20, 1729.

	CR.	Pounds	£	s.	d.
Sold:					
Suttle.....		812			
Tare.....		86			
Damage.....		30			
Draught and sample.....		8			
Tret.....		26	150		
			662	net	
		at 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.	18	—	12 — 4
By the ship for 40 pounds damage.....			0	—	5 — 0
Certificate for allowance on do. at one-half penny per pound.....			0	—	1 — 8
			18	—	19 — 0
The planter in debt upon balance.....			0	—	11 — 9
			19	—	10 — 9 "

Complaint was made that many of these allowances—especially the tret and clough (allowances for draft and sample)—were converted to the merchant's own profit. There were also numerous frauds in weighing and in pillage.⁸⁸

In 1737 a group of merchants proposed an entire change in the method of marketing the approximately 15,000 hogsheads of tobacco annually purchased in England by the French fiscal monopoly.⁸⁹ Hitherto the supply had been purchased largely in London from various merchants having consignment tobacco of this quality. By the advantage of dealing separately with each merchant, the French buyers were enabled to beat down the price. The merchants had to send out their ships on the risk of obtaining a cargo and subject to months of delay in collecting it. Arrived in England, the cargo was subject to charges for drayage, storage, interest on the bond given for customs, broker's commission, and losses from shrinkage and sampling. After sale there were the expenses of entry, cooperage outwards, searchers' fees, etc. The new proposal was a system of direct sale. The proponents had obtained the consent of the French to receive tobacco at the London quay, accepting the inspection made in Virginia, and to pay cash at the rate of 2 pence per pound. It was estimated that the total saving to the planter should be 13 shillings 8 pence per hogshead. Opponents of the plan argued that the estimated economies were greatly exaggerated. At any rate, the old mechanism of marketing was too firmly entrenched to be easily displaced, and apparently the proposal came to naught.

GRADUAL DISPLACEMENT OF CONSIGNMENT BY DIRECT PURCHASE OF TOBACCO

With the expansion of the tobacco industry into the interior direct consignment became less feasible. In 1728 more than half was still sold by this method, but by 1750 a Virginia merchant informed his correspondent, "I am satisfied the consignment business from this country is not worth your notice." In 1769 another merchant wrote, "The spirit of consigning is broke . . . ye Scotch are become ye

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, June 17, 1729; July 4, 1765, article signed Y. Z.; *Case of the Planters of Tobacco in Virginia*, 6-11, 25-33, 37. See above, p. 222.

⁸⁹ For the proposal and arguments pro and contra, see *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), July 29-Aug. 12, 1737; Apr. 7-21, 1738.

Engrossers."⁹⁰ Just before the Revolution it was estimated that only about one fourth of Virginia tobacco was shipped abroad by the producer on consignment. Even this was paid for largely in bills of exchange, rather than in goods as under the earlier system.⁹¹ Some of the larger Tidewater planters, however, particularly those who produced a fine quality, continued until the Revolutionary War to employ the consignment method.⁹² The new tendencies were largely promoted by the entrance into the trade of Scotch and other outport merchants. Finding the Tidewater business largely controlled by London merchants, the new traders pushed into the back country, establishing local stores at convenient points. Some of these later became the nuclei of towns, such as Baltimore, Georgetown, Alexandria, Fredericksburg, Richmond, Petersburg, Newberry, Washington, and Edenton. Many of these stores were mere branches of large wholesale firms. The correspondence of Neil Jamieson, of Norfolk, shows that his firm maintained stores at Falmouth, near Fredericksburg, at Cabin Point, and at Blandfield. These stores were shipping down farm products, occasionally purchased for cash but generally in exchange for imported goods and slaves sold to planters and farmers on long credits of nine months or more. Such stores also afforded the advantages of inspection of stocks of merchandise by the buyers. Jamieson's company, in turn, was operating on credit obtained from England.⁹³ There were occasional instances of future-selling. George Washington made a contract with Alexandria merchants for the sale of his wheat at a uniform price for a period of seven years.⁹⁴

The usual disadvantages of barter were involved in exchanging goods for tobacco instead of for cash. They were enumerated by a contemporary merchant as follows: Thrice the quantity of goods was required to purchase with tobacco, as compared with purchase for cash, and in periods of severe competition for tobacco little profit was made. The tobacco given in exchange for goods was of the worst quality. When tobacco was purchased with cash, a factor could load three or four ships for one third the expense and with much less delay. There was always tobacco to be had for cash, but in times of severe competition it was often hard to buy it with goods, for as retail stores became more numerous, people were "running mad after tobacco."⁹⁵ Because of the risks involved prices charged for goods were exceedingly high. Michel asserted in 1701 that no goods were sold in Virginia at a profit of less than 50 per cent. Collections were often difficult, and at times losses from bad debts extremely heavy.⁹⁶

⁹⁰ *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), Mar. 11-18, Apr. 8-15, 1729; Jerdone, *Letter Book* (William and Mary Quarterly, XI), 156; Atkinson, *Letters* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XV), 346; cf. Lee, W., *Letters*, I, 159; Morrison, A. J., "Virginia Agricultural History," in *Southern Planter*, new series, LXXV, 160.

⁹¹ Mair, "Book-Keeping Modernized," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, XIV, 88.

⁹² Beverley, W., *Letters* (William and Mary Quarterly, III), 223; *American Husbandry*, I, 227; Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, I, 98-100.

⁹³ Letters from Adam Fleming, Jan. 15, 1771, Alexander Blair, Feb. 12, Mar. 26, 1771, Charles Duncan, Jan. 5, 22, 1771, all in *Jamieson Papers* (Manuscripts, Library of Congress [Nos. 2875, 2907, 2933, 2855, 2882, in pencil]). On the large assortment of goods carried by some of these stores, see Berkley, "The Port of Dumfries, Virginia," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2 series, IV, 107.

⁹⁴ Ford, W. C., *Washington as an Employer of Labor*, 34-36.

⁹⁵ Jerdone, *Letter Book* (William and Mary Quarterly, XI), 157.

⁹⁶ *Journey to Virginia* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXIV), 5; Jerdone, *Letter Book* (William and Mary Quarterly, XI), 237.

There was a tendency even before the Revolution for some merchants to specialize on importation and distribution while others confined their attention to exporting.⁹⁷ A list of merchants resident at Alexandria, Virginia, in 1775, included twelve wheat merchants, one firm importing British goods by wholesale, three firms selling British goods and buying tobacco (probably retailers), two firms importing goods from Philadelphia and buying tobacco and wheat (probably wholesale importers and exporters), and one firm selling rum and sugar.⁹⁸

When settlement spread back to the Blue Ridge and entered the Valley, it was no longer convenient for the back-country planter or farmer to come to one of the towns on the fall line to purchase his supplies and market his crops. The result was that a tertiary mechanism of commerce developed in the form of numerous local stores, which shipped products and purchased supplies on long credits from larger firms in towns at the head of tidewater. In still more remote districts peripatetic merchants, or peddlers, went about in wagons, trading various commodities for farm produce.⁹⁹ Before the close of the eighteenth century, on account of the increasing size of ocean-going ships, Richmond and Petersburg began to lose their direct trade with Europe, and to make shipments and receive supplies through Norfolk.¹⁰⁰ After June 10, 1786, vessels owned by foreigners and inhabitants of Virginia jointly were restricted to Norfolk, Bermuda Hundred, Rappahannock, Yorktown, or Alexandria.¹⁰¹ Wholesale merchants of Richmond and Petersburg began to consign their tobacco through Norfolk merchants. By this time also the tobacco trade was largely differentiated from the trade in supplies. About the same period it began to be unprofitable for ocean-going ships to collect tobacco from the wharves of the Tidewater planter.¹⁰²

Although some of the colonial firms were owned by Americans, probably the larger proportion were branches of concerns in Great Britain. A writer in *De Bow's Review*, giving his reminiscences of the old commercial system in Virginia, describes the relationship as follows:¹⁰³

"The principals of the mercantile houses resided in Great Britain, and junior partners conducted the business of Virginia. Some of these concerns branched out, like polypi, to the villages and court-houses, and some of them, also like polypi, consumed the substance of all that came within their grasp. There were, however, many honorable exceptions to this rule . . .

"It was said to be one of the stipulations between the principals of these houses and the young men they sent to Virginia as clerks, that they were not to marry in Virginia. They came with the prospect of being admitted as partners in some branch of the central establishment, and it might weaken the sordid attachment to their patrons if they formed an attachment of a purer tenderer nature to the fair daughters of their customers."

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 154.

⁹⁸ Extract from the letter book of Robert Carter of Nominy, in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XI, 246.

⁹⁹ Letters from Adam Fleming, Dec. 14, 1770, and Charles Duncan, Jan. 5, 1771, in *Jamieson Papers* (Manuscripts, Library of Congress [Nos. 2828, 2855, in pencil]); La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, III, 64-66, 149, 180, 198, 201-203; Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, I, 161.

¹⁰⁰ La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, III, 10-13.

¹⁰¹ *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), Aug. 5, 1784.

¹⁰² La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, III, 20, 64. For a clear account of these changes, see Coxe, T., *View of the United States*, 339.

¹⁰³ XXVIII, 199; Allason, *Letters* (Richmond College Historical Papers, II), 118.

With the development of towns provision was made here and there for periodical market days and for their regulation. A Maryland act of 1696 provided for a market at Annapolis one day in each week. An act of 1762 provided for two markets a week at Chestertown.¹⁰⁴

THE COMMERCIAL MECHANISM OF THE CAROLINAS AND GEORGIA

North Carolina continued to suffer from the disadvantages of indirect trade relations. In 1715 it was declared that the colonists were compelled to purchase imported goods at an advance of 500 or 600 per cent, and exports were also compelled to take a roundabout course.¹⁰⁵ In 1721 the small commerce was still carried on through Virginia and South Carolina ports or by New England vessels, which transported the products of the Colony first to New England, then to Great Britain or elsewhere. In 1736 Governor Burrington estimated that the inhabitants lost at least "half of their Goods" by the indirection of trade.¹⁰⁶ In spite of various provisions for inspection the Colony also continued to suffer from the reputation of shipping products of worse quality than those of neighboring Colonies. The settlement of the lower Cape Fear with its superior harbor considerably increased the direct shipments of the Colony, and it is probable that toward the latter part of the colonial period other ports became more active in direct trade.¹⁰⁷

In the Carolinas and Georgia the lack of numerous estuaries prevented the extensive development of the system of direct marketing by producers which prevailed in Virginia and Maryland. It was found necessary to employ the seaport town as a focus of commercial relations between the Colonies and England. In addition to Charleston and Savannah, a trade with the West Indies and a coastal trade developed from minor ports such as Georgetown and Port Royal, South Carolina; Sunbury, Georgia; and Newbern, Washington, and Edenton, North Carolina.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, direct consignment to foreign merchants, either by planters or by colonial merchants, was more or less practiced, though consignment by planters was probably much less prevalent than in the tobacco Colonies. Thus, the merchant Moses Lindo followed the business of grading indigo on commission, which the planters then shipped to correspondents in England. Some of the rice planters maintained commercial correspondents in England. Near the close of the eighteenth century certain planters, among them General William Washington, becoming impatient at the exactions of the colonial merchants, proposed to market their own crops. The plan was discussed as a distinct innovation.¹⁰⁹

Probably most of the South Carolina planters dealt directly with Charleston merchants, to whom they sent their crops and from whom they received supplies

¹⁰⁴ *Maryland Laws* (Bacon), 1696, ch. 24; 1762, ch. 32.

¹⁰⁵ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, II, 187; III, 195.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 419; IV, 172. See also *ibid.*, III, 621.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 636; IV, 6; V, 321-323; VI, 611, 968; VII, 489; *American Husbandry*, I, 346.

¹⁰⁸ Lawson, *Carolina*, 164-165; Chalmers, G., *Political Annals* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 337; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, II, 419; Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, I, 208; La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, II, 514.

¹⁰⁹ Elzas, *Jews of South Carolina*, 48; Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina*, 298; La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, II, 450.

and slaves on long and continuing credits. The Charleston merchant of the earlier colonial period was probably in most cases a factor.¹¹⁰ Moses Lindo, for instance, represented certain constituents in London. In 1756 he advertised in the *Charleston Gazette*: "[I have] all the Reason to believe I shall have 200,000 Pounds Currency to lay out [i.e. advance to planters] the ensuing Year."¹¹¹ In the latter part of the colonial period a considerable proportion of the resident Charleston merchants operated on their own account, buying the planter's crop, making the credit advances which they judged best, and assuming the risks of gain or loss. They were more or less dependent upon British merchants for credit and for sale of the crops purchased. In 1738 a writer in the *Charleston Gazette* complained that the method of sale had been recently put upon an entirely new basis. The factors had been compelled by British merchants to make good all debts and to remit two thirds of the value of slaves or other goods within twelve months, and the other one third within two years after date of sale. This, the writer argued, the planter could not do.¹¹² Hewatt declared that when "by reason of an unfavorable season, [planters were] rendered unable to answer the demand against them; the merchant, instead of ruining them, indulged them for another year . . . In like manner the merchants must have indulgence from England, the primary source of credit."¹¹³ Probably a good many merchants operated partly on their own account, though assisted by British credit, and partly as factors on commission. Thus, Henry Laurens bought produce on commission for British firms, bought British goods and slaves for sale on his own account, and sold produce in Great Britain and elsewhere on commission.¹¹⁴

Nearly all the settled back country of South Carolina and Georgia was connected with Charleston and Savannah by inland navigation or by wagon roads. For this reason the machinery of marketing did not become so complex and indirect as it was in Virginia near the close of the colonial period.¹¹⁵ In the course of time a few small local stores grew up in various parts of South Carolina. Dubose describes such a store at Monck's Corner, in St. Stephens parish. It was a mere agency of the Charleston merchants, selling to the planters imported commodities in exchange for their crops, which were bought for the Charleston merchant.¹¹⁶

The tendency toward separation of the activities of exportation and importation, which probably did not appear in Virginia and Maryland until late in the colonial period, was manifested early in South Carolina. The export trade of South Carolina in the earlier years was largely with the West Indies,¹¹⁷ while imports,

¹¹⁰ Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina*, 298.

¹¹¹ Elzas, *Jews of South Carolina*, 50.

¹¹² Quoted by McCrady, "Slavery in the Province of South Carolina," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1895, p. 655.

¹¹³ *South Carolina and Georgia*, II, 182-185, 189.

¹¹⁴ Wallace, D. D., *Henry Laurens*, 15-16, 20, 22, 44, 47, 76, 123.

¹¹⁵ Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, II, 205; De Brahm, *Philosophico-Historico-Hydrogeography of South Carolina, Georgia and East Florida* (Weston, Documents), 178; Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina*, 319.

¹¹⁶ *Reminiscences of St. Stephens Parish* (Thomas, Huguenots in South Carolina), 78. For description of a local store between Camden and Charleston, see Furman, "William Murrell," in *Southern History Assn., Collections*, VI, 232-240.

¹¹⁷ See above, Chap. III.

with the exception of West Indian staples, were principally from Great Britain. Later much of the rice was carried to the south of Europe, instead of to England. Consequently a direct exchange of colonial products in payment for goods sent out by English merchants was less convenient. Frequently, in exchange for his crop, the planter or colonial merchant received bills of exchange payable in England, either on West Indian accounts or on those of countries to which rice was exported.¹¹⁸ A considerable number of retail shops were established in Charleston, and it is probable that the planters bought from these stores, as well as from their commercial agents.¹¹⁹

In the early years of Georgia the small trade was carried on mainly through the public store maintained by the Trustees. In 1744 James Habersham established a mercantile business in partnership with Colonel Francis Harris, which continued for many years as the principal commercial factor in the economic life of the Colony. Georgia was long handicapped by lack of a direct trade with London, most of the trade being through Charleston or with New England coasting vessels. By 1766, however, the Colony was said to be developing trade with Great Britain. By 1773 there were entered and cleared at the Savannah customhouse 161 vessels and at Sunbury 56, the aggregate tonnage being 12,124.¹²⁰ The Colony shipped deerskins, indigo, and naval stores to England, and rice to England and the south of Europe. To the West Indies went livestock and meats, maize, peas, and forest products. New Englanders brought various commodities, but took their pay largely in specie received from the West Indies in exchange for products shipped to the Islands. Governor Wright complained that the New Englanders drained the Colony of "every trifle of Gold & Silver that is brought here."¹²¹ The colonists also imported somewhat more from England than they exported, and merchants were sometimes hard put to it to obtain bills of exchange for necessary remittances.¹²²

COLONIAL DISSATISFACTION WITH THE MECHANISM OF MARKETING

The necessity of exporting practically all the products of commercial agriculture and the various systems of marketing developed for the purpose made for a large degree of dependence of the planter on the merchant—a dependence that was favorable to economic tyranny. Especially in the early decades of the seventeenth century the local character of the market placed the planter in the power of the merchant who came once a year to transport his crop to England. A "Petition of Governor, Council, and Burgesses to the King," March 26, 1628, declared that Virginia planters had "for six years groaned under the oppression of unconscionable and cruel merchants, by the excessive rates of their commodi-

¹¹⁸ Edwards, *British West Indies*, II, 380, 393, 396; *Essay on the Trade of the Northern Colonies of Great Britain in North America*, 2-8, 19.

¹¹⁹ Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, II, 205; De Brahm, *Philosophico-Historico-Hydrogeography of South Carolina, Georgia and East Florida* (Weston, Documents), 178; Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina*, 320.

¹²⁰ Habersham, *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, VI), Intro., p. 5; Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III, 453; Gibbes, *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, II, 81; Wright, J., *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, III, Pt. 2), p. 165.

¹²¹ *Loc. cit.*

¹²² For instances, see Habersham, *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, VI), 36, 38, 47, 235.

ties." In 1634 Governor Harvey wrote that English goods sold for at least three times their cost in England.¹²³ One of the advantages taken by the merchant is suggested in the following poem;¹²⁴

Nor shou'd Crop Merchants correspond,
On t'other Side the *Herring-Pond*,
Their pick'd and cull'd *Tobacco* send,
In weighty Cask, to some sly Friend.

There were complaints and references to the "British monopoly," and to the "Thralldom" and "Vasselage" of the planters.¹²⁵ In 1683 Governor Culpeper reported to the British Lords of Trade, "I thinke fit to acquaint you, That the present Designe of those merchants here that have bought up Great quantities thereof, they Can not prevent the Growing of it, or Destroy it there, is to Hinder or at least retard its coming home, Both by Discourageing shippes to Goe, and the Planters to shippe." He also referred to the "Engrossers of the Commodity at home."¹²⁶ About the middle of the nineteenth century Nathaniel F. Cabell recorded the recollection of mercantile domination of Virginia agriculture in words that show how closely the attitude toward the middlemen of the colonial period resembled the recent attitude of farmers:¹²⁷

"We remember to have heard one of our elder and wiser brethren, one well versed in our history and who habitually weighed his words, declare it as his belief 'that no civilized people on earth had been so badly paid for their labour as the planters of Virginia during the entire colonial era and for long years afterwards' A delegation of the former [merchants] would meet annually and settle the price of tobacco for the year, which would now be regarded as shamefully low, and at the same time have a similar understanding among themselves as to the profits of their merchandise, which was often 100 per cent of the prime cost."

There is considerable evidence to justify the planters' belief that the merchants practiced collusion in matters relating to colonial trade. British commercial interests maintained a permanent "lobby" to influence legislation with regard to colonial affairs. Mention is frequently made of legislation passed in Parliament by the influence of the merchants. John Bland attributed the first Navigation Act to the influence of Virginia merchants in England. Spotswood found that a combination of the Virginia merchants and the Carolina merchants defeated his plan for a corporation to engage in the Indian trade. In 1712 a similar influence defeated the tobacco inspection law. The exercise of the royal veto on the various colonial acts passed to restrict the slave trade was the result of the commercial influence.¹²⁸ Great merchants like Micajah Perry had the ear of the British

¹²³ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, pp. 89, 184; cf. also *ibid.*, p. 117.

¹²⁴ Cook, E., *Sot-Weed Factor Redivivus* (Md. Hist. Soc., Fund Publications, No. 36), p. 48.

¹²⁵ *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), June 17, 1729.

¹²⁶ *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, III, 235; cf. Romans, *East and West Florida*, 206.

¹²⁷ "Post-Revolutionary History of Agriculture in Virginia," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, XXVI, 151; cf. Flippin, *Royal Government in Virginia*, 53.

¹²⁸ Bland, J., *Humble Remonstrance* (*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, I), 143; letter to Lords Commissioners, May 9, 1716, in Spotswood, *Official Letters*, II, 149. Concerning the great influence exercised by the British merchants in the regulation of the tobacco trade, see above, pp. 219-223.

Board of Trade. He advised as to the appointment of members of colonial councils and other officials, facilitated various financial transactions in aid of colonial governments, sometimes served as representative of individual Colonies at the seat of imperial administration, and doubtless reaped the peculiar advantages enjoyed by such "insiders" in every age.¹²⁹

The merchants employed their organization at times to agree on prices charged for the tobacco trade.¹³⁰ There were also instances, as we have noted, of local collaboration among merchants in the British Colonies in agreeing on a minimum price scale for the purchase of products.¹³¹ In Louisiana, it was said, the merchants were thoroughly organized and acted in concert in fixing prices.¹³²

It is probable, however, that community of action among British merchants for the purpose of controlling prices was occasional rather than continuous. In 1727/8, during the long depression that began in 1725, an interesting attempt was made to achieve unity of action among the London tobacco merchants in dealing with the French buying monopolists, who followed the shrewd policy of playing one British merchant against another, buying whole shiploads of tobacco and dumping it on the Dutch market at less than cost in order to force down the price level in London. By deliberately losing £2,000 in this manner, it was estimated, the French saved £50,000 on tobacco purchased for use in France.¹³³ It was alleged that the London merchants had organized for concerted action several times previously and for a number of years had deducted three pence on each hogshead as a contribution to a common fund to pay the expenses of their lobby in Parliament and for other organization expenses. These attempts at concerted action, however, were said to have yielded but small results, and the London merchants were all the more helpless because the outport merchants were making increased inroads on their trade. The leaders of the movement for renewed organization proposed the employment of a salaried secretary and annual contributions from each merchant, with a provision for refunds in case of prompt attendance at meetings. Unused funds were to be devoted to providing a dinner once or twice a year "to beget a good Friendship and Harmony among the Merchants; which Eating together does more often produce among Mankind than bare Drinking." It was believed that the pressure of opinion among colonial clients would help to keep the London merchants in line. Charles Calvert and eighty-three other Maryland planters signed a solemn agreement to boycott any

¹²⁹ See especially, Flippin, *Royal Government in Virginia*, 46-52; *idem*, "William Gooch, Successful Royal Governor of Virginia," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2 series, V, 228.

¹³⁰ *Case of the Planters of Tobacco in Virginia*, 37-39; Cabell, "Post-Revolutionary History of Agriculture in Virginia," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, XXVI, 151; *cf.* Flippin, *Financial Administration of the Colony of Virginia*, 58-67; Andrews, C. M., *British Committees and Councils of Trade and Plantations*, especially Chap. III; Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland*, 95.

¹³¹ See above, p. 275. Also Allason, *Letters* (Richmond College Historical Papers, II), 143.

¹³² Claiborne, J. F. H., *Mississippi*, 37, 140 n.; Alliot, *Reflections on Louisiana* (Robertson, Louisiana, I), 69.

¹³³ This account is based largely on a pamphlet entitled *A Just and Impartial Account of the Transactions of the Merchants of London for the Advancement of the Price of Tobacco*, by Henry Darnall. A great deal of information concerning this attempt is also contained in the various controversial articles published in the *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), Feb. 4, 1728/9 to June 17, 1729. The incident is briefly mentioned in Sioussat, "Virginia and the English Commercial System," in *Amer. Hist. Assn., Annual Report*, 1905, I, 77.

merchant who violated his obligation to the organization. It was also proposed to open correspondence with the outport merchants and solicit their coöperation. Careful statistics were to be maintained concerning imports, exports, and stocks of tobacco. The principal function, however, was unity of action in bargaining with the French buyers. In 1728 all the London tobacco firms, twenty-nine in number, signed an agreement to fix a designated minimum price below which no tobacco should be sold. Very soon, however, some of the members began to deal surreptitiously with the French; and, in order to meet this competition, still others openly broke with the organization. These recalcitrant merchants defended their action on the ground that excessive shipments from the Colonies had made it impossible to maintain the price agreed upon.

It is interesting to find that as early as 1729 a detailed plan was proposed in Maryland to form a coöperative marketing association in order to relieve Maryland planters from some of the abuses to which it was believed they were subject.¹³⁴

In spite of the merchants' strategic position and the resulting temptations to take advantage of the planters, it is probable that the tendency to exploit was considerably tempered by competition. From time to time we find merchants sending out representatives or attempting by correspondence to solicit commercial connections with colonial planters, especially with men of influence. Nor were all planters helplessly bound to deal with particular merchants. In 1774 Theodorick Bland, who on special solicitation had consigned two hogsheads of tobacco to a Bristol merchant, expressed his dissatisfaction with the experiment and his intention to consign the remainder to Liverpool.¹³⁵

¹³⁴ *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), June 17, 1729.

¹³⁵ Durand, *Frenchman in Virginia*, 9-11; Hamilton, S. M., *Letters to Washington*, III, 210; Lee, W., *Letters*, I, 73-75; *Bland Papers* (Campbell), I, 33.

PART IV
ECONOMIC EVOLUTION IN THE SOUTH

CHAPTER XIX

GENERAL TENDENCIES IN ECONOMIC EVOLUTION

The General Course of Economic Evolution in the South, 437. Development of Pioneer Agriculture, 438. Pioneer Farming, 440. The Course of Development beyond the Pioneer Stage, 442. Tendency for Slavery and the Plantation System to Displace Other Systems of Agricultural Labor and Organization, and Subsequently to Decline, 444. Methods of Utilizing the Natural Environment, 445. Extensive versus Intensive Agriculture, 448. Commercialism versus Self-Sufficiency, 451. Commercialism and Self-Sufficiency in Various Regions, 453. Specialization versus Diversification in Agricultural Organization, 458.

THE GENERAL COURSE OF ECONOMIC EVOLUTION IN THE SOUTH

Broad generalizations applied to a territory as large as the South and a period as long as from the beginnings of settlement to the Civil War are likely to portray inadequately the actual diversity in different times and places. However, there are certain broad tendencies running throughout the entire period which are so widespread that their recognition will help toward a better understanding of the economic evolution of the section.

A bird's-eye view of the South at any particular time reveals two types of differentiation: first, certain contrasts in the economic life of various communities; and second, more or less sharply contrasting economic classes and types of industrial economy within each community. When the point of view is shifted from a particular moment to a review of successive periods, the two types of variation are revealed as results of a course of development following a more or less regular order. It then becomes apparent that the regional differences were due in part to physiographic contrasts; but also in part to the fact that the several communities were in different stages of a more or less uniform order of economic evolution.

Usually the more permanent forms of industry, as in other parts of America, were preceded by the Indian trade and herding and in some areas by lumbering.¹ These were followed in order by the various stages of agricultural economy represented by the pioneer farmer, the partially self-sufficing farmer or planter, and the commercial farmer or planter.²

This regular cycle, however, was not fulfilled in every part of the South. In the first place, along the navigable tidal rivers of the Atlantic coastal plain, accessible to markets, it was possible for commercial farming to be established immediately, side by side with the fur trade and herding, without awaiting the cycle of development indicated above. Indeed, as already noted, the plantation system was not infrequently employed as an industrial nucleus for carrying on

¹ See Chap. VI.

² The idea of a regular course of regional evolution attending the progressive advance of the frontier was luminously developed some years ago by Professor Frederick Jackson Turner. Cf. the "Significance of the Frontier in American History," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1893, p. 208. Concerning the regularity of the sequence in the South, see Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina*, 318; Logan, J. H., *Upper South Carolina*, I, 149.

the pre-agricultural industries of fur trading and herding. Claiborne's plantation on Kent Island, already mentioned, is an illustration. Although established in the heart of the wilderness and devoted largely to the fur trade and herding, this plantation, financed by English merchants, involved an investment of £8,000 to £10,000.³ In the second place, the regular cycle of development was frequently prevented by local conditions from reaching completion, and industry remained permanently in one of the preliminary stages. Thus, there were parts of the South where herding or lumbering continued as the principal economic activity, and there were great areas that, by reason of isolation, poor soil, or rough topography, did not pass beyond the stage of pioneer farming.

DEVELOPMENT OF PIONEER AGRICULTURE

On the heels of the hunters, the Indian traders, and the herdsman came the pioneer farmers and planters. In general the planters are distinguishable from the farmers in that the former were engaged mainly in the cultivation of staple crops by means of slave labor. The distinction, however, is only broadly accurate, for there were numerous slaveholders who confined their attention to general farming, and there were also persons owning no slaves or servants who raised staple crops for market—usually poor whites producing small patches of cotton or tobacco.⁴

As a rule, pioneer planters entered a region in the wake of pioneer farmers, but exceptions were numerous. In westward expansion there were instances of planters with from 50 to 100 slaves who established themselves in the midst of the forest. Until land was cleared and a system of marketing developed, such pioneer planters were compelled to maintain a largely self-sufficing economy. In North Carolina, particularly, on account of commercial handicaps, farm and plantation life in most localities retained during the colonial period a pioneer simplicity and nearly self-sufficing character.⁵

The life of the pioneer planter and of the pioneer farmer, though similar in some respects, differed in a number of ways. Through the labor of servants and slaves the planter was likely to live in a somewhat less sordid manner, to have a greater variety of food, and a larger and more comfortable dwelling than the pioneer farmer. Sometimes the planter was of gentle blood, carrying into the wilderness the traditions of his class, along with the family plate, a little mahogany, and other heirlooms. Not infrequently, however, he was a former servant who had succeeded in acquiring servants and slaves on his own account.

The economic life of pioneer planters frequently was in the transition stage, already referred to, between herding and systematic agriculture.⁶ Large numbers of cattle and hogs were kept on open range. When ready for market they were driven to a shipping point, or cured meats, lard, tallow, and hides were exported.

³ Steiner, *Beginnings in Maryland*, 46-74. See above, p. 34.

⁴ *Soil of the South*, VI, 67.

⁵ Report of Governor Burrington to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, in *North Carolina Colonial Records*, III, 430; Morse, *American Geography*, 414; Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 97, 103, 107; Bassett, *Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina*, 18; Harrell, "Gates County in 1860," in Duke University, *Historical Papers*, XII, 60-68.

⁶ See above, pp. 200-202.

Many planters also produced for market tar and pitch, tobacco, corn, or wheat. Frequently they owned crude river boats, on which their products were transported to points where they could be transshipped to ocean-going vessels. Little money found its way into the community, and pioneer planters were frequently little behind pioneer farmers in degree of self-sufficiency. All the food supply, except possibly a few luxuries for the master's family, was produced on the plantation. Many medicinal plants were raised, and sassafras, ginseng, and snakeroot obtained from the woods. Brandy, cider, and other liquors were homemade. Honey was produced in abundance. Milk, butter, and eggs were plentiful; and game and fish were easily secured. The larger plantations were equipped with sawpits, carpenter shops, cooper shops, blacksmith shops, and tanneries. Wool and cotton were raised to be spun and woven into clothing. Shoes were frequently of home manufacture. Candles were made at home out of wax and tallow. Houses were usually constructed of logs, though occasionally they were frame. There was but little social life, but hospitality was unbounded; for food was superabundant, and strangers were welcome for the news they brought. Class distinctions among free whites were not closely defined. Slaves and servants were treated with but little severity, sharing in the benefits incidental to the easy-going existence. Among the smaller planters master and slave frequently worked side by side. Women of all classes married young and had large families, busying themselves with the multifarious duties of the household and gaining the reputation of being more industrious than their husbands.⁷

Because it continued for so long a period in North Carolina, this pioneer plantation life was frequently regarded as peculiar to that Province. On the contrary, it was typical of a stage of industrial and social development that prevailed at one time or another all along the South Atlantic coast. Not until the later years of the seventeenth century did the more sophisticated type of plantation society begin to develop in Virginia and Maryland, for the process of accumulating a large force of white servants was slow because of the shortness of the term. In 1644, for instance, the estate of Captain Cornwallis, one of the richest and most influential of the Maryland planters, contained but 20 servants, although the owner had imported no less than 63 prior to that time. The value of the whole estate was only £3,000 sterling.⁸ Bruce's study of inventories of estates in Virginia indicates little concentration of wealth prior to 1650, and even at the close of the century there were probably no more than 50 to 100 planters whose estates were worth as much as \$5,000 in modern money. Landholdings were frequently large, but of low value; and personal estates were rarely valued at more than £1,000 sterling.⁹ Even along the water front the country was sparsely settled for many decades, "seated scatteringly in wooden clove board

⁷ Lawson, *Carolina*, 63, 74-86, 110; Brickell, *Natural History of North Carolina*, 32; Extract from a letter from John Urmstone, July 7, 1711, in Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, II, 215; Byrd, *Writings* (Bassett), 56, 75; Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 108, 129; Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, I, 99, 251; *American Husbandry*, I, 339; Morse, *American Gazetteer*, article on North Carolina; *idem*, *American Geography*, 413; Grimes, "Some Notes on Colonial North Carolina," in *North Carolina Booklet*, V, 113.

⁸ Neill, *Founders of Maryland*, 74, 77-79. For a description of Virginia conditions, see Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, Chap. XII; Scharf, *History of Maryland*, I, 149 n.

⁹ *Economic History of Virginia*, II, Chap. XIV.

houses." Plantations extended from one half mile to three miles along rivers "and usually not above a mile in Breadth."¹⁰ Back from the water, in older settled regions, the country was but a wilderness, broken here and there by scattering settlements.¹¹

Likewise in the other Colonies pioneer plantations constituted an important stage in economic evolution. The pioneer plantation economy prevailed in eastern South Carolina, as we have noted, until about the beginning of the second decade of the eighteenth century.¹² On the lower Mississippi and in West Florida pioneer, noncommercial plantations predominated throughout the period of French and Spanish control, for it was not until the close of this period that the sugar and short-staple cotton industries were developed. Indigo and tobacco, exported in the earlier period, did not become the basis of a highly commercial and capitalistic plantation system.¹³ Even in regions of commercial planting in the Southwest, where profitable production of cotton was possible soon after occupancy by the planter class, the rude manner of life of the pioneer period lingered for a number of years.¹⁴

PIONEER FARMING

Pioneer farmers belonged to a stage of economic evolution that has appeared in practically all the forested sections of America. Pioneer farmers, however, were themselves of several different types. They included the hardy frontiersman, more hunter than farmer; the Indian trader who established a cabin in the wilderness; the shiftless poor white, who, with more enterprise than the majority of his kind or because of unsavory reputation, moved from place to place, "squatting" until driven on by the approach of settlement; and finally, the true pioneer farmer, who came into the wilderness to build a permanent home. The first three types were nomadic by habit, rarely progressing beyond the rude, makeshift economy of the wilderness. Among them were frequently desperate renegades, adventurers, and ne'er-do-wells. It was this lawless class who gave North Carolina an unsavory reputation in the earlier colonial period. They were later responsible for the lawlessness in the back country which resulted in the Regulators' Movement.¹⁵ The true farmer endured the makeshifts of pioneer economy as a temporary necessity. He was stable and home-loving, thrifty and laborious, and migratory only to better his condition. Whereas the roving class were inclined to settle scatteringly, the permanent farming class were frequently

¹⁰ Plantagenet, *New Albion* (Force, Tracts, II, No. 7), p. 4; *Virginia's Cure* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 15), p. 4; Clayton, *Letter giving an Account of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 12), p. 21.

¹¹ Danckaerts & Sluyter, *Journal*, *passim*.

¹² See pp. 325-329.

¹³ Robertson, J. A., *Louisiana*, I, 97, 115-117, 125; Claiborne, J. F. H., *Mississippi*, 115; Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, II, 353-355.

¹⁴ Martineau, *Society in America*, I, 285-312; Fearon, *Sketches of America*, *passim*; Longstreet, *Georgia Scenes*, *passim*; Baldwin, *Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi*, 81-94; Olmsted, F. L., *Seaboard Slave States*, II, 222; *idem*, *Journey through Texas*, 47, 131, 243, 420.

¹⁵ *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), XXVIII, 348; Chapman, J. A., *Edgefield County*, 19; Byrd, *Writings* (Bassett), 60, 87; Spotswood, *Official Letters*, I, 108; Brickell, *Natural History of North Carolina*, 37; Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina*, 334-338; Habersham, *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, VI), 199, 201-204; Gregg, *Old Cheraws*, 53; Sellers, *Marion County*, 105. An excellent description of the second type is given in Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion through the Slave States*, I, 335.

inclined to group themselves by nationalities or religious denominations.¹⁶ The nomadic pioneer types frequently preceded the pioneer farmers, who gradually crowded them out. In some cases, however, religious colonies of laborious peasants and artisans such as the Salzburgers and Moravians, as well as individual pioneer farmers, settled in the wilderness.¹⁷

In the early stages of community development the economy of the pioneer farmers was not unlike that of their nomadic forerunners. The one-room log cabin, possibly with a loft, was the pioneer's home. It was roofed with clapboards, and the walls chinked or daubed with clay. Windows were mere openings guarded by wooden shutters. Frequently there was no floor, or merely a rough puncheon floor. The fireplace was built of sticks, moss, and clay. Rude furniture, home-made by the use of axe, adze, and auger, consisted mainly of a table constructed of a roughhewn slab with legs driven into auger holes, a few rude stools, beds made by laying wooden slabs across poles supported on forked posts, and a cradle for the ever present babies, consisting of a hollow trough made from a small log. The cabin was lighted at night by a pine knot. A tin cup and an iron fork were luxuries, an iron pot a treasured possession. One or two hunting knives and a gourd completed the list of culinary utensils. Food consisted largely of game and fish, supplemented by cornbread and hominy from small patches of corn. A large proportion of this class, owning no draft animals, planted and cultivated their crops with mattock and hoe. Later the food supply was further supplemented by milk, eggs, and poultry. The pioneer resorted for a time mainly to the Indian apparel of deerskin leggings, hunting shirt, and moccasins. Later the women spun and wove clothing of wild nettle and buffalo hair or from patches of flax or cotton. When the pioneer had access to markets, skins and furs provided a means of purchasing ammunition and other necessities.¹⁸

With this stage of development the nomadic pioneer was abundantly satisfied: not so his farmer neighbor. The energy of the latter enlarged and improved the log cabin, even though for lack of nails it was necessary to fasten boards with pegs or weights. His ingenuity added new comforts in the way of furniture and utensils. The feather bed made its appearance. Flax, hemp, or cotton were planted, and the thrifty housewife spun and wove blankets and sheets, as well as clothing. The farmer tanned leather and made leather breeches, aprons, chair seats, shoes, and harness. In the later colonial period he frequently brought with him oxen or horses. Sometimes household goods were transported on a wagon, but in many cases the earliest farm vehicle was a crude sled. The little patches of corn were widened into extensive fields of corn and small grain, gradually protected by rail fences. Gardens and fruit added variety to the diet. Herds of cattle and hogs were gradually accumulated, and hunting came to have a less important place in pioneer economy. The farmer sought to increase the range of his comforts by the sale of butter, cheese, tobacco, skins, hides, honey, whisky, and ginseng, transported long distances to market; but there were still

¹⁶ O'Neal, *Annals of Newberry*, 37; Cook, H. T., *Pee Dee Basin*, 92.

¹⁷ See above, pp. 378-380.

¹⁸ Sellers, *Marion County*, 105; Kilpatrick, "Journal of William Calk," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, VII, 372-376; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, II, 246. See also citations, pp. 442-867.

numerous makeshifts such as buttons made of horn, thorns employed for pins and skewers, soap made from ashes, brooms constructed of reeds, gourds employed as dippers, buckets, and other receptacles. Men travelled far and often paid dearly to obtain the indispensable salt. In piedmont and mountain districts maple sugar was obtainable. Newcomers were welcomed with open arms, and their log houses erected by the joint labors of the community. A rude social life, fostered by increasing numbers and the absence of class distinctions, began to develop in the form of log rollings, corn huskings, weddings, cotton pickings, quiltings, and dances.¹⁹

In the ante bellum period the types of pioneer economy described above were probably the most general, both in numbers involved and in geographic extent. Every Southern community experienced these pioneer conditions, and the process of westward expansion resulted in a continuous succession of pioneer communities. Moreover, extensive areas, such as Appalachia and the large stretches of pine lands of the coastal plain, because of physical isolation or unfavorable natural environment, failed to develop beyond the pioneer economy. Finally, in those districts that passed into a higher stage of economic development a population of poor whites lingered, unable or unwilling to advance beyond the pioneer stage.

THE COURSE OF DEVELOPMENT BEYOND THE PIONEER STAGE

Progress beyond these stages depended on development of an export market or of a diversified community life and a home market. If conditions permitted the economical production and marketing of the great staples, a commercial plantation economy tended to supplant the self-sufficing pioneer economy. In such case three courses were open to the pioneers; to move to new regions, remain and develop into commercial planters, or remain and sink into the class of poor whites. Where conditions were permanently unfavorable to production for export, the course of community development was twofold. In districts where inferior soil or rough topography were unfavorable to agriculture the pioneer economy—especially the combination of herding, hunting, and farming—continued to prevail. In regions of favorable soil, topography, and climate, but without a staple crop that could be easily marketed, the diversified industry of the pioneer farmer was gradually transformed through increasing population into an elementary stage of community diversification. This tendency in the back country from

¹⁹ The descriptive material is exceedingly abundant. The above account is based on the following sources, among others: "Sketches of America in 1740," in *Literary Magazine and American Register*, IV, 405; Milligen, *Description of South Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 481; Brickell, *Natural History of North Carolina*, 33; Cook, E., *Sot-Weed Factor Redivivus* (Md. Hist. Soc., Fund Publications, No. 36); Butler, M., *History of Kentucky*, 132; Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, I, 251; Michaux, *Travels*, 187, 197, 247, 283; Imlay, *Description of the Western Territory*, I, 59, 96-152 *passim*; Gilmer, G. R., *First Settlers of Upper Georgia*, 177-180; Andrews, G., *Reminiscences of an Old Georgia Lawyer*, 10; Sellers, *Marion County*, 105; Cook, H. T., *Pee Dee Basin*, 172; Boddie, *History of Williamsburg* [S. C.], 40; J. R. Curry's address on pioneer life in Harrison County, in Kentucky State Agricultural Society, *Report*, 1857, p. 409; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, II, 247; Kercheval, *Valley of Virginia*, *passim*; Marshall, *History of Kentucky*, I, 123; Arthur, *Western South Carolina*, 248, 258; Phelan, *History of Tennessee*, Chap. XIX; Guild, *Old Times in Tennessee*, 10-12, 15; *De Bow's Review*, XIX, 611; Welsh, "Recollections of Pioneer Life in Mississippi," in Miss. Hist. Soc., *Publications*, IV, 343-348. An especially vivid picture is given by Roosevelt. *Winning of the West*, I, 111-133.

Maryland to Georgia was given greater emphasis by the Non-Importation Agreements and it appeared in practically all of the Southern general farming regions possessing soil and topography readily capable of cultivation. Even in the lower South phases of it lingered for a number of years after the introduction of cotton. In such areas numerous weaving shops were established to weave the yarn spun in farm households. The development of grain farming resulted in the establishment of custom mills. There were many travelling journeymen or small-shop manufacturers, including carpenters, bricklayers, blacksmiths, tobacco manufacturers, fullers, tanners, shoemakers, harness makers, hatters, cabinet makers, brush makers, paper makers, tinnerns, and coppersmiths, nail and ironware manufacturers, gunsmiths, wagon makers, silversmiths, tailors, brewers, distillers, and coopers. Sawmills, oil mills, brickyards, ropewalks, ironworks, furnaces, forges, rolling mills, and slitting mills were established.²⁰

During the colonial period, with the exception of Charleston, no important town economy developed in the coastal plain, in spite of the legislative attempts to promote the growth of towns. A few small places such as Annapolis, Williamsburg, and Edenton, came into existence as centers of government, and others, such as Baltimore and Norfolk, as centers of overseas trade; but the easy access to plantation wharves had been unfavorable to the growth of towns. As a result of remoteness from the seaboard and the tendency toward industrial diversification already mentioned, towns developed throughout the back country, such as Frederick, Hagerstown, Winchester, Staunton, Salisbury, Hillsboro, Camden, and Columbia. These places became thriving centers of the small shops and mills.²¹

Correlative with the development of community industries, the farm economy lost some of its self-sufficiency, and took on a greater degree of comfort and an improved mode of living. Farming itself became more systematic and less slipshod and primitive. Later, in the back country of the Carolinas and Georgia, the tendency toward diversification was terminated by the introduction of cotton,²² but certain other pioneer farming regions that were too far north for cotton, favored by water transport or by development of railways, ultimately passed into the third stage. The facility for shipping out farm products and of bringing in factory products tended to break down community self-sufficiency. Farming

²⁰ The following sources, among others, contributed to the picture of this stage: Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, II, 258; Williams, T. J. C., *Washington County, Maryland*, I, 93-95; Nead, *The Pennsylvania-German in the Settlement of Maryland*, 80-88; *Agricultural Museum*, I, 25; O'Neal, *Annals of Newberry*, 41, 47-50; Gilmer, G. R., *First Settlers of Upper Georgia*, 178; Drayton, *View of South Carolina*, 15, 149-151; Dubose, *Address to the Black Oak Agricultural Society* (Thomas, *Huguenots in South Carolina*), 11; La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, III, 218; Winterbotham, *View of the American United States*, III, 255; Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, II, 273; Michaux, *Travels*, 282; *Digest of Manufactures*, 1814, in *United States, American State Papers, Finance*, II, 666-668; Melish, *Travels*, I, 32; Coxe, T., *View of the United States*, 296-310; Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia* (Ford, 1894), pp. 45-47, 191, 202; Morse, *American Geography*, 354, 427; *idem*, *American Gazetteer*, article on South Carolina; *Tour through Part of Virginia*, 1808, p. 10; Gregg, *Old Cheraws*, 158; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, II, 257 & n.; Bishop, *American Manufactures*, I, 382; *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), IV, 28, 166-168, 315-317, 327-331, 428; V, 260, 263, 359, 401, 572, 619; cf. Halle, *Baumwollproduktion*, I, 16; Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina*, 384; Lingley, *Transition in Virginia from Colony to Commonwealth*, 134.

²¹ Coxe, T., *View of the United States*, 314 n.

²² See below, p. 685.

became more and more commercial, and keener attention was devoted to improved methods and improved breeds of livestock. This stage developed only in the three or four decades just preceding the Civil War, and then mainly in a few favored areas, such as the bluegrass region of Kentucky, Nashville Basin, the Valley of Virginia, east Tennessee, parts of Missouri on navigable rivers, and sections of eastern Virginia and Maryland that abandoned tobacco.

TENDENCY FOR SLAVERY AND THE PLANTATION SYSTEM TO DISPLACE OTHER
SYSTEMS OF AGRICULTURAL LABOR AND ORGANIZATION, AND
SUBSEQUENTLY TO DECLINE

In the general course of economic evolution a significant phenomenon was the tendency of slavery and the plantation system, under favorable conditions, to supplant other types of economy. This process was repeated over and over again. Where conditions favored commercial production of staples, the small farmers found themselves unable to resist the competitive power of slave labor organized under the plantation system. Gradually they were compelled either to become great planters—and many did not possess sufficient ability and command over capital to accomplish this—or to reestablish a régime of rude self-sufficing economy in a region less favorable for commercial agriculture. As in the Roman dominion during the later Republican period, small farmers and free laborers of the South at first worked side by side with slaves in the fields; as the supply of slaves increased, they found themselves unable to compete with slave labor; and finally, they were forbidden to compete by rigid social laws under which labor was invidious and stamped with the brand of servility.²³ From another standpoint, however, the tendency may be regarded as a process of geographic specialization whereby the plantation system triumphed in regions most suitable to production of staples, while the self-sufficing or intermediate types of economy developed and survived in regions geographically adapted to them, although unfavorable to a plantation economy.²⁴

These tendencies found expression in many regions. In the coastal plain of Virginia and Maryland, as we have seen, a number of plantations were early established as a result of systems of colonization and land policy.²⁵ These existed, however, in the midst of a society composed largely of small freeholders—a class that multiplied rapidly as a result of the short terms of indentured servants. It is probable that from the close of the Company period to the later years of the seventeenth century the relative importance of the plantation system was declining. With the rapid introduction of slaves in the last two decades of the century the competitive influence of the plantation system was strengthened, and the small freeholders gradually excluded from the better lands.²⁶ Even in eastern North Carolina, in spite of its commercial handicaps, the plantation system made considerable progress during the first half of the eighteenth century, displacing

²³ Ingram, J. K., *Slavery and Serfdom*, 37, 54.

²⁴ The special economic advantages that enabled slave labor to supplant free labor in certain types of geographic and economic environment are considered in Chap. XX.

²⁵ See pp. 317-322.

²⁶ For instance, see Prince George County Records, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, IV, 281.

in part the earlier régime of backwoods farmers.²⁷ The experience of Georgia under the Trustees is a notable instance of the triumph of slave labor and the plantation system in spite of determined efforts to develop an economy of small landowning farmers.²⁸ After the invention of Whitney's cotton gin this tendency, which Professor Bassett speaks of as the "process by which slavery always eats out all the life of a free yeomanry," was repeated in region after region.²⁹ A similar tendency had earlier appeared in South Carolina and in Barbados, St. Christopher, and other West Indian islands.³⁰

Although the plantation system tended to emerge triumphant in new regions where conditions were favorable, there was a tendency toward a decline of the system in old planting regions, whence the planters and slaves were inevitably drawn to new regions. The growth of new plantation communities through westward expansion reacted unfavorably on the economic welfare of the old planting districts. No tendency in Southern economic history was more important and more universal, and none has been so generally misinterpreted.³¹ To some extent this tendency was manifested also in the North, but the effects were far less severe, for there the older farming communities passed by degrees into communities of diversified industry, with numerous cities and villages, well developed home markets, and increasing coöperation between industrial and agricultural districts. The new communities, through the building of railways and canals, became feeders to the diversified industry of the older districts, supplying grain, meat, wool, and other raw materials for manufacture. In the South, on the other hand, westward expansion brought inevitable depression to the older regions,³² a depression to be distinguished from the temporary periods of low prices that periodically affected the prosperity of new, as well as old, plantation regions. The unfortunate effects of westward expansion, as we have noted, began to be felt in Virginia and Maryland before the Revolution. From this time forward the history of the older South was marked by a continual widening of the area in which planting had ceased to be profitable.³³

The explanation of this tendency, as well as the prior tendency toward the triumph of the plantation system over small farming, must await a more detailed analysis of the competitive power of slavery and the plantation system.³⁴

METHODS OF UTILIZING THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

One of the most important conditions underlying the peculiar features of Southern economy was the great extent of the land area in relation to population,

²⁷ Harrell, "Gates County in 1860," and Turner, J. K., "Slavery in Edgecombe County," both in Duke University, *Historical Papers*, XII, 29, and 60-68.

²⁸ See pp. 379, 390.

²⁹ *Slavery in the State of North Carolina*, 79. On the manifestation of the tendency elsewhere, see Phillips, U. B., "Origin and Growth of the Southern Black Belts," in *American Historical Review*, XI 809; Trexler, *Slavery in Missouri*, 10; Olmsted, F. L., *Journey through Texas*, 272; *idem*, *Journey in the Back Country*, 327-330. The tendency is traced statistically in Chap. XXXVII, below.

³⁰ See above, pp. 94, 309.

³¹ See Chap. XX.

³² See below, p. 477.

³³ For an account of the subsequent influence of these forces on agriculture east of the Blue Ridge, see below, pp. 908-912.

³⁴ See Chap. XX.

in contrast, for instance, with New England.³⁵ Not only does this account for the greater relative importance of agriculture in the South during the colonial period than in New England, but it was also responsible for a different type of agriculture. In the South the great abundance of land in proportion to population is the primary explanation for the extensive and exploitative character of cultivation; while in New England the rapid increase of population and the small land area early led to the employment of intensive and soil-conserving methods.

In the early colonial period land was so abundant that the planter was enabled to have a large supply in one body sufficient for his own use and for the subsequent use of his children.³⁶ Gradually it became less easy to acquire and hold in one body sufficient land to permit continued utilization of the same estate under conditions of progressive deterioration. Early in the eighteenth century planters in Virginia and Maryland began to acquire estates in newer regions and, by dividing the slave stock, to prolong the period of life of the original family estate.³⁷ Subsequently, except in a few areas of a more or less permanent type of agriculture or where planters were able to maintain a surplus supply of land,³⁸ the planting economy was based on deliberate exhaustion of the soil and the expectation of making from one to three moves in a single generation. Planters bought land as they might buy a wagon—with the expectation of wearing it out. A few attempted to charge to depreciation the estimated annual deterioration, but the majority failed to allow for soil depreciation by setting aside a definite fund.³⁹

Over the upland soils from Virginia to Texas the wave of migration passed like a devastating scourge. Especially in the rolling piedmont lands the planting of corn and cotton in hill and drill hastened erosion, leaving the hillsides gullied and bare.⁴⁰ Even in Southwestern areas of comparatively recent settlement the work of devastation was manifest on every hand before the Civil War.⁴¹ Thus, the rapidity of soil exhaustion in Madison County, northern Alabama, was graphically described as follows:⁴²

“In traversing that county one will . . . observe fields, once fertile, now unfenced, abandoned and covered with those evil harbingers, fox-tail and broomsedge. . . . Indeed, a country in its infancy, where, fifty years ago, scarce a forest tree had been felled by the axe of the pioneer, is already exhibiting the painful signs of senility and decay, apparent in Virginia and the Carolinas.”

³⁵ See above, p. 91.

³⁶ *American Husbandry*, I, 230.

³⁷ See above, p. 117.

³⁸ *De Bow's Review*, III, 213.

³⁹ *Southern Cultivator*, III, 100, 179; XVI, 268; *American Agriculturist*, III, 118; Virginia State Agricultural Society, *Journal of Transactions*, I, 13–14; Doddridge, *Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania*, 129, 132; *De Bow's Review*, III, 209; VII, 435; cf. Hammond, M.B., *Cotton Industry*, 83.

⁴⁰ Taylor, J., *Arator*, 14; *Farmers' Register*, III, 372; V, 30; Ruffin, *Essay on Calcareous Manures*, 11; *Farmer's Advocate*, I, 218; *Southern Agriculturist*, II, 387; *American Farmer*, 1 series, I (1819–20), p. 218; *Southern Cultivator*, IV, 148; XVI, 27; Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion through the Slave States*, I, 49; Tennessee, State Agricultural Bureau, *Second Biennial Report, 1856–1857*, p. 261; *De Bow's Review*, XVIII, 26; cf. Craven, *Soil Exhaustion in Virginia and Maryland*, *passim*.

⁴¹ Mississippi, Agricultural and Geological Survey, *Report* (Harper, 1857), p. 171; *ibid.* (Hilgard, 1858), p. 8; Olmsted, F. L., *Journey in the Back Country*, 19; *idem*, *Journey through Texas*, 82; *De Bow's Review*, XXVII, 501; *Agriculturist*, III, 97; Ruffin, *Notes on the Cane-Brake Lands*, 20.

⁴² Quotation from a speech in Congress by C. C. Clay, reprinted in *De Bow's Review*, XIX, 727.

Even in Kentucky and Tennessee, with their relatively diversified agriculture and devotion to livestock husbandry, complaint was being made of soil deterioration.⁴³

The concept of soil exhaustion as applied to the South is employed in a limited sense. The older concept of exhaustion as due to an actual using up of necessary chemical elements has been amplified, and greater emphasis placed on the creation through cultivation of changes in soil texture, the development of toxic substances and parasitic microorganisms, and a general impairment of conditions favoring assimilation.⁴⁴ Broadly speaking, Southern soils were "exhausted" in the sense that annual yields had been reduced to the point where it was more profitable to abandon old land and apply labor and capital to fresh lands.

Abolitionists pointed to the exhaustion of Southern soils as due to the shiftlessness and inefficiency involved in use of slave labor, and even Southern writers at times attributed the major responsibility to slavery;⁴⁵ but soil exploitation was not peculiar to the South, for exploitative methods were also employed in the North. A number of Northern writers pointed out that the exploitation of land was common to both sections, and urged the necessity of reform.⁴⁶

Furthermore, there were certain slavery regions where plantation husbandry was not characterized by soil exploitation. This was especially true in certain of the West Indian islands where population had become dense and land very scarce. It was customary in some of the islands, for instance, Barbados, to feed stock in pens for the sake of the manure. The litter was carefully saved and applied to the cane ground.⁴⁷ At the close of the century Barbadian planters were importing cargoes of rich soil from British Guiana in order to maintain the fertility of their lands.⁴⁸ Certain regions of the South also were exceptions to the rule of exhaustion and migration. This was true, for instance, of a number of rich river bottoms where depth of soil and comparative freedom from erosion retarded the rate of exhaustion, while comparatively high land values created an interest in maintaining soil resources. Long after the greater part of eastern Virginia had been reduced nearly to a barren waste, the rich valleys of the James and Rappahannock continued to be the seat of families that had resided for generations on the same estate.⁴⁹ After the early colonial period the rice and sea-island cotton regions and the sugar regions in Louisiana were, for the most part, exceptions to the rule of exploitation and migration. The soils in use for rice

⁴³ Kentucky, Geological Survey, *First Report* (Owen, 1854-1855), p. 374; *idem*, *Fourth Report* (Owen, 1858-1859), p. 48; Tennessee, State Agricultural Bureau, *Second Biennial Report*, 1856-1857, pp. 311-313; *Agriculturist*, I, 19.

⁴⁴ Cf. the discussion of this question in its special application to the ante bellum agriculture of Virginia, in Craven, *Soil Exhaustion in Virginia and Maryland*, especially Chap. I.

⁴⁵ Cf. Gooch, "Prize Essay on Agriculture in Virginia," in *American Farmer*, 1 series, XV (1833-4), p. 138; Ruffin, *Address on the Opposite Results of Exhausting and Fertilizing Systems*, 12; *De Bow's Review*, XIV, 34 et seq.

⁴⁶ Jay, *Statistical View of American Agriculture*, 52-55; *De Bow's Review*, XXVII, 501-503; Gross, "Necessity of Agricultural Reform," in *De Bow's Review*, XXV, 144-164.

⁴⁷ Frere, *Short History of Barbados*, 108; Edwards, *British West Indies*, II, 220-222; *American Husbandry*, II, 119-121, 132-134; Washington, *Journal of a Tour to Barbadoes*, 59.

⁴⁸ Bolingbroke, *Voyage to the Demerary*, 93.

⁴⁹ Allardice, *Agricultural Tour*, 96; Martineau, *Society in America*, II, 42; *Southern Cultivator*, V, 155; *American Farmer*, 1 series, I (1819-20), p. 218; *Southern Planter*, XVII, 66.

and sugar were alluvial, and in the rice region irrigation contributed deposits of sediment.⁵⁰ Moreover, in all these regions systematic methods of soil amelioration came to be employed.⁵¹ In fact, the development of permanent agriculture and the greater permanence of residence made possible in the upland areas of eastern Virginia by the early practice of acquiring reserves of land were largely responsible for the substantial character of improvements, the emphasis on birth and family connections, the magnificence of ancestral estates, and the paternalistic character of slavery.

There were certain conditions besides relative abundance of land which were partly responsible for the tendency to soil exploitation. The overseer system is rightly regarded as accountable for much soil wastage, although the system prevailed only on plantations of considerable size, while the waste of soil resources occurred nearly everywhere—on small farms as well as on large plantations.⁵² Most of the important crops of the South were cultivated either in hills or ridges, which facilitated erosion.⁵³ Employment of clumsy plows or the use of light plows and one-horse plowing and the practice of plowing up and down hillsides increased the tendency toward rapid erosion.⁵⁴ The "one-crop system" was another condition that intensified soil exhaustion; for the cultivation of a single crop not only is favorable to the development of conditions that produce soil exhaustion, but also precludes the employment of restorative crops.⁵⁵ Moreover, high prices of slaves, reflecting the profitableness of the staple crops, made it expensive to employ labor in manuring and in other methods of maintaining soil resources. When prices of staple crops were depressed, conditions were more favorable to methods of conservation; but with the return of good prices many planters tended to revert to the former policy of soil devastation.⁵⁶

EXTENSIVE VERSUS INTENSIVE AGRICULTURE

The relative abundance of land and comparatively high price of labor were also largely responsible for the fact that cultivation tended to be extensive, rather than intensive. Generally maximum profits could be secured by using a relatively small amount of labor to a given area.

This economic principle was at times recognized by Southern writers,⁵⁷ but

⁵⁰ *Southern Cultivator*, VIII, 86; *Southern Agriculturist*, I, 532.

⁵¹ See below, p. 807.

⁵² Gooch, "Prize Essay on Agriculture in Virginia," in *American Farmer*, 1 series, XV (1833-4), p. 138; United States, Dept. Agric., *The Cotton Plant* (Exp. Stations, *Bulletin* 33), pp. 170-171; *Cultivator*, X, 165; *Southern Cultivator*, IV, 148; VI, 67; XV, 92; United States, Patent Office, *Annual Reports, Agriculture*, 1850, p. 259; 1851, p. 328.

⁵³ United States Agricultural Society, *Journal*, I, 136; *American Farmer*, 1 series, XV (1833-4), p. 115. See the discussion of the various factors promoting exhaustion in Virginia, in Craven, *Soil Exhaustion in Virginia and Maryland*, especially pp. 28-39.

⁵⁴ See below, p. 794.

⁵⁵ For an excellent contemporary statement, see *Southern Planter*, XIX, 130.

⁵⁶ *Southern Agriculturist*, I, 72; *American Agriculturist*, III, 118; *Southern Cultivator*, II, 190; *De Bow's Review*, XXIV, 202. For an account of movements for soil conservation, see below, Chap. XXXIII.

⁵⁷ *Carolina Cultivator*, I, 307; *Southern Agriculturist*, I, 72; *De Bow's Review*, VII, 305; *Southern Agriculturist* (Laurensville), I, 80; *Southern Planter*, I, 7; XVII, 66; XX, 402; *Farmers' Register*, I, 285; *Country Gentleman*, XI, 107; Tennessee, State Agricultural Bureau, *Second Biennial Report*, 1856-1857, p. 261; *American Agriculturist*, III, 118. Olmsted was one of the few travellers from the North who fully appreciated the fact that the exploitative economy was not primarily due to slavery. *Journey in the Back Country*, 375.

proved a stumbling block to many European travellers and writers who endeavored to interpret Southern agriculture. Arthur Young, for instance, found it impossible to understand how such a soil-devastating type of agriculture could be profitable. To Young it seemed obvious that high-priced labor necessitated the most careful methods of agriculture, furnishing all the more reason why land should be carefully tilled, and maximum yields achieved. In his correspondence with Young, Washington was at great pains to explain that the apparently wasteful methods pursued by his countrymen were due to the fact that, "The aim of the farmers in this country, if they can be called farmers, is, not to make the most they can from the land [that is, per acre], which is, or has been cheap, but the most of the labour which is dear." Washington sought further to allay Young's perplexity by enclosing a letter from Jefferson in which the latter stated the principle that, "Where land is cheap and rich and labour dear, the same labour spread in a slighter culture over one hundred acres, will produce more profit than if concentrated by the highest degree of cultivation on a small portion of the lands."⁵⁸

The theory has sometimes been advanced that slavery can thrive only under conditions of extensive agriculture—where labor is relatively scarce as compared with land.⁵⁹ Some of the islands of the West Indies with dense population disprove this theory; for instance, Barbados, Granada, St. Christopher, Antigua, Dominica, Nevis, and St. Vincent, which in the late colonial period contained populations, principally of slaves, almost as dense as the present population of Belgium or Holland. Naturally, land values were high, and cultivation very intensive. In St. Vincent the worst situated sugar land sold for £60 sterling per acre.⁶⁰ Generally the fields were prepared with hoes, for it was considered cheaper to feed more Negroes than to maintain mules. Furthermore, to have employed horse husbandry it would have been necessary to plant the rows of cane an unprofitable distance apart.⁶¹ In the latter part of the eighteenth century, it is true, there was a tendency toward emigration, since it was no longer easy to make large profits. These conditions, however, are characteristic of countries where population is dense and industry has reached a stage of equilibrium. They no more indicate the industrial failure of slavery under conditions of intensive cultivation than similar conditions in Europe indicate the failure of free labor in peasant farming.⁶² In fact, the British West Indies were extremely prosperous at the close of the eighteenth century, and their subsequent decline was due rather to the commercial interruptions and heavy taxation of the Napoleonic period than to the fact that they maintained an intensive economy.⁶³

Intensive methods of cultivation due to scarcity of land also developed in the sea-island cotton, rice, and sugar regions of the South. In 1839 a resident of lower South Carolina, contrasting the type of cultivation with that of upper

⁵⁸ Washington, *Letters on Agriculture*, 32, 68; cf. also *ibid.*, 92.

⁵⁹ See below, Chap. XX.

⁶⁰ *American Husbandry*, II, 153; Edwards, *British West Indies*, I, 351, 381, 405, 418, 432, 435, 447; Young, *Tour through the Several Islands of Barbadoes, St. Vincent, etc.* (Edwards, *British West Indies*, IV), 275.

⁶¹ *American Husbandry*, II, 128-134; Edwards, *British West Indies*, II, 213-215.

⁶² Burke, Edm., *European Settlements in America*, II, 86-88; Frere, *Short History of Barbados*, 105.

⁶³ See Ragatz, *Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean*, especially Chap. IX.

South Carolina, asserted that the former should technically be classed as horticulture, or garden economy. He contrasted the $3\frac{1}{2}$ or 4 acres of cotton and 1 of corn per hand in the sea-island region with from 12 to 15 acres of cotton and corn per hand in upper South Carolina. The greater abundance of land in the upper part of the State enabled the planters to raise enough corn to maintain horses and mules. This, in turn, permitted the cultivation of a large acreage of corn and provision crops. The farmers of the low country were compelled to do their work largely without the help of horse power, and to expend considerable labor in manuring.⁶⁴

For tobacco and upland cotton the amount of land per hand was small as compared with wheat and Indian corn, for tobacco and cotton naturally require a large ratio of labor to land. Nevertheless, the general disposition in these industries was to economize labor at the expense of land. In time, however, when the increasing scarcity of tobacco land due to exhaustion and the redundant supply of slaves caused labor to become relatively abundant in much of Virginia and Maryland, there developed a tendency to employ it in a more painstaking type of cultivation.⁶⁵ In 1835 an observer of conditions near the James river in middle Virginia estimated that for a given acreage the value of the labor employed was about ten times the rental value of land. He remarked:⁶⁶

"It is undoubtedly true that we generally employ more of human labor in tilling our farms than sound views of profit would direct . . . We generally hold the slaves that have been derived from inheritance or other sources, until the death of the owner requires their distribution, or his necessities compel the sale of a portion of them."

Because of the relatively low value of land and high value of labor, upland cotton planters, particularly, were inclined to disregard the rent of land and to strive for the largest possible product per hand, rather than a maximum product per acre. In 1840 Governor Hammond, a large planter of South Carolina, expounded this principle in an article in which he distinguished between farmers and planters. "The object of the Farmer," he asserted, "is to make two blades of grass grow on the land that produced but one before . . . that of the planter to produce two blades with the same labour that produced one before . . . the most successful planter is not one who can make the most to the acre, but he who can make the most to the hand."⁶⁷ It is true, there were advocates of the latter ideal, but they were theorists who disregarded basic economic conditions. It was said that many of the attempts to establish agricultural societies failed because the founders were moved by the idea of intensive cultivation after the manner of European countries. The antipathy of practical planters to "book farming" was attributed to the fact that so many agricultural books were written

⁶⁴ "The Cultivation of Middle South Carolina," address of Joseph E. Jenkins to the Agricultural Society of St. John's Colleton, South Carolina, in *Farmers' Register*, VI, 436. Concerning the more prevalent employment of plows in the later decades of the ante bellum period, see below, pp. 727, 735, 775, 813.

⁶⁵ See p. 911.

⁶⁶ *Farmers' Register*, II, 265.

⁶⁷ See article signed "Short Staple," identified as written by James H. Hammond, in *Carolina Planter* (1840), p. 2. See also below, pp. 706-708.

from the European point of view of maximum product per acre.⁶⁸ In their eagerness, however, for a large income per hand planters frequently undertook a larger acreage than they could attend to, particularly in wet seasons, and consequently found themselves unable to avoid getting "in the grass."⁶⁹

COMMERCIALISM VERSUS SELF-SUFFICIENCY

As in other parts of the United States, there were two extremes in the development of agricultural economy. At one extreme was the completely self-sufficient farm. At the other the farm or plantation on which nearly all resources were devoted to production for sale. Between the two extremes were ranged the great majority of plantations and farms.

The commercial planter produced a market crop under competitive conditions, investing capital, much of it borrowed, and incurring money expenses. If he continuously failed to sell his crop for enough to meet expenses, including interest and depreciation on the value of his slaves and land, his business was a failure. Ultimately he was compelled to drop out of the competitive struggle or, continuing, to dissipate his capital and that of others.

The self-sufficing farmer was not seeking profits, but a living. He incurred but little money expenses, invested little capital, and assumed no regular financial obligations. Yet, complete self-sufficiency was exceedingly irksome; it involved doing without many comforts or producing some of them at enormous cost of energy. Therefore the self-sufficing farmer constantly sought a marketable product. He could afford to sacrifice much labor, as compared with the commercial planter, in the production and marketing of this salable product in order to enjoy some of the benefits of the world's division of labor. What if the production and hauling to market of hogsheads of tobacco did cost twice the labor incurred by commercial planters, provided the self-sufficing farmer could obtain a gun, ammunition, kettles, and medicines, which he could not produce at all or only by excessive labor and trouble? He was not inclined to balance the money return from the product against the money cost of producing it, but rather the labor of producing and marketing the money crop against the utility of the commodities he was thereby enabled to buy. Next to cattle, tobacco in the colonial period was the principal market crop of back-country farmers, because of its high specific value in proportion to bulk, its durability, and its ready transportability by means of rolling hogsheads.⁷⁰ The more isolated mountain areas shipped small quantities of ginseng, butter, honey, lard, eggs, nuts, furs, dried meat, and whisky. Livestock on the hoof were probably the most important type of export.⁷¹ After the development of the cotton gin small quantities of cotton, shipped la-

⁶⁸ *Southern Planter*, V, 163; *Southern Agriculturist*, III, 6; *Southern Cultivator*, VIII, 114. For data on actual ratios of land to labor for different crops and regions, see pp. 707, 731, 737, 750, 776.

⁶⁹ For instance, see "Report of the Visiting Committee of the District Agricultural Society," in Tennessee, State Agricultural Bureau, *Second Biennial Report*, 1856-1857, p. 581.

⁷⁰ La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, III, 175; Gregg, *Old Cheraws*, 430; Morse, *American Geography*, 447; Gilmer, G. R., *First Settlers of Upper Georgia*, 164; Walton, *Observations upon the Effect of Certain Late Political Suggestions by the Delegates of Georgia*, 8; *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), IV, 406, 604-607, 681-687; V, 113-121, 196.

⁷¹ Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, 284, 287.

boriously to market, constituted the means of exchange for thousands of small farmers in remote districts.

In the South the self-sufficing principle was the rule over wide areas. In the colonial period especially, it is probable that the great majority of inhabitants were engaged in types of economy that approximated the principle of self-sufficiency. Household manufactures were the rule among poor whites in plantation districts and among the more isolated plantations and farms. The same was true of the stream of settlers who moved from Pennsylvania and other Northern Colonies down the valleys west of the Blue Ridge.⁷² Many of the small farmers who came directly or indirectly from Europe developed a self-sufficing economy, partly because of isolation, but partly also because of their former economic training. Their contentment with a self-sufficing economy, however, was likely to break down as soon as it was no longer protected by isolation. The following presents a picture of a backwoods family in South Carolina early in the nineteenth century undergoing this transition:⁷³

"At this time, my farm gave me and my whole family a good living on the produce of it; and left me, one year with another, one hundred and fifty silver dollars, for I never spent more than ten dollars a year, which was for salt, nails and the like. Nothing to wear, eat or drink, was purchased, as my farm provided all. With this saving, I put money to interest, bought cattle, fatted and sold them, and made great profit. . . .

"In three years more my third daughter had a spark . . . and wedding being concluded upon, wife comes again for the purse: but when she returned, what did I see! a silken gown, silk for a cloak, a looking-glass, china teageer, and a hundred other things, with the empty purse. But this is not the worst of it, Mr. Printer. Some time before the marriage of this last daughter, and ever since, this charge increased in my family, besides all sorts of household furniture unknown to us before. Clothing of every sort is bought . . . and the wheel goes only for the purpose of exchanging our substantial cloth of flax and wool, for gauze, ribands, silk, tea, sugar."

For extensive areas it was impracticable to achieve a highly commercial economy. Districts exhausted by tobacco or cotton were abandoned to self-sufficing farmers.⁷⁴ Besides the areas handicapped by remoteness or rough topography, competition made it unprofitable to employ for commercial agriculture areas of inferior soil, such as the "wire-grass" region of southeastern Georgia, the sand barrens back of the South Carolina coast, and the pine flats of the Gulf States, in spite of their proximity to market. These regions were inhabited by small self-sufficing farmers or by lumbermen and stockmen. In the latter part of the ante bellum period Allston described the economy of these classes as follows:⁷⁵

"Of all the various callings to which men in the low country resort for a livelihood, all, except the transient turpentine farmer, raise a provision crop of Corn, Peas and Potatoes. Even the timber-getter, whose lumbering gigantic wheels require a goodly

⁷² A few characteristic accounts are as follows: Doddridge, *Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania*, 162-168; Morton, O. F., *Rockbridge County*, 33-44; Pendleton, *Tazewell County*, 230-248; Nead, *The Pennsylvania-German in the Settlement of Maryland*, 88; Wayland, *Rockingham County, Virginia*, 381. See also pp. 122, 881.

⁷³ Article entitled "Cause of Hard Times," in *Southern Agriculturist*, XI, 461-463.

⁷⁴ *Southern Cultivator*, XV, 95; *Cultivator*, X, 190.

⁷⁵ *Essay on Sea Coast Crops*, 18.

number of stout oxen for the heavy draught, while these are recruiting on the summer pastures of his native pine-barren, will put his horse to the plow and work out provision for the ensuing winter.

"The hunter, too, who ranges now for game farther and wider than erst he did, over natural meadows upon which his stock of cattle luxuriate in summer, and through thick wooded swamps, where they seek shelter and forage during the hard weather of our brief winters. The hunter and his sons employ a part of several days in the week, during the proper season, in weeding the potato patch, and tending the corn and planting the slips and the peas, whilst the industrious wife, and thrifty, home-bred daughter, ply the spinning-wheel and hand-loom, to work up their own garden crop of Cotton with the coarse fleece of their native flock into comfortable jeans and flannels for the household."

COMMERCIALISM AND SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN VARIOUS REGIONS

The relative extent of self-sufficiency and commercialism in plantation areas varied from period to period and from region to region. In the earlier colonial period there was a considerable amount of self-sufficiency even in the Tidewater because of the irregularity of commercial intercourse. The following description of Captain Samuel Matthews' plantation, in 1649, probably gives a typical picture:⁷⁶

"He hath a fine house, and all things answerable to it; he sowes yearly store of Hempe and Flax, and causes it to be spun; he keeps Weavers, and hath a Tan-house, causes Leather to be dressed, hath eight Shoemakers employed in their trade, hath forty Negroe servants, brings them up to Trades in his house; He yearly sowes abundance of Wheat, Barley, etc. The Wheat he selleth at four shillings the bushell, Kills store of Beeves and sells them to victuall the ships when they come thither; hath abundance of Kine, a brave Dairy, Swine great store, and Poltery, . . . keeps a good house, lives bravely."

In Beverley's time the planters near the coast were inclined to rely for manufactured products largely on importation. In fact, the concentration on tobacco sometimes caused planters to provide a minimum of food, a policy that proved embarrassing in short seasons.⁷⁷ On all but the best located plantations, however, a large part of the commodities consumed by the laborers or required in plantation industry were produced on the plantation. The tendency increased in proportion to remoteness from market. Importations were confined largely to luxuries for the master and his family. Cotton goods known as "Virginias" were made for the slaves, or cotton was mixed with wool or flax for the manufacture of heavier clothing.⁷⁸

In the early part of the eighteenth century considerable domestic industry still

⁷⁶ *Perfect Description of Virginia* (Force, Tracts, II, No. 8), p. 15. See also Yong, *Extract from a Letter to Sir Toby Matthew, 1634* (Hall, Narratives), 60.

⁷⁷ Beverley, R., *History of Virginia*, 255; *Letters and Papers of the Verney Family* (Camden Soc., Publications, No. 56), p. 161; Oldmixon, *British Empire*, I, 320.

⁷⁸ Joyce, *Letter from Caroline County, Virginia* (Richmond Daily Dispatch, Aug. 16, 1877); Morse, *American Gazetteer*, article on South Carolina; *idem*, *American Geography*, 429; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, II, 586-588; Halle, *Baumwollproduktion*, I, 14; Burnaby, *Travels in North America*, 17; Rivers, *Sketch of South Carolina*, 235; Raynal, *British Settlements and Trade in North America*, 137; *Tour through Part of Virginia, 1808*, p. 29; Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, II, 324.

remained on plantations in the coastal plain. Even as wealthy and commercially active a planter as William Byrd (II) wrote in 1726:⁷⁹

"I have a large Family of my own, and my Doors are open to Every Body, yet I have no Bills to pay, and half-a-Crown will rest undisturbed in my Pocket for many Moons together. Like one of the Patriarchs, I have my Flocks and my Herds, my Bondmen and Bondwomen, and every Soart of Trade amongst my own Servants, so that I live in a Kind of Independence on every one but Providence."

Eliza Lucas Pinckney's letters indicate that her father's plantation manufactured most of the Negro cloth, carried on tanning and made harness and shoes, manufactured sturgeon oil, constructed all the barrels used, and maintained carpenters and other artisans.⁸⁰ Gradually, the plantations of eastern South Carolina became more commercial. In the latter part of the colonial period Governor William Bull reported:⁸¹

"Cannot learn that any manufactures have been set up in this Province, except three rope-walks, and two houses for baking or refining sugar . . .

"Looms, it is true, are to be seen in almost every house in our western settlements. [However, by reason of war-time interruptions of trade in 1744] The people of Carolina were driven by this distress to the necessity of weaving coarse cloths of cotton and wool for their negroes . . . Peace restored our trade . . . All home-made cloths were then laid aside; and at this day above five hundred thousand yards of Welsh plains are consumed yearly in this Province, chiefly in cloathing our negroes."

The tendency toward domestic manufacturing on commercial plantations was naturally greater before the competition of the factory system was severely felt. About a decade before the Revolutionary War an official report from Virginia described household industries in the plantation section of the Colony as follows:⁸²

"Every Gentleman of much property in Land and Negroes, have some of their own Negroes bred up in the Trade of black-smiths, and make axes, Hoes, plough shares, and such kind of coarse Work for the use of their Plantations. I do not know that there is a white-smith or maker of Cutlery in the Colony.

"There are Shoemakers which make ordinary Shoes for the use of the Planters, and a few Hatmakers which make Hats of pure Beaver . . . but these are made in very small Quantities and none exported. The Planters wives spin the Cotton of this Country and make a strong coarse Cloth with which they make Gowns etc. for themselves and Children, and sometimes they come to this Town and offer some for sale. Of this Cotton they make Coverlids for Beds which are in pretty general Use through the Colony.

"During the time of Uneasiness on Account of the Stamp Act, there was a strong Attempt made to convert their hemp into Osnabrigs, but I believe that Scheme is quite at end, on their discovery that they could import them much cheaper than they could make them. And this must always be the Case as long as they have plenty of Land.

⁷⁹ Letter of July 5, 1726, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXII, 27.

⁸⁰ Ravenel, H. H., *Eliza Pinckney*, 124-133.

⁸¹ British Museum, *King's Manuscripts*, 206, f. 30 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); Laurens, *Correspondence* (Moore), 183-185.

⁸² Letter from Governor Fauquier, Dec. 17, 1766, in London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1331, pp. 367-369 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); cf. Tryon, *Household Manufactures*, 70, 75.

"... There are but few Manufactures of any kind carried on and those that are, are for the Consumption of the Inhabitants, who do and will import all matters of Elegance, and Conveniency; for the nature of the people is such that they are too indolent to engage in Manufactures or Work of any kind.

"... they daily set up Mills to grind their Wheat into Flour for Exportation."

The artificial shutting off of the market by the Non-Importation Agreements and the Revolutionary War resulted in the rapid development of domestic manufactures, not only in the back country, but even on formerly commercial plantations in the Tidewater. Large plantations maintained numerous Negro "tradesmen," as well as white servant artisans, and manufactured cloth, hardware, and other articles both for their own use and for sale. A similar effect was observed during the War of 1812 and in the commercial interruptions that immediately preceded it.⁸³ Plantations far from market, like that of Jefferson at Monticello, were almost entirely self-sufficing. According to Rochefoucauld, "His [Jefferson's] negroes are cabinet workers, carpenters, masons, bricklayers, smiths, etc. The children he employs in a nail-manufactory, which yields already a considerable profit. The yong and old negresses spin for the clothing of the rest."⁸⁴

As soon as the Revolutionary War was over there developed for a brief period a craze for importation of goods; but the habit of domestic manufacturing was soon restored, not only in the back country, but also in the plantation districts of Virginia and Maryland, emphasized by depression in the tobacco industry and partly by commercial disorganization.⁸⁵ Domestic manufacturing was carried on extensively not only among the increasing population of back-country farmers, but also among the planters of the tidewater regions and middle country. In 1790 statistics of manufactures were obtained for twenty families in King William County, Virginia, a tidewater county having a slave population about double that of the whites. The number of slaves per family ranged from 9 to 36. The total production of clothing and stockings was valued at \$1,878.13, or \$6.23 per capita. The value of household manufactures for the interior counties of the Southern States was said to be greater than the value of manufactures imported by them.⁸⁶ The tendency for eastern South Carolina and Georgia to return to a commercial economy was much more notable by reason of the revival of the rice and indigo industries and the development of cotton production. In general, the period between 1775 and 1815 was the heyday of domestic manufactures, the products of which were valued in 1810 as follows:⁸⁷

⁸³ Carter, R., *Account Book*, Apr. 22, 1775 (Manuscripts, Library of Congress); *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), July 19, Aug. 16, Sept. 20, Dec. 27, 1769; Rowland, *George Mason*, I, 101; Harrower, *Diary* (American Historical Review, VI), 103; Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, II, 314-317; Halle, *Baumwollproduktion*, I, 18; Lingley, *Transition from Colony to Commonwealth in Virginia*, 134; cf. Tryon, *Household Manufactures*, 104-113.

⁸⁴ *Travels*, III, 158.

⁸⁵ Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia* (Ford, 1894), p. 202; Winterbotham, *View of the American United States*, III, 255; Washington, *Letters on Agriculture*, 53. Tench Coxe gives a very enthusiastic account of the important increase of domestic industry in districts formerly characterized by commercial agriculture. *View of the United States*, 260-264.

⁸⁶ Tryon, *Household Manufactures*, 139; Coxe, T., *View of the United States*, 298.

⁸⁷ See table compiled from Census, in Tryon, *Household Manufactures*, 166.

State	Total Value	Per Capita
Maryland.....	\$1,036,866	\$2.78
Virginia.....	4,885,602	5.37
North Carolina.....	2,989,140	5.41
South Carolina.....	1,677,228	5.65
Georgia.....	2,149,033	8.65
Kentucky.....	2,366,013	5.82
Tennessee.....	1,691,548	6.46
Mississippi Territory.....	266,493	6.60
Orleans Territory.....	107,241	2.48

Moreover, there occurred during this period, especially in the back country, the development of the numerous small shops already mentioned.

The increasing cheapness of factory products after 1815 and the expansion of commercial cotton planting reduced greatly the extent of household manufactures.⁸⁸ Their continuance came more and more to depend upon inability to achieve a commercial economy on account of geographic isolation, poor soil, or rough topography;⁸⁹ but the disappearing domestic and small-shop industries were not replaced by the factory system, as in New England. However, the passing of household and small-shop industries was much more complete in the areas of commercial planting than in the commercial farming regions.⁹⁰ In the lower South the plantation or neighborhood blacksmith, carpenter, bricklayer, and cooper, and local sawmills and gristmills continued to be employed, and until the Civil War old women on some plantations were used for spinning and weaving. Tanning had probably ceased to be general in plantation districts.⁹¹

The tendency of the more favorably situated plantations to become increasingly commercial ultimately led them even to depend on the purchase of food supplies. Thus, a regional interdependence developed whereby the farmers and planters of the back country or border States furnished supplies to the commercial planters. Regions in the hinterland heretofore almost entirely self-sufficing were afforded a market for surplus products and enabled to develop a commercial type of general farming. Thus, about the middle of the eighteenth century farmers of the back country of South Carolina were furnishing planters on the coast with grain, meat, butter, cheese, tobacco, hemp, flax, fruit, and brandy, although supplies continued to be obtained also by a coastal trade with the North.⁹²

⁸⁸ *Carolina Planter* (1844-5), I, 60.

⁸⁹ See account of these changes and census statistics for 1840, 1850, and 1860, in Tryon, *Household Manufactures*, Chaps. VII-VIII.

⁹⁰ Concerning the sporadic attempts at development of manufactures in the South in the latter part of the ante bellum period, see pp. 934-936.

⁹¹ Affleck's *Southern Rural Almanac for 1851 and 1852*, p. 37; *De Bow's Review*, VII, 381; XII, 632; XVI, 599; XVIII, 345; XXVI, 610; *Southern Agriculturist*, I, 547; *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, XXXVIII, 120; *Southern Cultivator*, II, 190; III, 148; VI, 66; Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, I, 255, 344; Olmsted, F. L., *Journey in the Back Country*, 352; *idem.*, *Cotton Kingdom*, II, 198; Smith, J. G., *East Tennessee*, 27; Hall, B., *Travels in North America*, III, 188; United States, Patent Office, *Annual Reports*, 1847, p. 391; 1850, *Agriculture*, 214, 220, 395, 401; *Cultivator*, new series, I, 84; Melish, *Travels*, I, 32; Tennessee, State Agricultural Bureau, *First Biennial Report*, 1855-1856, p. 171. For instance of a large plantation about 1840 where tanning was carried on, see *Carolina Planter* (1840), p. 315.

⁹² Reck, *Extract of Journals* (Force, Tracts, IV, No. 5), p. 9; Glen, *Description of South Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 223; Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, II, 205; Morse, *American*

A similar interdependence between the back country and the commercial plantations in the Tidewater had appeared in Virginia and Maryland. Improvements in transport and the development of new staples resulted in widening the area of economical planting. The indigo industry transformed the middle region of South Carolina, formerly self-sufficing, into a region of commercial planting,⁹³ and reduced its importance as a source of supplies for coastal planters. The short-staple cotton industry gradually transformed middle North Carolina, upper South Carolina, and Georgia, as well as large areas in the Southwest, into a region of commercial agriculture, while the border States and the more remote districts of the lower South were looked to for large supplies of food and work-stock. The development of railroads increased this interdependence.⁹⁴ In 1843, for instance, it was estimated that South Carolina was importing, largely from Tennessee and Kentucky, 52,000 barrels of flour, 300,000 bushels of corn, 100,000 bushels of oats, 40,000 bushels of peas, 24,826 bundles of hay, 5,000 hogsheads of bacon, butter valued at \$225,000, cheese worth \$30,000, and livestock valued at \$1,775,000.⁹⁵ Camden and Columbia, which had formerly exported food products to the coast, were now importing corn, oats, and hay from Charleston, besides quantities of meat and large numbers of livestock from Tennessee and Kentucky. In 1828 the coastal counties of North Carolina were importing Northern flour, and feeding their Negroes on New York pork. Even the southern and middle counties imported large droves of Kentucky and Tennessee hogs.⁹⁶ About 1835 eastern Virginia was purchasing from other States large quantities of salted meat, butter, cheese, leather, candles, and soap. The supplies of hogs and fat oxen obtained from the West in droves were "enormous" and "increasing." A large proportion of the horses and mules were obtained from the same source.⁹⁷

In the later colonial period the tendency to commercialism was most fully developed in the rice region, and in the later post colonial period in the sugar parishes of Louisiana, for in both regions there was a scarcity of available land.⁹⁸ The alluvial cotton lands of the lower Mississippi and its tributaries also came

Geography, 352; De Brahm, *Philosophico-Historico-Hydrogeography of South Carolina, Georgia and East Florida* (Weston, Documents), 166; Webster, P., *Journal of a Voyage to Charlestown* (Southern History Assn., Publications, II), 136; Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina*, 296.

⁹³ Hall, C. C., *The Lords Baltimore and the Maryland Palatinate*, 193; Coxe, T., *View of the United States*, 297; Drayton, *View of South Carolina*, 113; Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, II, 128.

⁹⁴ *Tennessee Farmer*, I, 110; *Southern Agriculturist*, II, 98; XI, 132; *Southern Cultivator*, II, 190; III, 142; VI, 66; X, 120; XV, 13; *Cultivator*, X, 190; *De Bow's Review*, I, 75; VIII, 37; XXIV, 65; XXV, 389; Martineau, *Society in America*, II, 43; United States, Patent Office, *Annual Reports*, 1844, p. 149; 1854, *Agriculture*, 129, 184; *Southern Planter*, V, 121; *Farmer and Planter*, XI, 342; *Southern Silk Journal and Farmers' Register*, I, 1; South Carolina, Agricultural Survey, *Report* (Ruffin, 1843), p. 73, and App., pp. 7, 9; Proceedings of South Carolina Agricultural Society, in *Farmers' Register*, X, 455.

⁹⁵ *Carolina Planter* (1844-5), I, 42; cf. *Southern Agriculturist*, new series, IV, 87; *Farmers' Register*, IV, 711; VI, 93.

⁹⁶ Bachman, *Inquiry into the Nature and Benefits of an Agricultural Survey of South Carolina*, 40; Fisher, C., *Report on the Establishment of Cotton and Woolen Manufactories* (N. C., Bd. of Agric., *Papers*, III), 47; cf. also *Farmer's Journal*, II, 83; *The Arator*, I, 183.

⁹⁷ Editorial in *Farmers' Register*, II, 611; cf. also *ibid.*, VII, 648.

⁹⁸ Wright, J., *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, III, Pt. 2), p. 165; La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, II, 411, 448. According to Drayton, the inland swamp plantations were capable of producing plantation supplies, but on the river swamp plantations there was a deficiency of available land. *View of South Carolina*, 120.

to be characterized by a high degree of dependence, partly because of their special adaptability to economical cotton production, and partly because of the ease with which food supplies could be brought by water from the border States.

In the colonial period, as in the post colonial period, the degree of commercialism waxed and waned with the price of the product.⁹⁹ Besides the periods or temporary price depression, there were sections normally commercial in which commercial agriculture became for long periods unprofitable, as in parts of Virginia and Maryland. Because of reluctance to sell family slaves, the formerly commercial planter was compelled to become a self-sufficing planter, seeking to support his "family." Sometimes such a planter was forced to move to regions where conditions for food production were more favorable.¹⁰⁰

SPECIALIZATION VERSUS DIVERSIFICATION IN AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATION

In plantation areas commercial agriculture was characterized by a tendency to specialize in production of a single market crop. Hence, the opposite tendency toward diversification represented a diversion of industrial resources to the production of commodities for the use of the producer and his "family," rather than to other commercial products. The same conditions, therefore, which favored commercialism also favored the tendency to concentrate upon the production of a single staple. Publicists and reformers raged against the practice, and periods of depression temporarily forced the planter to diversify his industry; but normally the tendency was toward the so-called one-crop system. Even in upper South Carolina, where the plantation system was less extremely commercial than in central Alabama or along the lower Mississippi, it was stated about 1840:¹⁰¹

"Most men, who consider themselves practical men, and go for five or six bales to the hand, say nothing if the overseer gets in the quota of cotton. They sell their cotton, and buy corn, and *sometimes* they buy pork for bacon. But on these plantations it is a rare thing for a regular allowance of meat to be given out. It is an old saying familiar to the farmer, that 'bought corn never fattens any thing'. . . . With most planters a large crop of cotton is aimed at, and habit and faith in the advance of the market always make them look to cotton alone."

In the sugar and rice regions the tendency to specialization was even greater, for the desire to employ the limited labor force most profitably was intensified by the fact that regions of the South suitable for production of these crops were more severely limited even than for cotton.¹⁰²

Like other Southern economic characteristics, the one-crop system has been attributed to slavery. It is true, the routine and simplicity in production of a single market crop were favorable to economy of supervision. Moreover, the influence of slavery in checking immigration created a scarcity of labor and pre-

⁹⁹ *Southern Planter*, V, 121; *Dollar Farmer*, III, 99, 135; *The Cotton Plant*, I, 332; *Agriculturist*, IV, 126; *Farmers' Register*, V, 294. Concerning the stimulation of self-sufficiency during periods of low prices for tobacco in colonial Virginia and Maryland, see above, p. 231.

¹⁰⁰ La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, III, 210; Eddis, *Letters from America*, 95-100; *American Husbandry*, I, 279, 286-288.

¹⁰¹ *Carolina Planter* (1840), p. 17.

¹⁰² Hodgson, *Letters from North America*, I, 202-207; La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, II, 449.

vented the development of home markets. Fundamentally, however, the one-crop system was a result of the selective influence of economic competition leading to world-wide specialization. Certain parts of the South comprised the only extensive region in the world where both natural and social conditions were peculiarly favorable to the commercial production of cotton and tobacco. In such regions profits in times of normal prices were such that planters were loath to employ labor or land for other crops to a greater extent than was absolutely necessary.¹⁰³ Furthermore, the staple crops of the South were nearly all-year crops, and it was difficult to find sufficient time when labor could be used for other products without withdrawing it from the staple crop that was most profitable.¹⁰⁴

Southern planters clung tenaciously to raising their staple crops, even when prices were too low to be profitable.¹⁰⁵ In the case of large plantations this tendency was due in part to immobility of industrial organization. The habits, training, and organization of the labor force, experience of the overseer, and plantation equipment were especially adapted to the one market crop. Even when in temporary periods it might have paid to grow other crops for sale, there was no established market mechanism for the purpose. Thus, in 1855 cotton farmers of west Tennessee raised an unusually large crop of wheat, but, except for districts having river or railway transportation, the surplus could scarcely be sold for 50 cents a bushel, although planters on the upper Tombigbee in Mississippi were paying \$15 a barrel for flour.¹⁰⁶ Another cause of the inelasticity of supply of short-staple cotton was the fact that prices of slaves, and to a less degree of land, reflected the long-time changes in prices of cotton, although with some lag in adjustment.¹⁰⁷ Consequently, when cotton was low, interest on the capital invested in slaves and land tended to become lower. While such a change forced deeply indebted planters into bankruptcy, nevertheless the lowered expenses of production induced other planters and farmers to continue production,¹⁰⁸ for planters under obligation to make regular money payments to their creditors were under the necessity of raising the commercial crop even at unprofitable prices.¹⁰⁹ The tendency was further emphasized by the fact that when cotton was low in price food supplies also tended to fall, due to decline in plantation demand for such products. Hence, plantation expenses for purchased food tended to fall with the price of cotton, making it easier to continue cotton production.¹¹⁰

It is probable that the characteristic tendency in commercial planting regions

¹⁰³ Hodgson, *Letters from North America*, I, 202-207; *Southern Agriculturist*, I, 62; III, 122; *Southern Cultivator*, III, 119; Tennessee, State Agricultural Bureau, *Second Biennial Report*, 1856-1857, p. 572. Concerning the operation of similar farms in making wheat the single commercial crop in the early years of the upper Mississippi valley, see Thompson, "Movement of Wheat Growing," in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XVIII, 570.

¹⁰⁴ See below, p. 479, 707.

¹⁰⁵ *Farmer and Planter*, I, 50.

¹⁰⁶ "Prize Essay on the Development and Resources of West Tennessee," in Tennessee, State Agricultural Bureau, *First Biennial Report*, 1855-1856, pp. 195, 199.

¹⁰⁷ See pp. 644, 664, 667.

¹⁰⁸ Hodgson, *Letters from North America*, I, 202-207; *Southern Cultivator*, XVI, 91.

¹⁰⁹ *Carolina Planter* (1840), p. 17; *Southern Cultivator*, VII, 116; cf. Hammond, M. B., *Cotton Industry*, 158. Concerning a similar tendency in the colonial tobacco industry, see above, p. 276.

¹¹⁰ *Southern Agriculturist*, I, 63; *Southern Cultivator*, III, 142; *De Bow's Review*, XII, 187.

toward an economy that stressed maximum current money income was not favorable to the rapid accumulation of wealth over a long period. It involved the neglect of soil conservation and the numerous petty economies that contribute toward accumulation. The waste of the soil necessitated periodically heavy expenses in the purchase of land. The large money returns of fortunate years stimulated extravagance in the planting class, a tendency naturally promoted by the necessity of maintaining external evidences of superiority over economic and social inferiors, and by traditions that favored emulation in consumption. Economic rivalry also took the form of attempting to acquire the ownership of a large slave force, justifying the accusation that the planter was engaged in a vicious circle of making "cotton to buy negroes, to make cotton to buy more negroes."¹¹¹ It has been claimed that the scarcity of capital was intensified by the capitalization of the services of the slave. In so far as the slaves were purchased from outside the section, the value invested was a drain on the capital of the section. In the case of slaves derived from within the section, the capitalization of their services, of course, created a fund of value equal to the aggregate capital which individuals must invest in them.¹¹²

That the South in general, and particularly the lower South, was continuously a debtor region was partly due to the requirements for new capital on account of the exigencies of expansion. But the relative poverty of the South, as compared with the North, was largely the result of a system of rural economy characterized by extravagance both in production and consumption, a system that concentrated a large proportion of the money income in the hands of a relatively small percentage of the population. A large proportion of the remaining white population were pushed into isolated regions where they pursued a largely self-sufficing economy, characterized by a great deal of laborious work unrelieved by labor-saving devices that might have been provided under a commercial economy, alternating with long periods of leisure.

There were not lacking Southerners who condemned the extravagance and wastefulness of the plantation régime. One of the most convincing was General George McDuffie, of South Carolina. He preached the gospel of a greater degree of plantation self-sufficiency, which he believed to be consistent with the production of nearly as much cotton as before. In great detail he attempted to show how the planters of upper South Carolina could avoid importing feed, horses, and mules; and he urged them to discontinue the costly practice of depending on credit obtained at 10 to 20 per cent interest. He declared:¹¹³

"We cannot compete with the planters of Alabama and Mississippi, in a wild and destructive system, by which even they have sunk under embarrassment and ruin, with all their advantages of soil and climate. We can make up for our inferior soil and climate only by a superior system of husbandry. While they are exhausting their soil and pre-

¹¹¹ *Agriculturist*, III, 255.

¹¹² This fact is also recognized by U. B. Phillips. "Economic Cost of Slaveholding in the Cotton Belt," in *Political Science Quarterly*, XX, 271-275.

¹¹³ Address before the State Agricultural Society of South Carolina, reprinted in *Carolina Planter* (1840), pp. 378-380, and in *Farmers' Register*, IX, 91-95.

venting the natural increase of their slaves by a reckless system of pushing and driving, let us improve the fertility of the one, by resting and manuring it, and increase the number of the other, by moderate working and by providing everything necessary for their health and comfort."

These admonitions, however, fell largely on dull ears, and they were even actively denounced by leading planters.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ See, for instance, article signed "Short Staple," in *Carolina Planter* (1840), p. 2.

CHAPTER XX

ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY AND COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGES OF NEGRO SLAVERY UNDER THE PLANTATION SYSTEM

Nature of the Question, 462. Some Characteristics of Negro Slave Labor in the South, 464. Comparative Efficiency of Negro Slaves, 467. Various Conclusions Concerning Efficiency of Negro Slaves, 469. Economic Aspects of Maintaining the Stock of Slaves, 471. Influence of Capitalization on Competitive Strength of Slave Labor, 473. Principal Basis of the Competitive Superiority of Slave Labor, 474. Relation of the Economy of Slave Labor to the Supply of Land, 475. The Influence and Significance of Inter-Regional Competition, 477. Competitive Advantages of the Plantation System, 478.

NATURE OF THE QUESTION

The tendency for slave labor to displace free labor where conditions were favorable to producing and marketing the staples raises the question as to what economic characteristics gave slavery an advantage over rival systems of labor. The competitive advantages of servitude as compared with slavery, described in an earlier chapter,¹ were largely inherent in the respective characteristics of the two methods of obtaining and employing labor. It by no means follows that free white labor would be at a similar disadvantage in competition with Negro slavery. The consideration of this question need not involve either the ethical aspects of slavery or its general social and economic advantages and disadvantages from the standpoint of national or sectional welfare.²

The discussion of efficiency of Negro slave labor has been befogged by a failure to distinguish between those industrial qualities peculiar to Negro labor and those attributable to the influence of slavery. There has been a tendency to assume that all the laziness and incapacity exhibited by the Negro are ascribable to his status as a slave.³ This confusion has been largely the outgrowth of the arbitrary assumption that slave labor must be inherently less economic than free labor because slave labor is given grudgingly and half-heartedly, while free labor is spurred by self-interest. Turgot and Adam Smith developed this attitude,⁴ and it soon became a commonplace of economic generalization, accepted even by some Southern writers.⁵ Francis A. Walker gave the formula an eloquent

¹ See above, pp. 361-371.

² Concerning the latter phase, see below, pp. 940-942.

³ For instances, see *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, XXVIII, 197; Hammond, M. B., *Cotton Industry*, 94-99; Brown, W. G., *Lower South in American History*, 29. Among those who have kept clear of this confusion are the following: Stone, "Some Problems of Southern Economic History," in *American Historical Review*, XIII, 779 *et seq.*; also Ulrich Bonnell Phillips in various writings on Southern economic history.

⁴ Turgot, *Reflections on the Formation and Distribution of Wealth*, 21; Smith, A., *Wealth of Nations*, I, 364; *cf.* for other instances, Roscher, *Principles of Political Economy*, I, Bk. I, Chap. IV; Nicholson, *Principles of Political Economy*, I, 82, 239, 359. For an interesting outline of economic doctrine on slavery, see Phillips, U. B., *American Negro Slavery*, Chap. XVIII.

⁵ For instances, see Cooper, *Elements of Political Economy*, 106; Harrison, J. B., *Review of the Slave Question*, 12; Raymond, *Comparative Economy of Free and Slave Labor in Agriculture*, 12. For a contrary statement, see Ruffin, *Diary*, II, No. 430, p. 596 (Manuscripts, Library of Congress).

presentation: "The whip," he wrote, "only stimulates the flesh on which it is laid. It does not reach the parts of the man where lie the springs of action. No brutality of rule can evoke even the whole physical power of a human being."⁶ Cairnes recognized three fundamental elements of inefficiency in slave labor: "It is given reluctantly; it is unskillful; it is wanting in versatility."⁷

The two latter points in Cairnes' analysis were probably true enough of the great body of American Negro slaves. They were lacking in skill and versatility judged by the standards of a highly diversified industrial life; but such qualities are not necessarily a severe economic handicap for an extractive economy. John Stuart Mill recognized this point and accepted the classical formula of general inefficiency with some reservations.⁸ Mill's caution was also justified by an obstinate fact that had been either disregarded or inadequately explained by exponents of the dogma, namely, the ability shown by slave labor in the West Indies and the South to displace free labor under certain conditions. Frequently slave labor was very profitable. Adam Smith himself had recognized this fact, but he reconciled it with his general belief in the inefficiency of slave labor by the vague assumption that slave labor was tolerable in certain plantation regions because the sugar and tobacco industries were so intrinsically profitable that they were able to prosper in spite of the inefficiency of slave labor. Smith and others also explained the survival of slavery in certain regions on the ground that climatic conditions excluded the employment of white labor, but Cairnes definitely rejected this explanation as applied to the greater part of the South.⁹

Mill's brief but trenchant discussion, combined with the inductive approach of the German Historical School and the concept of social evolution, had the effect of introducing an element of relativity into the consideration of the economics of slavery.¹⁰ The admission that Negro slave labor might be as efficient as free white labor under certain economic conditions gradually became fruitful in leading to some discussion of the nature of these conditions. A number of writers have reached the conclusion that these are: (1) a one-crop system, permitting the routinizing of operations; (2) crops requiring year-round employment of labor, thus preventing slave owners from suffering loss through idleness of labor, a loss mainly borne by the laborer himself under the wage system; (3) crops permitting employment of a large amount of labor on a small amount of land, thus simplifying the problem of supervision. Conversely, it has been assumed that Negro slave labor is not effective in general farming or in non-agricultural operations.¹¹ This tendency of thought has also laid special stress on the relationship of population to land and has led to the conclusion that slavery tends to prosper where population is sparse, and inevitably becomes

⁶ *Wages Question*, 73.

⁷ *The Slave Power*, 39. His analysis was quoted with approval by others. For instances, see Fawcett, *Manual of Political Economy*, 312; Seligman, *Principles of Economics*, 158.

⁸ *Principles of Political Economy*, I, 294-300.

⁹ Smith, A., *Wealth of Nations*, I, 365; Cairnes, *The Slave Power*, 34-36.

¹⁰ A notable contribution to this general point of view is made by Nieboer, *Slavery as an Industrial System*.

¹¹ For instances, see Simons, *Social Forces in American History*, 223; Cairnes, *The Slave Power*, 42; Fawcett, *Manual of Political Economy*, 313-316.

decadent with increasing population density.¹² These conclusions will require later analysis.

One essential fallacy of Smith and his followers was in assuming that if slave labor be less efficient in terms of physical performance than free labor, the former must thereby be "dearer." The two things are not necessarily identical. Even though white labor be superior to Negro slave labor in economic skill and adaptability, it is conceivable that the superior cheapness of the Negro slave might result in enabling his master to overbid white labor in competition for land or to undersell it in disposal of products. As early as 1803 Jean Baptiste Say had pointed out that the owner of a slave was in a position to deprive him of all but subsistence, and this fact, he argued, explained the large profits of San Domingo planters.¹³ Adam Smith himself had recognized the fact that the slave might be compelled to work for bare subsistence, but he swept it aside with the general argument that slave labor was dear because inefficient through lack of inducement.¹⁴

Say's significant point was not followed out in subsequent discussions of the competitive power of slavery, although occasionally admitted as a fact.¹⁵ Generally the two points of view have been inextricably confused. Thus, Hodgson, who undertook to refute Say's point, argued that if slave labor were cheaper than free labor it should hire for less, whereas he presented certain selected statistics to prove that the hire of slave labor was greater.¹⁶ It would appear rather strange, however, that the less productive and efficient labor would hire for more, and therefore Hodgson's argument proved too much. He and others discussed the relative cost of the two forms of labor and showed slave labor to be the more expensive by including interest and depreciation on capital value in costs through confusing phenomena growing out of the capitalization of a surplus over costs with the actual costs of utilizing labor.¹⁷ Still others, for instance, James Raymond, while admitting that slaves were given a coarser and cheaper kind of subsistence, believed they made up for this by greater wastefulness in using it.¹⁸

It is desirable to consider these various theories in the light of the facts.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF NEGRO SLAVE LABOR IN THE SOUTH

The relative efficiency of the Negro slave can be considered without reference to the responsibility of slavery for making him what he was, and also without

¹² This point of view was foreshadowed in the discussion by Roscher (*Principles of Political Economy*, I, Chap. IV), J. S. Mill (*Principles of Political Economy*, I, 294-300), and Cairnes (*The Slave Power*, 44-46). For modern formulation under the influence of the evolutionary concept, see Loria, *Economic Synthesis*, 95-99; Simons, *Social Forces in American History*, 236, 262; Seligman, *Principles of Economics*, 157-161; Hadley, *Economics*, 27-29.

¹³ *Treatise on Political Economy*, I, 215-217.

¹⁴ *Wealth of Nations*, I, 82.

¹⁵ Gibson, *Human Economics*, 93; Cairnes, *The Slave Power*, 39.

¹⁶ Letter to Say, on the comparative expense of free and slave labor, reprinted in *Remarks during a Journey through North America*, 297-299.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 291-299; Cooper, *Elements of Political Economy*, 107. For discussion of the significance of capitalization in the case of slaves, see below, p. 473.

¹⁸ *Comparative Economy of Free and Slave Labor*, 13.

reference to the vexed question of his capacity for progress or for the assimilation of culture, a problem whose solution depends upon further development of anthropological science.¹⁹

Southern slaves were by no means racially homogeneous. Not only were they of various degrees of mixture between blacks and whites, but also of different African stocks, some of them probably not Negroid, being offshoots from Bantu or Fulah stock.²⁰ Before the suppression of the slave trade planters distinguished shrewdly these ethnic differences, appraising their characteristic qualities at commercial values.²¹ On the other hand, the social environment tended to reduce them to a uniform psychic plane, for the majority lived under similar surroundings.

Many of the qualities of the Southern plantation Negro were common to other races. Uncontrolled by inhibitions that hedge in civilized societies, the plantation Negro was credulous and superstitious—the natural prey of the charlatan and the quack. The primitive Negro was characterized by a peculiarly unstable mental life. His anger and hatred lacked the sustained character of similar moods of the American Indians. In courage he was not wanting, but it was of the passional variety, proceeding from wild bursts of rage or jealousy. Rarely did he exhibit a love of wild daring or quiet self-control in face of danger. Frequently, however, he manifested a stolidity with regard to impending punishment which was the product of primitive insensibility. His so-called cowardice was partly an outgrowth of habitual inferiority, which was as much the result of circumstances as the attitude of domination among the whites; and his consciousness of the superiority of his master amounted to an obsession which made it easy for a determined white man to control a hundred Negroes.²² The primitive Negro's volubility and mendacity, the tendency to licentiousness, the emotional volatility—the quick transitions from hysterical joy and wild gaiety to despondency—these qualities were also as much manifestations of mental instability as of an unorganized mental life and undeveloped ethical consciousness.²³

This mental instability of plantation Negroes—the impulsiveness and immediacy of action, incapacity for constant and controlled attention, and lack of constructive power and continuous effort toward remote ends—was the foundation of their incapacity for self-direction, and accounts for their frequent failures as independent farmers and for the unfortunate immediate results of emancipation

¹⁹ See Tucker, G., *Letters from Virginia*, 73–103; Hoffman, *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro*; Tillinghast, *The Negro in Africa and America*, especially Pt. I, Chaps. IV–VI.

²⁰ Stone, "Mulatto Factor in the Race Problem," in *Atlantic Monthly*, XCI, 658–662; Thomas, W. H., *American Negro*, "Foreword," p. xix, and p. 175.

²¹ *Practical Rules for the Management and Medical Treatment of Negro Slaves in the Sugar Colonies*, Pt. I, Chap. I; Edwards, *British West Indies*, II, 60–76; Major, "With the Spanish Records of West Florida," in *Historical Society of East and West Baton Rouge, Proceedings*, II, 63; cf. *Southern Planter*, II, 40; Wallace, D. D., *Henry Laurens*, 76.

²² Cf. especially Thomas, W. H., *American Negro*, 60, 127; Bruce, P. A., *Plantation Negro as a Freeman*, 76 *et seq.*; Stone, "Mulatto Factor in the Race Problem," in *Atlantic Monthly*, XCI, 658 *et seq.*; Winston, "Relation of the Whites to the Negroes," in *Annals of the American Academy*, XVIII, 105–108.

²³ Thomas, W. H., *American Negro*, 111, 118–120, 177–197; Dyer, "Some Types in Dixie-Land," in *Cosmopolitan*, XXII, 235–246.

in the South and the West Indies.²⁴ These failures are not necessarily prophetic, but they confirm the belief of the majority of proslavery writers, shared by some antislavery writers, that the Negro was not ready for complete self-direction.²⁵

The same qualities that incapacitated Negroes for industrial autonomy also impaired somewhat their efficiency as agricultural laborers. There is abundant testimony concerning their carelessness, wastefulness, improvidence, and unreliability. A writer in the *American Farmer* said:²⁶

"There is, perhaps, not in Nature a more heedless, thoughtless human being than a Virginia field negro. With no care upon his mind, with warm clothing and plenty of food, under a good master, he is far the happier man of the two. His maxim is, 'Come day, go day, God send Sunday'."

Olmsted was impressed with repeated instances of waste and carelessness—especially in regions where plantation organization was least well developed. He mentions, for instance, the following observations:²⁷

"Gates left open and bars left down, against standing orders; rails removed from fences by the negroes, as was conjectured, to kindle their fires with; mules lamed, and implements broken, by careless usage; a flat-boat, carelessly secured, going adrift on the river; men ordered to cart rails for a new fence, depositing them so that a double expense of labor would be required to lay them, more than would have been needed if they had been placed, as they might almost as easily have been, by a slight exercise of forethought; men ordered to fill up holes made by alligators or craw-fish in an important embankment, discovered to have merely patched over the outside, having taken pains only to make it *appear* that they had executed their task—not having been overlooked while doing it, by a driver; men, not having performed duties that were entrusted to them, making statements which their owner was obliged to receive as sufficient excuse, though, he told me, he felt assured they were false—all going to show habitual carelessness, indolence, and mere eye-service."

Unquestionably Olmsted exaggerated the responsibility of slavery for these characteristics, which are frequently displayed by free Negro laborers working for themselves. It is further probable that a part of the carelessness and shiftlessness observed by Olmsted and others resulted from the lax supervision and easy-going spirit of interior regions where the economy was not predominantly commercial. Even Olmsted was impressed with the steadiness, strength, and effectiveness of Negro labor under systematic direction in the capitalistic cotton plantations of the Southwest.²⁸ A number of British travellers were similarly impressed with the skill and precision of plantation laborers in field work and compared them with hired laborers to the disadvantage of the latter.²⁹

²⁴ Hoffman, *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro*, Chap. VI; Banks, *Economics of Land Tenure in Georgia*, 72-77; Hammond, M. B., *Cotton Industry*, 189-191; Kelsey, *Negro Farmer*, Chaps. IV-VI; Phillips, U. B., "Economics of the Plantation," in *South Atlantic Quarterly*, II, 231-236.

²⁵ Among the antislavery writers who were strong disbelievers in immediate emancipation were Captain Basil Hall, Sir Charles Lyell, and Frederick Law Olmsted.

²⁶ 1 series, XV (1833-4), p. 139; cf. *Farmer and Planter*, V, 230.

²⁷ *Seaboard Slave States*, II, 114-116.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 114; *idem*, *Cotton Kingdom*, I, 13, 89, 118-136; *idem*, *Journey in the Back Country*, 432.

²⁹ See, for instance, Mallet, *Cotton*, 181; Wray, "Culture and Preparation of Cotton," in *Royal Society of Arts, Journal*, VII, 79.

Various discussions of the industrial capacity and efficiency of Negro slaves have failed to allow for the progress made by them during the ante bellum period. The great body of Negroes came to America ignorant savages. Care was requisite to prevent them from injuring themselves with the implements employed. It was necessary to teach them the simplest operations with hand tools and to instruct them in the elementary methods of living—how to cook, put on their clothing, and care for their houses. They had yet to learn the language and the ethics of civilization.³⁰ While the majority had no opportunity to acquire industrial experience beyond routine tasks of field husbandry, before the Revolution, as we have noted, Negroes were displacing indentured servants in various handicrafts. In time a large part of the handicraft work in Southern cities was carried on by slaves.³¹ Under competent supervision the Negro acquired peculiar skill in picking and hoeing cotton and other simple routine operations of field labor.³²

Negroes developed special skill in using the plow, in cradling, threshing, stripping tobacco, and in the care of livestock. There was notable progress after the close of the colonial period in the acreage of the various crops per hand.³³ Much of this, of course, reflected increased employment of horse-drawn implements, development of more effective implements, and more efficient methods of plantation organization and management; but part of this progress reflected the advance in personal efficiency, intelligence, and experience of slaves. Thus, Simons has divided the decennial statistics of total production of the South from 1800 to 1860 inclusive by the total slave population for each decennial year respectively with the following results:³⁴

1800.....	\$16.10	1840.....	\$37.11
1810.....	19.50	1850.....	43.51
1820.....	24.63	1860.....	51.90
1830.....	22.00		

These statistics, of course, disregard a good many things such as changes in price levels, influence of improved implements, and decline in domestic industries. The attribution of the entire Southern product to the slaves irrespective of the relative part produced by white labor is another source of possible error, even in the indication of trends. Nevertheless, the more than threefold increase in sixty years is probably not without considerable significance as an indication of progress in the efficiency of slave labor, in connection with the general progress in agricultural technique.

COMPARATIVE EFFICIENCY OF NEGRO SLAVES

Even in the colonial period a number of contemporary estimates indicate that the productivity of Negro slaves was approximately as great as that of white

³⁰ Robin, *Voyages*, III, 170; *De Bow's Review*, VIII, 234; *Southern Cultivator*, XVI, 234.

³¹ *South Carolina Gazette and General Advertiser* (Charleston), Nov. 29–Dec. 2, 1783; *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), June 5, 1755; *Virginia Independent Chronicle* (Richmond), Nov. 21, 1787; *Gazette of the State of South Carolina* (Charleston), Jan. 1, 1784; *Columbian Mirror and Alexandria Gazette* (Virginia), June 15, 1793; *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg, Purdie ed.), Mar. 17, 1775.

³² See below, p. 702.

³³ For specific figures, see pp. 707, 731, 737, 743.

³⁴ *Social Forces in American History*, 232.

hands. According to Rochefoucauld, a Negro could cultivate $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of tobacco, with an average product of 1,000 pounds per acre.³⁵ In the latter part of the seventeenth century white laborers in Delaware made from 2,000 to 3,000 pounds each.³⁶ Parkinson, who certainly did not come to America with any prepossession in favor of slave labor, declared:³⁷

"Notwithstanding the many irregularities to which these negroes subject their master, it is allowed that they are the best servants in America, . . . There are many reasons for it; They bear the heat of the sun much better than any white man, and are more dexterous with the hoe, and at all planting business. In pulling corn, I observed the black men to be much more expert than any white man, and so in everything appertaining to planting."

Colonel Landon Carter asserted, "Those few servants that we have don't do as much as the poorest slaves we have."³⁸ Washington, however, expressed the opinion that "Blacks are capable of much labour, but having (I am speaking generally) no ambition to establish a *good* name, they are too regardless of a *bad* one, and of course require more of the master's eye than the former"—that is, white laborers.³⁹ After the close of the colonial period there is evidence that for unskilled labor the Negro was not even absolutely inferior to white labor. Occasionally planters and other employers expressed their preference for Negroes as compared with unskilled Irish and Italian laborers. In 1842 the contractors of the James River Canal considered one Negro "equal to two Irishmen."⁴⁰ White laborers were sometimes notably inefficient. In 1838 a writer, speaking of conditions in northern Virginia, declared:⁴¹

"There is to the common laborer in this country every temptation to idleness. . . . How can it be expected that he will remain stationary with his employer at \$100 or \$150 a year, when for twenty, he can buy an old horse and second-hand cart, or steal them, and after begging his way to Illinois or Wisconsin, can squat on a quarter section of land."

Judging also by relative farm wages paid free laborers and hired slaves, the superiority of white laborers was not sufficiently great to lead to a very notable difference in the valuation of the services of the two classes of labor. About 1791, in Virginia, a white farm laborer for a year cost from £10 to £15 and board. The labor of a Negro slave commanded from £8 to £12 and board.⁴² In 1796 William Strickland reported that the usual price paid in Virginia for male slaves hired for farm labor was £9 per year and board and clothing. Unusu-

³⁵ *Travels*, III, 169.

³⁶ Read, *Some Leaves from the Early History of Delaware and Maryland* (Pamphlet read before the Delaware Historical Society, Sept. 24, 1868), p. 2.

³⁷ *Tour*, II, 420.

³⁸ *Diary* (William and Mary Quarterly, XX), 182.

³⁹ *Letters on Agriculture*, 61.

⁴⁰ Dew, *Review of the Debate of the Virginia Legislature of 1831 and 1832*, p. 126; Buckingham, *Slave States of America*, II, 112; Olmsted, F. L., *Journey through Texas*, 32; *American Farmer*, 1 series, X (1828-9), p. 273; Holmes, G. K., *Wages of Farm Labor* (U. S., Dept. Agric., Bur. of Statistics, *Bulletin* 99), pp. 14, 18, 22; *Southern Planter*, II, 36.

⁴¹ *Farmers' Register*, V, 747; *Farmer and Gardener*, IV, 409.

⁴² Washington, *Letters on Agriculture*, 61.

ally strong Negroes employed in digging the James River Canal had been paid for at the rate of £11 5s. each. Their maintenance and clothing were estimated at the same amount. Strickland estimated the annual cost of slave labor to the hirer, including maintenance, was £18 or about 1 shilling 2 pence per working day. In Maryland the service of a free black might be had for 1 shilling per day and of whites for 1 shilling 6 pence, but these items included no clothing and no obligation for medical attendance and loss of time through illness.⁴³ About 1849 hire of Negro male slaves in Tatnall County, Georgia, was \$80, and of women \$40, the marked difference probably being due to their employment in lumbering. White men were hired for \$10 per month, but received no clothing and assumed the risk of illness or other incapacity.⁴⁴ In 1857 able-bodied male field hands were being hired out in Maryland for \$120 to \$150 per year besides board. Common Irish laborers received \$1 per day throughout the year and boarded themselves, besides losing their wages when not working. Near Burlington, Vermont, farm laborers were hired by the year at \$150 and board at the employer's table. In the Genessee valley wages were \$16 a month for eight months and \$12 a month for the other four.⁴⁵ In these cases, of course, the hand would lose his time in case of protracted illness.

VARIOUS CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING EFFICIENCY OF NEGRO SLAVES

Many contemporary writers, including some of proslavery sympathies, assumed that slave labor was intrinsically uneconomical as compared with free labor in general farming.⁴⁶ Yet, in the physical operations of general farming slaves frequently displayed considerable skill. A contemporary writer asserted, "In the use of the axe, hoe, scythe and cradle, or driving and training teams, the practiced Negro of Georgia is surpassed by few white men I ever saw."⁴⁷ It was admitted by some observers that slaves could cultivate as large an acreage of corn or wheat per hand as could a free laborer.⁴⁸ Even in the care of livestock it was possible to find reliable individual Negroes to whom these functions could be entrusted. The inferiority of Negro slave labor in general farming was not due to the incapacity of the Negro to perform the manual operations involved, most of which, in that period when farm machinery was but little employed, were not more complex than in producing the staples. Indeed, general farming with slave labor at times proved successful. Where it was unprofitable, this was due mainly to three conditions: (1) A larger amount of supervision per unit of labor was required than in less diversified forms of agriculture, which is also true when free Negro or white labor is employed; (2) In a number of regions general farming was severely handicapped for lack of a home market; (3) The competitive superiority of cotton and sugar enabled planters employing virgin soils to offer higher prices for slaves than could be afforded in general farming.⁴⁹

⁴³ *Report to the [British] Board of Agriculture* (Farmers' Register, III), 207.

⁴⁴ White, G., *Statistics of Georgia*, 535.

⁴⁵ Russell, R., *North America, Its Agriculture and Climate*, 135-137.

⁴⁶ *Farmers' Register*, I, 39.

⁴⁷ *Southern Cultivator*, VI, 67; cf. *De Bow's Review*, IX, 422.

⁴⁸ Russell, R., *North America, Its Agriculture and Climate*, 140-142.

⁴⁹ See below, p. 477.

Much of the contemporary opinion of antislavery critics concerning the intrinsic inefficiency of Negro slavery was due to attributing to slavery such characteristics of Southern agriculture as soil wastage, extensive methods of cultivation, and the one-crop system. As already noted, these practices were attributable mainly to a sparse labor supply in proportion to land resources and to the superiority of the South for the production of certain great staples. The assertion made by a Southerner that "an *improving* system of agriculture cannot be carried on by slaves" was amply disproved in certain regions and periods.⁵⁰

The dogma was frequently put forward that Negro slaves could not be trusted with the use of machinery, and it was held that this would forever deter the development of manufacturing in the South. Some Southerners were also convinced of this, and occasionally were pessimistic as to the successful operation of farm machinery by slaves.⁵¹ The fact that the great majority of Negroes had had little or no mechanical training was no proof that they were incapable of learning. About 1818 a Negro slave of Fauquier County, Virginia, was reported to have invented a machine for cutting corn and at the same time preparing the land for a subsequent crop.⁵² The readiness with which innumerable members of the race in recent years have adapted themselves to the mysteries of the gas engine in automobile repair work, to the use of farm machinery, and to various other mechanical employments indicates the fallacy of these assumptions. Before the Civil War Negro slaves had demonstrated their ability to operate factory machinery.⁵³

The essential question is not whether the South would have been better off if its entire population had been made up of white laborers of western European origin working under the wages system; but whether the South could have employed the African Negro, after he was brought to this country, in any more effective manner; and more than this, why the Negro slave, in spite of the alleged inferiority of slavery as a method of stimulating exertion, was able to displace the economy of free small farmers.

For one thing, considering the characteristic immediacy of the primitive Negro, it is probable that the rewards and punishments of the plantation system were more powerful stimuli than the rewards of industry would have been for him under a system of free labor. By no means were all slaves sullen, wretched, and driven cattle, working only under the lash.⁵⁴ On the smaller plantations, especially, they felt an interest in the affairs of the plantation, and their advice was not infrequently asked by the master. In many cases they took pride in the master's wealth and prosperity, tacitly accepting the position of inferiority and subordination—a position that probably caused them little sorrow.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Harrison, J. B., *Review of the Slave Question*, 10; Fawcett, *Manual of Political Economy*, 317. See above, p. 447.

⁵¹ Harrison, J. B., *Review of the Slave Question*, 11.

⁵² *Niles' Weekly Register*, XV, 80.

⁵³ See below, p. 934.

⁵⁴ The insensibility of many primitive races to the ignominy of slavery was pointed out with many illustrations by Roscher in 1854. *Principles of Political Economy*, I, Chap. IV, Sec. LXIX.

⁵⁵ *Southern Agriculturist*, III, 601; *De Bow's Review*, XXV, 53; Lyell, *Second Visit to the United States*, II, 78-82.

Slavery as an industrial system possessed certain positive advantages even as compared with the system of wage labor. From the standpoint of the employer, slavery provided a stable labor supply. Barring ordinary accidents and sickness, the laborer's services were always available—an important advantage in large-scale farming.⁵⁶ There was possibly a certain degree of economic inelasticity in the supply of labor, particularly at harvest time, when there was little surplus labor except children;⁵⁷ and slave labor flowed less readily than free labor to the type of employment promising greatest economic opportunity,⁵⁸ due partly to lack of diversity in the Negro's economic experience, partly to the difficulties in transferring the capital values of the slave's labor.⁵⁹ As compared with serfdom, however, slavery possessed the manifest advantage that the laborer could be moved to the point of greatest productive advantage, while the serf was bound to a particular manor.⁶⁰ It was found practicable to employ slave women in field labor, as well as men, while throughout America custom did not ordinarily sanction the employment of white women in the fields. Furthermore, it was practicable to use child labor from a comparatively early age in such activities as worming and suckering tobacco and picking cotton.⁶¹ Slavery involved no problem of unemployment, and the system bred no lockouts, blacklists, and strikes.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF MAINTAINING THE STOCK OF SLAVES

Although normally there was a considerable surplus over current costs of subsistence in employing the labor of healthy field hands, this does not demonstrate the existence of a lifetime surplus—that is, a total return from the entire labor of the slaves in excess of the lifetime costs of maintaining them. When slaves were obtained by importation, it was customary generally to bring in adults, but this source of supply became comparatively unimportant after the prohibition of the slave trade. It became necessary, therefore, to depend largely on rearing slaves from birth to working age, as well as to maintain those who were sick or disabled by accident or old age.

The question of the profitableness of rearing slaves to working age was not without some connection with the costs and possibilities of importation. In the West Indies, for instance, some planters accepted the principle that it was "cheaper to purchase a negro than to breed one up."⁶² Humboldt asserts that in Cuba he heard "discussed with the greatest coolness, the question whether it was better for the proprietor not to overwork his slaves, and consequently have to replace them with less frequency, or whether he should get all he could out of them in a few years, and thus have to purchase newly imported Africans more

⁵⁶ For presentation of this point of view, see *Southern Planter*, I, 138, 157; Ruffin, "Slavery and Free Labor Defined and Compared," in *ibid.*, XIX, 731; *De Bow's Review*, VIII, 71; *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, XXIX, 327.

⁵⁷ Hildreth makes much of this disadvantage. *Despotism in America*, 119.

⁵⁸ Raymond, *Comparative Economy of Free and Slave Labor*, 3-6.

⁵⁹ See below, p. 474.

⁶⁰ Phillips, U. B., *American Negro Slavery*, 346.

⁶¹ Russell, R., *North America, Its Agriculture and Climate*, 142.

⁶² Pinckard, *Notes on the West Indies*, II, 465; *Practical Rules for the Management and Medical Treatment of Negro Slaves in the Sugar Colonies*, 18, 130.

frequently."⁶³ For the British West Indies, during the colonial period, estimates of the net annual decrease of the slave stock to be replaced by importation ranged from 4 to 7 per cent.⁶⁴ However, West Indian conditions in this regard were essentially different from conditions in the South. The West Indies were nearer the source of supply, and consequently newly imported slaves came somewhat cheaper.⁶⁵ On account of density of population and high price of land the cost of rearing slaves to maturity was very much greater than in the South. Finally, the heavy labors of sugar planting made adult male slaves in the West Indies more economical than women and children, and there tended to be a preference for importing males, resulting in a large disproportion in numbers of the sexes.⁶⁶ Apologists for the slavery system in the Islands lay emphasis on this third cause of depreciation in slave stocks. Antislavery writers allege a deliberate policy of working slaves to death because of cheapness of importation.

There is some evidence that so long as the slave trade to the American Continent was open, there was a tendency in the rice district of South Carolina and the sugar region of Louisiana toward a policy of relying largely on importation, although profitableness of importation, as compared with maintaining the slave stock by natural means, was relatively less than in the West Indies.⁶⁷ In the latter part of the ante bellum period there were well managed rice estates where there was a considerable net annual increase,⁶⁸ but they were probably exceptional. Normally rice planters barely maintained their slave stock, and to do so required good management.⁶⁹ This was due less to mistreatment or overwork than to insalubrity of conditions of work in the rice swamps.⁷⁰ In the neighboring sea-island cotton plantations, where conditions of labor were far more healthful, there was a normal annual increase of 4 to 8 per cent.⁷¹ In short-staple cotton and tobacco regions the increase of slave stock was regarded as an important source of plantation income, but estimates of rate of increase are conflicting. Jefferson thought 4 per cent was the normal rate in Virginia.⁷² Forty years later Edmund Ruffin estimated the rate at 7 to 10 per cent.⁷³ This estimate, however, probably allowed for appreciation in value. In 1838 a writer discussing conditions in Amherst and Nelson counties, Virginia, estimated the average increase at only 3 per cent a year; but it was not unusual, even in the lower South, to count on an annual increase of 5 per cent.⁷⁴

⁶³ Cuba, 227.

⁶⁴ Report of the Committee of the Jamaica Assembly on the Sugar Trade, in Edwards, *British West Indies*, II, 490; Benezet, *Guinea and the Slave Trade*, 72; Burke, Edm., *European Settlements in America*, II, 124-126; *American Husbandry*, II, 138.

⁶⁵ See above, p. 368.

⁶⁶ Edwards, *British West Indies*, II, 113. See also Humboldt, *Cuba*, 213-215.

⁶⁷ *Southern Cultivator*, VII, 69; Flint, *Geography and History of the Western States*, I, 527; *American Husbandry*, I, 394, 407; Stokes, *Constitution of the British Colonies*, 414.

⁶⁸ Olmsted, F. L., *Seaboard Slave States*, II, 46; *De Bow's Review*, XIV, 70; *Southern Cultivator*, XVI, 273; *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, XV, 378.

⁶⁹ Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, I, 148; Russell, R., *Culture of Carolina Rice*, 11.

⁷⁰ Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, I, 159; Hall, B., *Travels in North America*, III, 188; Russell, R., *North America, Its Agriculture and Climate*, 179.

⁷¹ Cf. statement of Colonel Allston, in *De Bow's Review*, XVI, 594.

⁷² Washington, *Letters on Agriculture*, 70.

⁷³ *Essay on Calcareous Manures*, 73.

⁷⁴ *Farmers' Register*, V, 8; *De Bow's Review*, VII, 437; XVI, 594; Russell, W. H., *My Diary North and South*, I, 397; *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, XV, 379; XXXI, 640.

Although the net increase of slave stock was an important item in plantation income and profits, especially in the border States, merely rearing slaves for sale was not profitable, since increase would constitute by itself only a very moderate interest on capital, with no allowance whatever for costs of maintenance. Consequently it did not pay to keep a larger force than was needed to cultivate the land.⁷⁵ In fact, about 1835, when agriculture in Virginia and Maryland was just recovering from a long depression, it did not appear feasible to earn a reasonable return on invested capital from increase of slave stock plus the proceeds from hiring their labor to others, nor from its employment by the owner, except under very efficient management.⁷⁶

INFLUENCE OF CAPITALIZATION ON COMPETITIVE STRENGTH OF SLAVE LABOR

The actual basis of the competitive power of Negro slavery was greatly obscured by capitalization, for the prospective series of annual incomes from the ownership of a slave were capitalized on the same principle as a terminable annuity or any other terminable use-bearer. In the case of the slave the process of capitalization involved more obscurity than for bonds or other contractually predetermined income, for it was necessary to anticipate future earnings. As compared with land, the valuation of the slave involved the uncertainties of loss by sudden death or incapacity for labor through disability. Although the actuarial risk presumably was discounted in the purchase price of slaves, the possibility of loss by death was a considerable element in the risks of the individual planter. The risk was greater for small than for large planters, and this fact, accentuated by the rising prices of slaves, appears to have been one of the reasons for the concentration of slave ownership that occurred just before the Civil War.⁷⁷ In the last two decades before the Civil War insurance companies were beginning to insure the lives of slaves,⁷⁸ but it is doubtful if there was a widespread tendency for planters to avail themselves of this form of protection.

About the period of the Revolutionary War slaves were reported to be capitalized at 4 to 6 times the average annual hire.⁷⁹ In 1791 Jefferson estimated the ratio at 5 to 1. In Missouri, just before the Civil War, the rates of hire by the year averaged about 14 per cent of capital values in the case of male slaves and about 6 per cent for female slaves.⁸⁰

As already noted, the question of the relative competitive advantages of slave labor and of free labor was confused from time to time by a tendency to assume that the interest and replacement fund calculated at a certain rate on the capital value of the slave was an extra cost which the employer of free labor did not have to assume, representing therefore a special and notable disadvantage in the case of slave labor. Such an assumption, however, was the reflection of incorrect economic analysis. When capitalization was accurately effected, the series of

⁷⁵ Russell, R., *North America, Its Agriculture and Climate*, 136.

⁷⁶ For discussion and illustration, see *Farmers' Register*, II, 253.

⁷⁷ *De Bow's Review*, XXV, 489.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, 275; X, 241; XIV, advertisement; Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland*, 91.

⁷⁹ Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 148.

⁸⁰ Trexler, *Slavery in Missouri*, 31.

successive incomes as they became available actually were equivalent to interest and replacement; for interest and replacement would have been allowed for in the relatively low value that the owner paid for the services of the slave, capitalized on a terminable basis. In short, the process of capitalization obscures the fact that the so-called interest on investment and the replacement fund constitute actually the surplus over cost of maintenance appropriable from the ownership of the slave.⁸¹

Of course, in a process of valuation involving anticipation of the future, actual income and capitalized future income are likely to involve serious discrepancies, not only in individual cases, but even at times over large areas. Many farmers do not figure carefully interest earned on their investment.⁸² Furthermore, the individual operator might make the services of the slave earn more through good management or less through poor management than had been allowed for in the process of market valuation.

PRINCIPAL BASIS OF THE COMPETITIVE SUPERIORITY OF SLAVE LABOR

An understanding of the reasons for the competitive superiority of slave labor as compared with free labor in regions favorable to the commercial production of staples rests on a comparatively simple basis. In the New World, with its abundance of fertile land, labor, when employed with a reasonable degree of efficiency, could produce a volume of physical goods larger than the bare requisites of its subsistence from birth to death. The owner of the slave had legally appropriated his services for life, and therefore was in a position to appropriate the surplus above the requisites of subsistence. Of course, land, equipment, and supervision were necessary to employ this labor productively, but these requisites exist also in the employment of free labor. The physical surplus might disappear for a time on account of crop failure and price fluctuations might also cause the value surplus to vanish for short periods, but normally there was both a physical and a value surplus for the full lifetime of the slave, which was appropriable by reason of the institution of slavery.

It was this appropriable surplus that gave slave labor under plantation organization an irresistible ability to displace free labor, whether hired or engaged in production on family-sized farms. Substantially, the minimum level of competition in the case of slave labor was bare subsistence. The planter was able, if necessary, to produce at price levels that left little more than the expense of maintaining the slave. White labor could bid no lower. As a matter of fact, however, the basis of competition rarely reached so low a level. There were extensive areas of fertile land where white labor could find an outlet for its energies without coming into acute competition with slave labor. Where free white labor did come into direct competition with slave labor in the South there resulted the process of geographical segregation already pointed out. The pos-

⁸¹ In considering the rent of mines the present writer has previously discussed this point—that both the so-called rent and the royalty, or replacement fund, are parts of the same thing, namely the economic rent, or appropriable surplus. "Rent under the Assumption of Exhaustibility," in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XXVIII, 481.

⁸² Ware, *Notes on Political Economy*, 102.

session of areas suitable to the marketing of products was of vital importance to the owner of slaves, for otherwise he could enjoy the surplus product of their labor only in the form of a food surplus, which it was impossible to consume, or in an excess of personal services. In competition for the locations favorable to commercial agriculture the planter was able, if necessary, to pay a portion of the annual value of the slave or its capitalized equivalent as a premium to outbid free labor in the acquisition of land.

RELATION OF THE ECONOMY OF SLAVE LABOR TO THE SUPPLY OF LAND

Had no restrictions been placed on the slave trade the supply of slaves might ultimately have become so great that the value of their product would have barely exceeded the cost of maintaining slaves. This might have resulted either from the law of diminishing returns due to scarcity of land, or to depression in the prices of products due to overproduction. In his *Political Economy of Slavery* Edmund Ruffin recognized the former possibility.⁸³ Tucker concluded that slavery would tend to become economically moribund when the density of population reached 66 per square mile.⁸⁴

Loria has developed a similar doctrine in a little different form, as follows: When land is abundant and the number of slaves relatively few, slavery as an economic institution is in the ascendant. The *peculium* of slaves—that is, the property they are able to accumulate out of their allowance or other sources—will then be generous, but the masters will advance the value of the slave to the point where the slave is not able to accumulate enough to purchase his liberty. On the other hand, as the supply of slaves becomes very great in relation to productive opportunities the slave's *peculium* will be very much less ample, but values will fall in still greater proportion and the slave will be able to purchase his freedom.⁸⁵

Professor Loria's interpretation, however, appears to be merely an involved method of recognizing the conclusion that diminishing returns from increasing numbers might reduce the surplus above subsistence to a negligible point and render the ownership of slaves a profitless responsibility. To speak of the masters raising the prices of slaves with the purpose of preventing them from purchasing their freedom out of the *peculium* may serve the purposes of a philosophy of exploitation. The fact is that in the South the *peculium* itself was rarely large enough to suffice for the purpose of purchasing the slave's freedom, although there were individual instances of this. Increasing numbers and the pressure of land scarcity could have lowered the *peculium* but little. On the other hand, the value of slaves was not subject to arbitrary action, but reflected the surplus from the employment of slave labor as evaluated under conditions of market competition.

It is conceivable, of course, that the operation of the law of diminishing returns might be greatly postponed through development of industrialism. If this

⁸³ P. 6.

⁸⁴ *Progress of the United States*, 112.

⁸⁵ *Economic Synthesis*, 95-99.

tendency had occurred it is probable that the emancipation of the slave would have resulted, because freedom would have provided conditions more favorable to initiative and the exercise of intelligence. Under such conditions, as some economists have recognized, the slave's productivity would have become so much greater, when allowed to shift for himself, that he could have paid his master the equivalent of his earnings as a slave and obtained enough above this to accumulate the means of purchasing his freedom.⁸⁶

The belief, however, that in 1860 slavery in the South was on the point of being "strangled for lack of room to expand"⁸⁷ is a wholly mistaken interpretation of actual conditions. The plantation system was not seriously limited by scarcity of land. It had utilized only a small fraction of the available land area.⁸⁸ The most fertile and easily available soils may have been occupied, but there was an extensive area remaining, a considerable part of which has been brought into cultivation since 1860. Before the Civil War railways were rapidly opening up new fertile areas to plantation agriculture. Far from being a decrepit institution, the economic motives for the continuance of slavery from the standpoint of the employer were never so strong as in the years just preceding the Civil War.

The argument that slavery was becoming unprofitable just before the Civil War has been presented by Professor U. B. Phillips from another standpoint. While recognizing clearly that the value of the slave was largely the result of a capitalization of net earnings, he argues that speculation had carried slave prices beyond the point at which slaves could be profitably employed except under the most favorable conditions. He points to the fact that cotton was very much lower in 1860 than it had been in the third and fourth decades, while the value of slaves was very much higher. It is easily possible, however, to derive a mistaken conclusion from this fact. Professor Phillips appears to defend the position that the movement toward overcapitalization was permanent, resulting in a steadily growing tendency for plantation agriculture to become unprofitable.⁸⁹ Achille Loria also accepts and elaborates this interpretation.⁹⁰ The present writer does not agree with this conclusion. Overexpansion of market prices of slaves, land, bonds, or other income-bearers in relation to net earnings, as a result of speculation, is at most only a temporary phenomenon. Expansion and contraction of slave prices occurred several times during the ante bellum period in relation to variations in the prices of the great Southern staple, cotton.⁹¹ Moreover, as compared with earlier periods, prices of cotton should be considered in relation to the fact that in the interval from 1794 to 1860 there was a considerable reduction in cost of producing cotton.⁹² It is not improbable, also, that slave prices in the earlier period had not completely risen to the point justified by the enormous profits that contemporary accounts describe; for slaves had

⁸⁶ Hadley, *Economics*, 35.

⁸⁷ Simons, *Social Forces in American History*, 236, 262; cf. Seligman, *Principles of Economics*, 157-161.

⁸⁸ See below, pp. 640-642.

⁸⁹ "Economic Cost of Slaveholding in the Cotton Belt," in *Political Science Quarterly*, XX, 257-275.

⁹⁰ *Economic Synthesis*, 97.

⁹¹ See below, pp. 665-667.

⁹² See Chap. XXX.

not come to have the scarcity value later arising from restriction of the trade, whereas demand for cotton increased for a time very rapidly, giving rise to prices far in excess of even the high costs of production.⁹³ There is no apparent reason why high market values of slaves should be a permanent cause for unprofitable plantation economy. Had such a condition prevailed for a considerable period, affecting the profits of a great majority of those who were actively demanding slaves, this demand must ultimately have declined, and with it the excessive values. It must be remembered, however, that the active demand which tended to enhance the prices of slaves came from those planters who were making large profits and who sought to expand their slaveholdings on the basis of these profits.⁹⁴

THE INFLUENCE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF INTER-REGIONAL COMPETITION

If competition had worked smoothly and slave labor had flowed readily to the points of most advantageous employment, as assumed in the Ricardian theory of rent, the rent-bearing land would have been the land of superior quality and location, and the return from the employment of slaves on such land would have tended to be the same as on the no-rent land, the rent merely measuring the difference in the gross product of an equal quantity of labor and equipment employed on the two grades of land.⁹⁵

In practice, however, the complete mobility assumed was not fulfilled. From time to time new areas were opened to settlement containing lands superior to those occupied in areas of earlier settlement, the natural inferiority of which was being steadily intensified by deterioration. While the value of these new lands rose rapidly on account of the inflow of population, yet immigration was not rapid enough to cause land values to absorb all the differential in productivity as compared with the poorer lands in the older regions of settlement. On account of the retardation in the bidding up of values of the better lands commensurate with their full superiority, labor tended to earn in the newer areas a return that was considerably higher than in the older regions, handicapped as they were by impairment of fertility.⁹⁶

The large differential in productivity stimulated the transfer of slave labor to the Southwest, either by sale or by migration. The compulsion came about through the fact that the newer regions were able to capitalize slave labor so high that in the regions of earlier settlement it could not earn interest at the market rate on these higher capital values.⁹⁷ It was in this sense that the employment of slave labor in general farming was frequently unprofitable. In the same sense, it was unprofitable when employed in the production of cotton in some of the older cotton producing regions. It could not produce a surplus

⁹³ See below, p. 681.

⁹⁴ For contemporary accounts attesting the high profits made by planters, both in the earlier and in the later periods, see Gilmer, G. R., *First Settlers of Upper Georgia*, 165; Flint, *Geography and History of the Western States*, 506; Ingraham, *Sunny South*, 298.

⁹⁵ Gibson, *Human Economics*, 194.

⁹⁶ For evidence on this point, see below, p. 663.

⁹⁷ See p. 912.

sufficiently large to pay interest on the high capital values made possible by competition of regions where slave labor was employed to better advantage. Nevertheless, slave labor of the older regions—probably even in colonial New England—was able to earn a surplus above cost of maintenance, and had it not been for the competition of the new lands of the West, it would have continued profitable in the older regions as long as it was possible to average something above cost of subsistence.

It was the fact that slavery tended to be profitable in new regions, while unprofitable in regions in the wake of expansion, that resulted so generally in the mistaken conclusions that slavery can thrive only on the basis of geographical expansion and a migratory economy, that slavery is adapted only to extensive agriculture, that it inevitably results in soil exhaustion, and that it cannot be profitable in general farming; none of which conclusions, as shown above, appears to be justified in the absolute sense in which it has been asserted.

It will be apparent also that the idea that the interest on the capital value of slaves was a necessary element in cost of production is true only in the sense that, being earned by one region or industry, it must be paid by other regions and industries in order to command the services of labor. In a general sense, however, this surplus was not a necessary charge. If the prices of all Southern products had fallen so low that it was impossible in any industry or region to earn more than a few dollars a year as the net return for slave labor, it would still have been advantageous to employ it.

In the above discussion the comparative surpluses from employment of slave labor were considered as though uniform for all producers. In fact, however, there were variations among individual planters. There were planters in the older regions who, through good management and organization, were able to make a profit on the high capital values for slaves resulting from Western competition, although probably the same efficiency would have resulted in larger profits under the favorable conditions of newer regions. Some of these more efficient planters bought up the lands of neighbors who were willing to sell cheap in order to emigrate.⁹⁸

COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGES OF THE PLANTATION SYSTEM

The competitive superiority that enabled slave labor to triumph over free labor under conditions favorable to commercial cultivation of the staples was dependent upon and facilitated by the plantation system of organization.⁹⁹ Although the system was originally developed as a means of organizing colonial expansion, after the introduction of Negro slaves it became economically and socially essential—a necessity sufficiently demonstrated by the chaos that resulted from emancipation in the West Indies and in the South, and by the re-establishment of the system after the Civil War.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ *Southern Cultivator*, VIII, 180; *American Agriculturist*, III, 118; *De Bow's Review*, XIV, 508; XIX, 727.

⁹⁹ On methods of plantation organization and operation, see Chaps. XXIII–XXIV.

¹⁰⁰ Concerning the economic necessity of the plantation system in the organization of Negro labor since the Civil War, see Phillips, U. B., "Economic Cost of Slaveholding in the Cotton Belt," in *Political*

Certain characteristics of slavery itself and of Southern agriculture, previously mentioned, were favorable to large-scale organization. The labor supply was stable and under absolute control. Southern staples are all-year crops, furnishing a maximum continuity of employment. The periods of peak demand for labor involve processes in which women and children can be employed. No complex machinery is requisite, and the processes of cultivation are comparatively simple, and therefore capable of being standardized and reduced to routine.

Since the organization of labor under intelligent supervision was an essential requirement for industrial efficiency, it was desirable to economize expense of supervision by employing as many slaves under a single management as was consistent with adequate oversight and control, the most economical number varying in accordance with kind of staple crop and character of land.¹⁰¹ The relatively smaller risk of loss from death of slaves on the large plantation was an important advantage of large-scale production.¹⁰² There was economy in fixed costs incurred for machinery required for preparing crops for market, particularly sugar. In Louisiana, it was observed, the equipment for a plantation capable of producing 600 hogsheads required but little more outlay than was necessary for a capacity of 300.¹⁰³ The expense of a rice mill was so great that only large planters could afford one, although the influence of this condition was reduced by the existence of toll mills and by the practice of exporting rough rice. For cotton and tobacco the influence of such fixed costs was of less importance.

The large planter enjoyed other advantages incident to large organization: superior facility for obtaining credit, ability to purchase in large quantities on favorable terms to secure the best land, supplies and equipment, and the advantages derived from superior intelligence and influential connections. Olmsted observed that on the large plantations in the Southwest the land was unusually well cultivated. Of some of the plantations along the Mississippi, Red, and Brazos rivers he asserted:¹⁰⁴

"The soil was a perfect garden mould, well drained and guarded by levees against the floods; it was admirably tilled; I have seen but few Northern farms so well tilled; the labourers were, to large degree, tall, slender, sinewy, young men, who worked from dawn to dusk, not with spirit, but with steadiness and constancy. They had good tools; their rations of bacon and corn were brought to them in the field, and eaten with efficient dispatch between the cotton plants. They had the best sort of gins and presses, so situated that from them cotton bales could be rolled in five minutes to steam-boats, bound direct to the ports on the gulf. They were superintended by skillful and vigilant overseers. These plantations were all large, so large as to yet contain much fresh land, ready to be worked as soon as the cultivated fields gave out in fertility."

Science Quarterly, XX, 270-275; *idem*, "Economics of the Plantation," in *South Atlantic Quarterly*, II, 233; *idem*, "Conservatism and Progress in the Cotton Belt," in *South Atlantic Quarterly*, III, 1-10; Stone, *Studies in the American Race Problem*, 75; Brooks, R. P., *Agrarian Revolution in Georgia*, 18; Gray, "Southern Agriculture, Plantation System, and the Negro Problem," in *Annals of the American Academy*, XL.

¹⁰¹ See pp. 532-537.

¹⁰² See p. 473.

¹⁰³ *De Bow's Review*, IV, 385. For a similar statement regarding the West Indian sugar industry, see Edwards, *British West Indies*, II, 248.

¹⁰⁴ *Cotton Kingdom*, I, 14.

The large planters obtained not only "the best land on which to apply their labor," but also "the best brute force, the best tools, and the best machinery for ginning and pressing, all superintended by the best class of overseers." The cotton was "shipped at the best season, perhaps all at once, on a boat or by trains expressly engaged at the lowest rates of freight." Because of the size of the shipment it received the best attention, not only by the transport agencies, but also by the commission merchants.¹⁰⁵

Comparing the large planters in Texas with the small German farmers who were endeavoring to raise cotton, Olmsted declared:¹⁰⁶

"It would not surprise me to learn that the cultivation of cotton by the German settlers in Texas had not, after all, been as profitable as its cultivation by the planters employing slaves in the vicinity. I should attribute the superior profits of the planter, if any there be, however, not to the fitness of the climate for negro labor, and its unfitness for white labor, but to the fact that his expenses for fencing, on account of his larger fields and larger estate, are several hundred per cent less than those of the farmer; to the fact that his expenses for tillage, having mules and plows and other instruments to use at the opportune moment, are less than those of the farmer, who, in many cases, cannot afford to own a single team; to the fact that he has, from experience, a better knowledge of the most successful method of cultivation; to the fact that he has a gin and a press of his own in the midst of his cotton fields, to which he can carry his wool at one transfer from the picking; by which he can put it in order for market expeditiously, and at an expense much below that falling upon the farmer, who must first store his wool, then send it to the planter's gin and press and have it prepared at the planter's convenience, paying, perhaps, exorbitantly therefor; and, finally, to the fact that the planter deals directly with the exporter."

Olmsted saw clearly that these advantages of large-scale organization were having the result of hastening the concentration of slave ownership—especially in the Southwest. The large planters, with their favorable advantages for production and marketing, made handsome profits under prices for cotton prevailing in the sixth decade. Many of them were thrifty, and reinvested a large part of their gains in more land and slaves. Their superior credit made it possible to be always in the market for slaves, while their superior facilities for production enabled them to offer prices that the small interior planter could not afford to pay. In the sixth decade, therefore, the prices of slaves were being determined largely by the net product of their labor when employed under most favorable circumstances: that is, on the best land, with the best equipment, and under large-scale organization.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Olmsted, F. L., *Journey in the Back Country*, 306.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 350.

¹⁰⁷ *Cotton Kingdom*, I, 14-17; *idem*, *Journey in the Back Country*, 121, 294, 307.

CHAPTER XXI

ECONOMIC TYPES AND SOCIAL CLASSES—THE WHITES

Numerical Importance of Plantation Population Elements, 481. The Poor Whites, 483. The Highlanders, 487. The Commercial Farmers, 488. The Planter Aristocracy, 492. The Plutocratic Planter Class, 495. Various Types of Upper-Class Planters, 497. The Middle-Class and Small Planters, 498. Free White Agricultural Laborers, 500. Overseers, 501. The White Servant Class, 503.

NUMERICAL IMPORTANCE OF PLANTATION POPULATION ELEMENTS

In 1860 in the South as a whole the people not connected with slaveholding were slightly more numerous than slaves and members of slaveholding families considered together, and the proportion of the white population connected with slaveholding was comparatively small. The percentage of slaves and members of slaveholding families combined had decreased notably since 1850. In 1860 there were 3,950,511 slaves in the South, but the remaining population numbered 8,289,782, including 250,787 free Negroes.

Table 7, which presents the percentage of slave population and of slave owning population in the various years for which statistics are available,¹ shows that in 1860 half the people of the South were slaves or members of slaveholding families. In the border States less than two fifths of the people were slaves and slaveholders, but in the lower South they were nearly two thirds. In the South as a whole only a little more than one fourth of the free population belonged to slaveholding families. Even in the lower South the population comprised in such families was only a little over a third of the entire free population, and in the border States only one fifth. Of course, the percentage of population indirectly connected with slavery was larger, for it included other relatives, friends, dependents, and business associates.

On the other hand, allowance should be made for the fact that many slaves were owned by persons not engaged in agriculture. Even in rural districts slaves owned in groups of one or two can hardly be considered a part of the plantation system. In Table 8 are given the slave population and the slaveholding population connected with holdings of ten or more slaves. The arbitrary selection of ten slaves as a minimum is based on the assumption that since slaveholdings of nine or less comprised a large percentage of children, it is probable that few units in this group presented the industrial, social, and psychological characteristics of the plantation system. Yet, slaveholdings of nine or less comprised nearly 72 per cent of all slaveholdings. They included many thousand holdings

¹ Statistics of slaveholders have been published only for 1790, 1850, and 1860. The statistics for 1790 are published in United States, *Century of Population Growth*, Chap. XIV. The schedules for Virginia and Georgia are missing but an estimate is made by the United States Census Bureau for these States. The estimate for Virginia is based on returns from nineteen counties enumerated in 1782 and thirteen counties enumerated in 1783. In the case of Georgia it was assumed that the average size of slaveholdings was the same as in South Carolina. This is undoubtedly an erroneous assumption. Georgia was in a very different stage of development as compared with the neighboring State.

TABLE 7.—Percentage of slave population to total population, slaveholding population to total free population, and combined slave and slaveholding population to total population, for 1790, 1850, and 1860¹

States	Per cent of slave population to total population			Per cent of slaveholding population to total free population			Per cent of combined slave and slaveholding population to total population		
	1790	1850	1860	1790	1850	1860	1790	1850	1860
Alabama.....	....	44.4	45.1	....	38.9	35.1	....	66.1	64.4
Arkansas.....	....	22.4	25.5	....	21.0	19.4	....	38.7	40.0
Delaware.....	15.0	2.5	1.6	23.1	5.2	2.9	34.6	7.5	4.5
Florida.....	....	45.0	44.0	....	41.7	36.0	....	67.9	64.1
Georgia.....	35.5	42.1	43.7	26.1	41.8	38.0	52.3	66.3	65.1
Kentucky.....	16.1	21.5	19.5	17.4	28.4	22.8	30.6	43.7	37.9
Louisiana.....	....	47.3	46.9	....	43.2	32.2	....	70.0	64.0
Maryland.....	32.2	15.5	12.7	37.3	20.3	12.6	57.5	32.6	23.7
Mississippi.....	....	51.1	55.2	....	44.4	48.0	....	72.8	76.7
Missouri.....	....	12.8	9.7	....	18.4	12.5	....	28.9	21.0
North Carolina.....	25.5	33.2	33.4	32.2	27.8	28.8	49.5	51.8	52.5
South Carolina.....	43.0	57.6	57.2	33.9	51.5	48.7	62.3	79.4	78.1
Tennessee.....	9.6	23.9	24.8	9.1	25.3	24.3	17.8	43.1	43.1
Texas.....	....	27.4	30.2	....	28.6	28.5	....	48.1	50.1
Virginia.....	39.2	33.2	30.7	43.5	33.1	25.9	65.6	55.3	48.7
Southern States.....	33.5	33.3	32.3	35.3	30.9	26.1	57.0	53.9	50.0
Border States.....	32.0	24.7	22.3	35.9	26.0	20.8	56.4	44.3	38.5
Lower South.....	41.1	45.4	44.8	31.8	40.5	35.6	59.8	67.5	64.5

¹ The figures for total population are derived from the summary of population growth published in the *United States Census, 1900, Population, I*, pp. xxii-xxiii. The figures for slave population and slaveholding families are derived from *A Century of Population Growth*, 133-136, and *United States Census, 1860, Agriculture*, 247-248. In determining the slaveholding population, the number of slave owning families has been multiplied by the average size of the family in the various years of enumeration. The average size of family for 1790 is derived from *A Century of Population Growth*, Chap. VIII and pp. 138-139. For the other periods the information is secured from *United States Census, 1880, Population*, 668-669.

In this and other tables the Southern States are divided into border States and lower South. In the former group are included Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. Von Halle, in his statistical study of the South, includes Tennessee and North Carolina with the "Cotton States." While both States produced considerable quantities of cotton, the general character of their economic life makes it desirable to include them with the northern group. This method of grouping, in any case, is artificial, and great caution must be used in the analysis of statistics of units of such magnitude.

TABLE 8.—Plantation population connected with holdings of ten or more slaves, 1860¹

	The South	The border States	The lower South
Per cent of slaveholding population connected with holdings of ten or more slaves to total slaveholding population....	28.1	22.6	33.9
Per cent of free population connected with holdings of ten or more slaves to total free population.....	7.4	4.7	12.1
Per cent of plantation population (slaves and slaveholding population) connected with holdings of ten or more to total plantation population.....	58.0	47.0	66.4
Per cent of plantation population connected with holdings of ten or more to total population.....	29.0	18.1	42.8

¹ For sources, see footnote to Table 7.

of town or city servants, and many country holdings of one or more body servants and house servants. They also included the great majority of the slaveholding farmers, as distinguished from planters.

In 1860 the plantation population (persons connected with families holding ten or more slaves) was only 7.4 per cent of the total free population; in the border States 4.7, and in the lower South 12.1. The plantation population (slaves and slaveholding population) connected with holdings of ten or more slaves was less than one third of the total population; in the border States less than one fifth, and in the lower South a little over two fifths.

If we consider the large, or upper-class, planters as those with 50 or more slaves, the number of holdings included in 1860 was 10,993, comprising about 0.75 per cent of the total free population, but owning more than a fourth of all slaves.² In 1860 only one slaveholding reported more than 1,000 slaves. It was located in South Carolina. There were 14 holdings of 500 and under 1,000, nearly all in South Carolina and Louisiana, and 74 holdings of 300 and under 500. The total number of holdings of 100 or more slaves was 2,358.

What we may call the middle-class planters, those with from 10 to 50 slaves each, numbered 99,895. About two thirds of them had under 20 slaves, and more than two fifths under 15. The entire group of middle-class planters comprised about 6.6 per cent of the free population, but controlled approximately one half of the entire slave population.

The discussion of the stages of industrial evolution in a previous chapter involved a description of the manner of life of classes of society that resulted from conditions of early settlement. We have now to consider certain agricultural classes that were not products merely of pioneer conditions but represent either stages of development beyond the earlier steps of social evolution or retrogressive and stationary stages—in short, the economic types and social classes that were the ultimate products of economic evolution in the ante bellum South. Of these, two social and economic types were the results of retarded development—the poor whites and the highlanders.

THE POOR WHITES

The poor whites differed little in manner of life from the pioneer stage of evolution. Their log cabins and rude furnishings resembled those of pioneer farmers. They cultivated in a casual and careless fashion small patches of corn or rice, sweet potatoes, cowpeas, and garden products. Women and children did a large part of the work. The men spent their time principally in hunting or idleness. Occasionally they possessed a few hogs, an emaciated horse, and a rude home-made cart held together with wooden pins and lashings of hide. Sometimes the poor white owned little besides his rifle, the poor, homemade furniture of his cabin, and numerous dogs, which he was never without. Clothing was spun and woven by the women of the family. Coffee and occasionally "sweetening" for the coffee or sassafras tea, together with ammunition, were purchased in exchange for skins, game, or a little meal.

Although their manner of life in externals was simply that of the frontier, the poor whites were distinctive in personal characteristics and habits and in their

² See below, Table 10, p. 530.

relationship to their social environment. They were a definitely inferior class, recognized as such and conscious of it. It was this fact rather than the mere externals of life which serves to distinguish them from the highlanders, who also retained the economy and social life of the frontier after the frontier had passed beyond them. The distinctive characteristics of the poor whites were recognized in the various special appellations by which they were contemptuously known in different parts of the South, such as, "piney-woods people," "dirt-eaters," "clay-eaters," "the tallow-faced gentry," "sand-hillers," and "crackers." The term *crackers*, however, was sometimes applied also to mountaineers and other small farmers. The term originated, according to one account, in the practice of cracking or pounding corn into hominy.³ There is a more probable tradition that it first referred to early herdsmen carrying long whips.

A large proportion of the poor whites, under the pressure of poverty and the social stigma, deteriorated personally. Miss Kemble calls them, "the most degraded race of human beings claiming an Anglo-Saxon origin that can be found on the face of the earth."⁴ The men were inveterate drunkards, and sometimes the women joined them in drinking inferior whisky. Licentiousness was prevalent among them. The women almost invariably dipped snuff or smoked clay pipes. Men, women, and children were addicted to the habit of eating a kind of sweet clay, —probably an effect of hookworm,—a habit that gained them the contemptuous name of "dirt-eaters." As a result of these habits, and possibly also of hookworm and pellagra, they were gaunt and sallow, with high cheekbones and sunken eyes. Children, of whom there were from six to a dozen in a family, began to look old and haggard by the age of ten; women were aged at thirty. Aimless, shiftless, utterly lazy, these people often existed by stealing cattle and other property, and their practice of trading with Negroes for stolen articles was a recognized evil. Sometimes also they aided slaves to escape. Olmsted asserts that in the Mississippi alluvial region certain planters maintained standing offers to neighboring poor whites for their land at more than market values.⁵ Among their equals the men were quarrelsome and inclined to crimes of violence. They were not lacking in brute courage. They delighted in fist-fighting, in which they employed the frontier practice of "gouging," which consisted in deftly removing with the thumbnail the eyeball of an antagonist. Just before the Revolutionary War these encounters were described as abounding in "every diabolical Stratagem for Mastery . . . of Bruising, Kicking, Scratching, Pinching, Biting, Butting, Tripping, Trotling, Gouging, Cursing, Dismembring, Howling, &c."⁶ The poor whites were densely ignorant. Frequently they did not know the name of the county in which they lived. They rarely belonged to a religious organization or exhibited religious interest. They were as superstitious as the Negroes; firm believers in witches, goblins, and the efficacy of fortune-telling, palm-reading, and card-cutting.⁷

³ Burke, E. P., *Reminiscences of Georgia*, 21-25, 205.

⁴ *Journal of a Residence on a Georgia Plantation*, 146.

⁵ *Journey in the Back Country*, 75; cf. *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), June 9, 1763, advertisement; Buck, P. H., "Poor Whites of the Ante-Bellum South," in *American Historical Review*, XXXI, 44-46.

⁶ Fithian, *Journal and Letters*, 243.

⁷ The above details concerning this class are derived from the following sources, although it is not

It is probable that a large proportion of the poor whites were not migratory, but remained for a generation or more in the same neighborhood; but in 1851 a writer speaks of "a miserable migratory population, continually moving between the back parts of Georgia, South and North Carolina, and Tennessee, who never stay more than a year in one spot, and fully illustrate the old proverb of 'a rolling stone.'"⁸ Although differing little in manner of life from the poor whites in old established regions, these immigrants had escaped from the immediate social stigma.

Some students consider it probable that the poor whites were descendants of the servile classes—especially of the criminal servants—sent to the Colonies.⁹ Professor Harvey Toliver Cook argues that poor whites were largely the result of the transfer to America of people in England impoverished by the depreciation of the precious metals after the discovery of America and by the first Enclosure Movement. Transplanted to America and forced by land engrossment to occupy the inferior soils, they found it impossible to progress, and gradually sank into a state of economic inertia and shiftlessness. Professor Cook discounts the influence of slavery and the plantation system in developing this class. As early as before 1700, and also in 1712, the South Carolina Assembly was compelled to make special provision for the poor families of the Province.¹⁰ Early in the eighteenth century Virginia also was compelled to provide for the poor, and during the Revolutionary War North Carolina enacted poor laws.¹¹ It is not desirable, however, to ignore the probable effects of a plantation environment.¹² How powerfully the influence of such an environment seconded the influence of original inferiority is suggested by the following statement concerning the corresponding class, the "petits blancs," of the West Indies:¹³

"The petit blancs were the scum of European society, who had emigrated to the West Indies with vague longings for a better condition in life; but they were held to their original state by the strong attachments of habitual vice, which had grown too strong to be sundered by any feeble effort. They were ignorant, and filled with strong prejudices, and by their being excluded from habitual fellowship with the class of great

possible to be sure in every case whether poor whites or merely a pioneer type are described: Byrd, *Writings* (Bassett), 70–78; Schaw, *Journal of a Lady of Quality*, 153; Anburey, *Travels through America*, II, 310; Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, I, 68, 104; Davies, *Letters showing the State of Religion in Virginia*, 9, 34; La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, II, 456; Chastellux, *Travels in North America*, II, 190–193; Stokes, *Constitution of the British Colonies*, 140; Ker, *Travels through the Western Interior of the United States*, 352, 356; Kemble, *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation*, 76, 146; Mead, *Travels*, 15–18; Burke, E. P., *Reminiscences of Georgia*, 205; Bremer, *Homes of the New World*, I, 365; Buckingham, *Slave States of America*, I, 551; Olmsted, F. L., *Seaboard Slave States*, II, 142; *idem*, *Cotton Kingdom*, I, 83, 188, 206, 231; *idem*, *Journey in the Back Country*, 297; *idem*, *Journey through Texas*, 66; *De Bow's Review*, XVI, 599; *Southern Cultivator*, XVI, 237; *Agriculturist*, IV, 13; Helper, *Impending Crisis of the South*, 381; Conway, *Testimonies concerning Slavery*, 119–122; Hundley, *Social Relations in Our Southern States*, 256–271; Aughey, *The Iron Furnace: or Slavery and Secession*, 212–230; Mackie, *From Cape Cod to Dixie*, 91; Weston, G. M., *Poor Whites of the South*, *passim*; *Memoirs of Gert Goebel*, reprinted by Bek, "Followers of Duden," in *Missouri Historical Review*, XVI, 302.

⁸ *Farmer and Planter*, II, 20. See also Nuttall, *Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, 27–30.

⁹ Halle, *Baumwollproduktion*, I, 39; Doyle, *English Colonies in America*, I, 387.

¹⁰ *Pee Dee Basin*, Chap. XIV.

¹¹ Beverley, R., *History of Virginia*, 239; *North Carolina State Records*, XXIV, 89, 260.

¹² Cf. Buck, P. H., "The Poor Whites of the Ante-Bellum South," in *American Historical Review*, XXXI, 46–49.

¹³ Brown, J., *History of St. Domingo*, I, 112.

proprietors they were thrown into an ambiguous situation, half between the white and negro. Like every other degraded class, they were tyrants to those beneath them in the same proportion as they were themselves abased by those whose lot was cast above them."

The difficulty experienced by free white laborers by reason of the competition of slave labor¹⁴ was intensified by the stigma upon manual labor which ultimately developed in slavery regions. It is true, there were many self-respecting farmers who worked side by side with their slaves, particularly in farming, as distinguished from planting, regions.¹⁵ In fact, the stigma applied only to particular kinds of work. Olmsted found that in the farming region of western Virginia poor whites would hire out for farm work when pressed by necessity, but they refused to care for cattle or to get water and wood, for this was "nigger work." Girls would not hire out for household service, but would sometimes sew for wages. Women who would hire out for sewing in private families sometimes objected to working in so public a place as a factory.¹⁶

Consequently poor whites rarely had a means of acquiring the necessary capital to become planters. Deprived of all industrial opportunity, there were only two roads by which to escape from their condition; to become overseers—a cherished ambition—or to migrate to regions where cheap land was available for commercial agriculture.¹⁷ That some of these people were willing to work when suitable opportunity permitted is suggested by statements showing that not a few of them gladly embraced the offer of employment in some of the cotton factories established before the Civil War.¹⁸

The depressing effects of the absence of industrial opportunity were intensified by the noxious influence of extreme poverty. Olmsted relates an incident of a woman in Alabama who was forced to beg the privilege of picking cotton with the Negroes in the field for two days in order to get a little corn for her children, who were "scrawny half-starved little wretches."¹⁹ Governor Hammond had the clothing for his slaves made by the poor white women of his neighborhood, not because his own slaves were incapable of doing the work, but because the poor white women needed the pay. He estimated that in 1850 there were not less than 50,000 persons in South Carolina with inadequate means of procuring an honest livelihood.²⁰ A contemporary Northern writer, who claimed to have made a careful study of the condition of the poor whites in Virginia, asserted:²¹

"Although I have visited with careful observation the Five Points of New York, and White Chapel and Bethnal Green in London, I have never seen a population whose wretchedness, whether of soul or body, is so deep as that of the poor whites of the South."

¹⁴ See above, p. 474.

¹⁵ Olmsted, F. L., *Journey in the Back Country*, 208, 273, 275; Johnson, T. C., *Robert Lewis Dabney*, 16.

¹⁶ *Cotton Kingdom*, I, 81-83; *De Bow's Review*, VIII, 29.

¹⁷ Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, II, 414; Hildreth, *Despotism in America*, 102; cf. Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina*, 304.

¹⁸ Claiborne, J. H., *Seventy-five Years in Old Virginia*, 65; *Carolina Planter* (1844-5), I, 231.

¹⁹ *Journey in the Back Country*, 219.

²⁰ *Southern Cultivator*, VIII, 38; Hammond, J. H., *Address Delivered before the South Carolina Institute*, Nov. 20, 1849, p. 32, reprinted in *De Bow's Review*, VIII, 518.

²¹ Conway, *Testimonies concerning Slavery*, 122.

The poor whites were the outcasts of Southern society, and even the Negroes regarded them as beneath contempt. The former class, in turn, frequently hated the Negroes, albeit the two classes maintained a surreptitious traffic in liquor and supplies stolen by the Negroes from their masters. It is said that the poor whites were proslavery in sentiment because their hatred of the Negroes made them desire their continued subjection.²² The planting classes regarded the poor whites with suspicious contempt. Sometimes they were tolerated as squatters on the poorer land of the large planter in consideration of various minor services, including, possibly, holding their votes subject to the control of their patron.

A considerable proportion, however, lived in areas remote from large plantations—in pine barrens and other districts too poor for profitable agriculture. It is altogether probable that the numerical importance of the more degenerate type was less than one might be led to think by the frequent accounts of travellers and other writers whose attention was attracted by their peculiarities. Undoubtedly there were many extremely poor but honest families struggling to make a living in the midst of the pine barrens. Because in many cases such regions were remote from plantation districts the inhabitants were not continually subjected to the deteriorating influence of a social stigma.²³ In 1837 an agricultural traveller in Nansemond County, Virginia, declared that the people who cultivated the poor lands of the “piney woods,” though deprived of all the comforts and luxuries enjoyed by the planters and compelled by the difficulties of their situation to be laborious and frugal, had “prospered in their estates in spite of poor lands and a wretched system of agriculture.”²⁴

THE HIGHLANDERS

The poor whites should be sharply distinguished from the mountaineers, or highlanders, with whom they have sometimes been confused.²⁵ There was a resemblance, as we have noted, in externals. Both classes were poor, both lived the rude, self-sufficing life of the pioneer, and both were handicapped by isolation and ignorance. In most cases the life of the mountaineer was characterized by less squalor and less filth. The principal characteristics of the pioneer manner of life have already been described.²⁶

The fundamental differences between the poor white and the highlander were psychological. The isolation of the highlander was physical, not social; he did not suffer from the subtle undermining influence of social ostracism. Although more or less addicted to bibulous habits, he was comparatively free from the worst vices. Physically he was a product of the bracing air and wholesome life of the

²² Buck, P. H., “Poor Whites of the Ante-Bellum South,” in *American Historical Review*, XXXI, 41, 51–53; Holst, *Constitutional and Political History of the United States*, I, 350. For a suggestive analysis of the relations between Negroes and poor whites, see Craven, “Poor Whites and Negroes of the Ante-Bellum South,” in *Journal of Negro History*, XV, 14–20.

²³ This distinction between different types of poor whites is recognized by B. W. Arnold. “Virginia Women and the Civil War,” in *Southern History Assn., Publications*, II, 256–260.

²⁴ *Farmers' Register*, IV, 524–527.

²⁵ For instance, cf. Brown, W. G., *Lower South in American History*, 39.

²⁶ See above, p. 438.

mountains. His idleness and laziness, in many cases, were not results of listlessness and inertia, but rather of an absence of impelling motive. Not infrequently he was cheerful, amiable, sociable, and hospitable, strong in his prejudices, and frequently intensely religious. His was the narrowness of view and aversion to innovation produced by a limited intellectual horizon. Nevertheless, books were more numerous than in the homes of the poor whites, who had few or none. Some of the highlanders held antislavery opinions; but a large number were proslavery through force of tradition or from inability to solve the problem of what to do with free Negroes. Women worked in the fields with the men and busied themselves with the spinning wheel and the loom. Both sexes smoked clay pipes.

Such were some of the characteristics of this second great Southern type, whose existence scarcely touched the outermost currents of the life of the plantation class.²⁷ The true hill or mountain farmers are, of course, to be distinguished from valley farmers who belonged to the class of commercial farmers. The valley farmers became economically and socially differentiated from the highlanders after the passing of the pioneer period.²⁸

THE COMMERCIAL FARMERS

The lowland farmers, or yeomen, were intermediate between the highlanders and the planting classes. The life of the farmers, like that of the highlanders, frequently retained some of the characteristics of the pioneer economy from which both developed. On the other hand, the farmer resembled the planter in that he was frequently a slave owner, generally on a small scale. He differed somewhat from the majority of planters in that he devoted his attention to general farming rather than to production of staple crops.²⁹

In some parts of the South, for instance in the valleys of the James and Rappahannock, middle Tennessee, and the bluegrass region of Kentucky, there was a class of large planter-farmers—that is, planters who engaged in general farming although they were large slaveholders, maintained a plantation organization, and retained social connections and personal characteristics of the upper planting class.

The Southern yeomen, however, were a distinct class from the planters, not merely in economy, but also in personal characteristics and social life. Like the other nonplanting classes, they had their origin to a large extent in the immigrants who came to the country as indentured servants, especially in the southward moving stream of German and Scotch-Irish farmers. Many of the farmers who settled in the back country of the Carolinas and Georgia were subsequently converted into planters,³⁰ but large sections of middle and western North Carolina, the extreme northwestern part of South Carolina, and northern Georgia continued

²⁷ F. L. Olmsted was perhaps the only traveller in the South in the ante bellum period who studied carefully the life of the mountain people, and described it fully. *Journey in the Back Country*, 215–262, 293, 352; *De Bow's Review*, XXVI, 705. The mountaineers of southern Missouri are briefly described in *ibid.*, XXIV, 336. For another detailed description, see Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, 248 *et seq.*

²⁸ See also below, p. 884.

²⁹ See *Farmer and Planter*, IV, 142.

³⁰ See below, p. 685.

to be occupied by commercial farmers. There were some also in the valleys of northern Alabama. Certain districts of upper Mississippi, northern and north-western Arkansas, northern Louisiana and eastern Texas were also occupied by this class, although in the lower South general farming tended to be more or less combined with cotton production.³¹ This class crossed the mountains in large numbers and settled the commercial farming regions of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri, while their neighbors, the mountaineers, reproduced the peculiar features of their own economy and social life in the mountainous districts of those States.³²

There were important differences within the broad group of commercial farmers. Much depended on the extent to which the community had advanced beyond the pioneer stage. There were also contrasts between slaveholding and nonslaveholding farmers, between relatively wealthy and poorer families, and between educated and noneducated. At the top of the class we may reckon some of the wealthy and intelligent breeders of livestock in the bluegrass region of Kentucky, in middle Tennessee, and the river valleys of Missouri, as well as the more prosperous and intelligent planter-farmers of western Maryland, the Valley of Virginia, the James River valley, and other regions. Before the Civil War such sections contained eminent farmers who with a score or more slaves operated farms of upwards of a thousand acres.³³ At the bottom the commercial farmers merged into the poor whites or highlander classes.

The commercial farmers probably enjoyed more material comforts than any other class in the South except large commercial planters. Their houses were comfortable frame or brick structures. They built commodious barns, raised hay and forage, practiced stall-feeding in winter, paid some attention to breeding; and consequently produced an abundance of meat, milk, and butter. Orchards and gardens furnished a variety of fruits and vegetables, and the proceeds from sale of livestock and crops enabled them to purchase many comforts. If the family owned no slaves, the women busied themselves with the multifarious activities of a farm household in an age when purchased canned foods were not available and when much of the clothing was made at home. Ownership of a few slaves brought relief from drudgery, but a great increase in responsibility.

Frequently the relations of small farmers toward their slaves were friendly and almost intimate. Describing the small commercial farmers, Hundley says:³⁴

"You will invariably see the negroes and their masters ploughing side by side in the fields; or bared to the waist, and with old-fashioned scythe vieing with one another who can cut down the broadest swath of yellow wheat, or of the waving timothy; or bearing the tall stalks of maize and packing them into the stoutbuilt barn, with ear and fodder on, ready for the winter's husking."

The rustic good fellowship between both whites and blacks among the farmers

³¹ See below, p. 887.

³² *American Farmer*, 1 series, IV (1824-5), p. 82.

³³ For instances, see the account of the agricultural excursion in middle Tennessee, in *Agriculturist*, II, 147. See also above, p. 539.

³⁴ *Social Relations in Our Southern States*, 197; cf. also the analysis by Craven, "Poor Whites and Negroes in the Ante-Bellum South," in *Journal of Negro History*, XV, 20-22.

in northwestern South Carolina, about 1834, is exemplified in the following contemporary account of a community corn-shucking:³⁵

"A bright moon-light night is selected, and the neighbouring inhabitants, whites or blacks, sometimes both, are invited to give their assistance, and a substantial supper with a sufficiency of whiskey is prepared for the occasion. These 'corn shuckings' are complete frolics. Two captains are chosen, who divide the company into two equal parties, . . . each party trying to beat the other in the husking out of their division of the corn pile. The rustic songs which, by one party or the other, are constantly sung during this race, one person taking the lead in the song, but the end of every line, all joining in a chorus; the antic gestures and encouraging exhortations of the respective captains, or some one of each company peculiarly gifted to act such a part, who mounts the pile of corn which they are husking; the earnest exertions of the company generally, and of individuals in particular, who seem to husk as though the fate of the world hung upon the issue; the obstreperous but good natured jokes and brags played off by the winning party upon that which losses the race, all heightened by the exhilarating effects of the bottle occasionally passed around, produces a most inspiriting and animating effect even upon the looker on, and could not but move the most phlegmatic. The corn being nearly husked out the owner must conceal himself, for at the conclusion, if he is found (and a diligent search is made for him) at any moment previous to all hands being called to supper, the negroes will certainly exert the right which custom has given them of hoisting him on their shoulders, and moving in a body three times round the dwelling house, making the air ring with one of their 'corn songs,' as they are called, and then by one of those 'accidents done on purpose,' drop him rather unceremoniously from their shoulders."

The Southern yeomen as a class were characterized by sturdy independence and self-respect. They were sociable, democratic, and almost universally hospitable. They delighted in quiltings, corn-huskings, candy-pullings, weddings, and shooting-matches. They were intelligent, but without extensive education. Although some were inclined to imbibe freely the products of their numerous distilleries, they were also intensely religious, and sometimes prone to "shout" at camp meetings, tendencies shared in the early period of community development with the small and even the middle-class slaveholders.³⁶

The slaveholders of the commercial farming group resembled in many respects the middle-class planters hereafter considered: but since the former were engaged in a diversified economy rather than a one-crop system, they maintained a more comfortable type of existence than that of the middle-class planters. An English traveller in eastern Virginia just before the Civil War has left a vivid word

³⁵ *Southern Agriculturist*, VII, 347. For another account, see Drake, *Pioneer Life in Kentucky*, 53-56.

³⁶ The descriptive details concerning this class are derived from the following sources among others: *North Carolina Colonial Records*, V, 355; Extracts from the Memoirs of Josiah Quincy, Jr., in *ibid.*, IX, 612; Morse, *American Gazetteer*, article on South Carolina; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, II, 414; Michaux, *Travels*, 268; *American Farmer*, 4 series, II (1846-7), p. 358; Baldwin, *Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi*, 49; Blane, *Excursion through the United States and Canada*, 257-259; Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion through the Slave States*, I, 16; Burke, E. P., *Reminiscences of Georgia*, 229-232; Hundley, *Social Relations in Our Southern States*, 193-216; Buckingham, *Slave States of America*, II, 149, 153-156; Olmsted, F. L., *Journey through Texas*, 14; Bassett, *Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina*, 18; *Southern Planter*, V, 234; XVI, 114; Meacham, *Journal and Travels* (Duke University, Historical Papers, IX-X), *passim*, especially X, 92. Especially interesting details concerning the backwoods amusements are given in the Memoirs of Gert Goebel. Bek, "Followers of Duden," in *Missouri Historical Review*, XVI, 343-367.

picture of one of these middle-class farm families owning a few slaves.³⁷ The traveller reached the home in question about nightfall, but although previously unacquainted with the family and without letters of introduction, he was hospitably received. The following are some of his significant experiences and observations:³⁸

"I was surprised to see the youngest daughter place a large Bible on the table. The little circle became quiet, two or three black servants entered the room, and the father opened the sacred volume, and commenced reading—having chosen that appropriate chapter in which we are exhorted to be kind to strangers. . . . After the reading, all knelt down during a short prayer; then the servants left the room, the two youngest daughters kissed their father and retired, and the rest of us sat talking.

.....
 "Early in the morning, as early as the sun, I got up and looked around me inquisitively. The walls and ceiling of the room were whitewashed, the floor was clean and bare, an old-fashioned looking-glass hung on the wall, and also two or three cheap coloured and framed engravings. . . . There were plain white window curtains to the two windows. A large old mahogany chest-of-drawers from England, three or four unpainted, rush-bottomed chairs, of Southern manufacture, very comfortable to sit in, and wash-stand, &c., completed the furniture. . . . The farm, the family, and the dwelling of which I now speak, formed, in most respects, a fair, but perhaps somewhat favourable specimen of what may be called the middle class in Virginia, and of a large portion of the older settled of the Southern States. . . .

"In front of the dwelling was something of a garden, very slightly cultivated; the principal flowers being hollyhocks, sunflowers, and luxuriant rose-bushes. Two noble white oaks gave abundant shade very grateful and necessary in the hot summer days.

.....
 "The house was of dark red brick, quite old. . . . Two dormer lattice windows looked to the front; the rest of the windows had green shutter blinds outside, white curtains inside. An ample wooden porch, painted white, and rather rickety, extended along the whole front of the house, having two or three steps in the centre opposite the door, and shaded and beautified at one end by a climbing rose blooming splendidly."

Taking a before-breakfast walk about the premises, the traveller noted about an acre devoted to cabbage, sweet corn, tomatoes, and other vegetables for the family and Negroes, a turnip patch of about an acre, and a large field of Indian corn, in the midst of which grew a few pumpkins used for the cattle and for pies. There was a small patch of buckwheat which, "among other uses" supplied the family with that "indigestible luxury," buckwheat cakes. A field of about thirty acres of fine wheat was evidently the principal commercial crop. Here he found the main working force, three Negro men and a Negro boy, engaged in cradling wheat. The owner and his son superintended the work but apparently did not participate actively. There were no evidences of driving or of severe discipline. The most attractive part of the farm to the traveller was the orchard, the ground yellow with fallen apples, which were collected to make cider and feed pigs. There were a number of peach trees loaded with unripe fruit. Everywhere there was "a look of carelessness and abundance."³⁹

³⁷ Mitchell, D. W., *Ten Years in the United States*, 18–44.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 18, 20, 26.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 21, 34–36.

Returning to the neighborhood of the house, Mitchell said:⁴⁰

"I could see my young black attendant walking about with the hand-bell for breakfast, ringing it, apparently for his own gratification, for an unnecessary length of time. We went in and found the family awaiting us. I was received with a slight bow or a quiet good-morning from all. On the table were coffee, small hot wheaten rolls, batter bread, and hoe-cake, made of Indian flour; milk, eggs, and rashers of bacon; a loaf of cold wheaten bread,—'stale,' they called it—and a pitcher of deliciously cool spring water. Before we commenced, the head of the family briefly said grace."

This scene of comfortable easy-going abundance "represents the ordinary life of a large portion of the population of Eastern Virginia—a plain, self-respecting, quietly religious people, living in abundance on their carelessly-cultivated farms, surrounded by woods, with large numbers of horses, more than plenty of dogs, and rather an excess of the much talked-of troublesome 'nigger.'"⁴¹

THE PLANTER ARISTOCRACY

The planters were probably the most heterogeneous of all the classes. At the top was a brilliant and distinctive aristocracy, the members of which exercised an influence far out of proportion to their numbers. At the bottom the planting classes shaded by degrees into the various lower classes already described.

The aristocratic planting class had its origins in European social distinctions. The earlier nucleus comprised the official class, together with various immigrants of good connections, especially numerous just after the downfall of the Stuart régime. However, "these people were no more all earls and dukes than the royal army was composed of earls and dukes."⁴² A considerable number were from the professional classes who had risen from the lower classes by force of merit. A recent attempt has been made to prove that the greater part of the Virginia gentry were descended not from the English landed aristocracy, but from the commercial class.⁴³ According to the cautious opinion expressed by Bruce, "The great body of men who sued out patents to public lands in Virginia were sprung from the portion of the English commonwealth that was removed from the highest as well as from the lowest ranks in the community, and which, while in many instances sharing the blood of the noblest, yet as a rule belonged to the classes engaged in the different professions and trades, in short, to the workers in all the principal branches of English activity."⁴⁴

This problem of origins cannot be solved statistically, but the present writer is inclined to endorse the above statement, with greater emphasis on the extent to which small farmers of humble origin climbed into the planter class. Although there was a tendency, especially in the colonial period, for class barriers to become gradually more rigid in the older regions, nevertheless, economic success was usually the key by which entrance to the ranks of the planting aristocracy

⁴⁰ Mitchell, D. W., *Ten Years in the United States*, 22.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁴² Byrd, *Writings* (Bassett), Intro., p. xi.

⁴³ Wertenbaker, *Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia*. This study has been sharply criticised by an anonymous writer in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XVIII, 339-348.

⁴⁴ *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 131; cf. Durand, *Frenchman in Virginia*, 95, and App., n. 30.

was achieved. Indentured servants, pioneer farmers, and merchants succeeded in climbing into the charmed circle.⁴⁵

In the earlier years of regional development high born and low born alike were engaged in a struggle for material prosperity. About 1666 the inimitable Alsop characterized the hard-fisted planters of Maryland as follows:⁴⁶

"Sir, If you send any Adventure to this Province, let me beg to give you this advice in it; That the Factor whom you imploy be a man of a Brain, otherwise the Planter will go near to make a Skimming-dish of his Skull; . . . The people of this place . . . are a more acute people in general, in matters of Trade and Commerce, than in any other place of the World; and by their crafty and sure bargaining, do often over-reach the raw and unexperienced Merchant."

Not until the last quarter of the seventeenth century did the planters of even the earlier settled parts of Virginia and Maryland emerge from the rude conditions of a frontier community. Thus, in 1678 it was declared that Maryland planters were generally poor; and in the same year Lord Baltimore declared that in St. Marys, "There are not above Thirty houses and those at considerable distances from each other and the buildings (as in all other parts of the Provynce very meane and Little and Generally after the manner of the meanest farme houses in England."⁴⁷ By the early years of the eighteenth century the Virginia plantation aristocracy was becoming sufficiently differentiated to lead to a political class-struggle, in which the council, dominated by the aristocrats and merchants, was in chronic opposition to the lower house, controlled by the small planters;⁴⁸ but it was essentially an aristocracy of wealth and official influence, partially, but not entirely, derived from aristocratic origins. It was, indeed, a plutocratic society influenced by and endeavoring to attain or to maintain aristocratic ideals. About the same time in Virginia and a little later in Maryland there was a noticeable tendency toward a more elaborate and conspicuous standard of living.⁴⁹ As late as the middle of the eighteenth century the social exclusiveness and luxurious standard of living of the planting classes were just beginning to be apparent in South Carolina, but by the close of the century there were many costly dwellings.⁵⁰ In North Carolina the class of gentry was probably not so numerous as in the other Colonies. However, toward the close of the colonial period there had developed some planters in the Albemarle district and along the lower Cape Fear river whose antecedents and standards of living placed them in that class.⁵¹

Out of the inchoate social conditions of the earlier period of regional develop-

⁴⁵ Rivers, *Sketch of South Carolina*, 173-175; Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, I, 110; Campbell, G. L., *Itinerant Observations in America* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, IV), 40.

⁴⁶ *Character of Maryland* (Hall, Narratives), 379.

⁴⁷ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1677-1680, p. 227; *Maryland Archives* (Coun. Proc.), V, 265.

⁴⁸ Spotswood, *Official Letters*, II, 65, 77, 79, 134, 283-285, 306.

⁴⁹ Beverley, R., *History of Virginia*, 251; cf. Hall, C. C., *The Lords Baltimore and the Maryland Palatinate*, 176.

⁵⁰ Hewatt, *South Carolina and Georgia*, II, 294; Drayton, *View of South Carolina*, 111.

⁵¹ Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, II, 574-578; Holladay, "Social Conditions in Colonial North Carolina," in *North Carolina Booklet*, III, No. 10, p. 25; Grimes, "Some Notes on Colonial North Carolina," in *North Carolina Booklet*, V, 105, 111, 116; Scotus Americanus, *Informations concerning North Carolina* (North Carolina Historical Review, III), 613.

ment there usually emerged a more or less definite distinction between the plantation aristocracy and the newly rich who had not the advantage of superior birth and breeding. The ease with which the lower classes could acquire wealth and influence declined as the free land of the older districts became scarce. The possessions and traditions of the aristocratic planting class were consolidated by intermarriage, and became gradually more distinctive and exclusive as each generation inherited the wealth and social prestige of the preceding one.⁵²

Thus, prior to 1750 the members of the Virginia and Maryland aristocracy were in general intelligent, but frequently not well educated. They were good livers, though somewhat materialistic; inclined to "look, perhaps, more at a man's outside than his inside."⁵³ Not infrequently the men were rough and boisterous, bibulous and profane; sometimes desperate gamblers and usually bold riders and hunters. They were easy-going and indolent, good-natured, but also imperious and inclined to an exaggerated punctiliousness in affairs of honor.⁵⁴ The same qualities were reproduced more or less closely in other newly prosperous plantation communities. Even before the Revolution, however, declining prosperity in the older plantation districts was tempering the extravagance of the earlier period. The Revolutionary War, with its enforced economies, produced many a homespun philosopher among that class. The refining influences of war and privation, the sobering effect of serious economic depression, and the stimulus of a new social philosophy transformed the planter aristocracy. After the Revolutionary War there was a greater emphasis on birth, breeding, education, and intellectual accomplishment; and less concern with extravagant display. The men were educated in the classics and acquired by reading a wide fund of information. They became more temperate in habits; less pugnacious, more humane. European travellers were forced to admit their manners above reproach.⁵⁵ The change from the primogeniture and entail to a more democratic system of inheritance⁵⁶ also exerted a most important modifying influence in plantation regions where aristocratic traditions had long held sway. By 1837 so large a proportion of the great estates of the landed aristocracy had disappeared through subdivision that a contemporary observer declared, "We have now left but few specimens of the nearly extinct 'landed aristocracy' of Virginia." As to their political influence, they had been "completely disfranchised by their wealth."⁵⁷

As a result, a greater fluidity of social life became possible, and self-made men found it easier to rise to positions of eminence. This is exemplified, for instance, by the career of Richard Sampson, who "began his farming at daily labor, between

⁵² Byrd, *Writings* (Bassett), Intro., p. xii.

⁵³ Letter of Peter Collinson to John Bartram, Feb. 17, 1737, in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, 2 series, VI, 304.

⁵⁴ For a description of the glories of the upper planter class in Maryland before the Revolutionary War, see Murray, E. H., *One Hundred Years Ago*, Chap. I; Campbell, G. L., *Itinerant Observations in America* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, IV), 34-40, 47-50.

⁵⁵ Chevalier, *Society, Manners and Politics*, 114; Fithian, *Journal and Letters*, 279; *Gazette of the State of South Carolina* (Charleston), Jan. 1, 1784.

⁵⁶ See p. 619.

⁵⁷ *Farmers' Register*, IV, 565-568. On the passing of the old pre-Revolutionary gentry, see also *ibid.*, VII, 210; Garland, *John Randolph of Roanoke*, II, 345. Concerning a similar tendency in South Carolina, see South Carolina, Agricultural Survey, *Report* (Ruffin, 1843), p. 11; Russell, R., *North America, Its Agriculture and Climate*, 172.

the plough handles, of his father's poor farm in Goochland." When of age, he became a plantation overseer on a large estate of John Wickham. After twenty years of that service Sampson had accumulated enough to become owner of a fine plantation of over a thousand acres on the James river and had acquired the reputation of being one of the most progressive and intelligent plantation operators in eastern Virginia.⁵⁸ In contrast there were many planters who were attempting to recall past glories by living beyond their means and pretending to be above systematic economic activity, even including the management of their own estates.⁵⁹

The planting class of eastern South Carolina were probably less influenced by the Cavalier migration than the corresponding class in Virginia and Maryland. A large proportion of the planters had developed from poor or middle-class people who came to better their fortunes. John Laurens, who in his day was South Carolina's most eminent citizen, obtained his start as a saddler.⁶⁰ At the outbreak of the Revolution the social life of Charleston still exhibited some of the earmarks of a prosperity but recently acquired. It appears to have been characterized by less restraint, conservatism, and simplicity than the life of the upper class of Virginia and Maryland. For a time even after the Revolutionary War Charleston was known as a city where social life was brilliant, but sometimes garishly ostentatious. Gradually, as in Virginia, these qualities were softened by time.⁶¹

THE PLUTOCRATIC PLANTER CLASS

With the expansion of Southern agriculture, class distinctions became more and more similar to those of present-day America—that is, they were based largely on differences of wealth, with some recognition of differences in education and breeding, and between old wealth and new wealth. There was a strong tradition of democracy, a tradition strengthened by the tendency for small farmers to climb into the class of wealthy and influential planters. Among these Du Bose mentions such distinguished instances as Clay, Jackson, Calhoun, McDuffie, Stephen D. Miller, and Samuel Wilde. Indeed, he declares, "So general was the appearance of individuals in places of trust and honor, risen from the non-slaveholding class, in every slave State, the adage prevailed, only poor boys make great men."⁶²

These tendencies became more and more evident in the expansion of the plantation system into the newer cotton regions. It is true, many of the new cotton

⁵⁸ *Farmers' Register*, V, 373. See also the detailed description of his plantation and methods of management. *Ibid.*, 365–373.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, 725–727.

⁶⁰ Wallace, D. D., *Henry Laurens*, 7.

⁶¹ The above description is based on the following sources: Brickell, *Natural History of North Carolina*, 39; Burnaby, *Travels in North America*, 25–29; Eddis, *Letters from America*, 31, 106–113; Ford, T., *Diary* (South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine, XIII), 143; Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II, 93; Davis, J., *Travels*, 82–97, 116–135, 367; Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, I, 41, 49–54; II, 83; Pope, *Tour*, 83; Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in the United States*, 434; La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, II, 381; III, 77, 232; Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*, 213–216; Harrower, *Diary* (American Historical Review, VI), 87; Drayton, *View of South Carolina*, 217–227; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, II, 402–405; Porcher, *Sketch of Craven County* (Thomas, Huguenots of South Carolina), 133–148.

⁶² William Lowndes Yancey, 40.

planters were of good family connections in older plantation regions, and such connections were not without influence on conduct and ideals and on the esteem in which the planters were held. Nevertheless, social connections and aristocratic traditions were much less influential than they had been in the colonial period, and the picture of this Southwestern plantation society is one of feverish struggle for wealth, colored by a notable speculative element, and frequently characterized by competitive expenditure. The planter of aristocratic family connections whose intellectual nourishment had been drawn from classical literature found himself rubbing elbows with the self-made planter who had forced his way upward from the ranks of overseers or small farmers. A picture of the early years of plantation expansion in Alabama, for instance, reveals a conglomerate mixture of squatters, small farmers, rowdies, gamblers, and bullies, together with substantial and even refined planters from the older States—a society, however, more concerned in general with horse-racing, cards, dancing, and speculation in Negroes and land than with books or the fine arts.⁶³ Frequently people of aristocratic origins had to submit for a time to crude living conditions while obtaining a foothold. Faux, who visited the neighborhoods of Camden and Columbia, South Carolina, about 1818, was entertained luxuriously and in excellent taste by the great planters. From this district, however, he journeyed a short distance to a newly developed plantation area to visit a kinsman, a man of good family and some wealth, who was employed in opening up a cotton plantation. The house had only three rooms, and no glass windows. Two days later he stopped at another plantation owned by a kinsman of his former host. In the evening the visitor slept “in a good bed, curtainless, alongside the one in which himself [the host] and lady and children slept; all in one room, the only one in the house; with a fine negro-wench on the floor, at our feet, as our bodyguard, all night, in readiness, to hush the children.”⁶⁴

The possibilities of “quick and easy money” developed in many cotton planters a lordly contempt for the small economies and homely virtues of earlier days. In 1845 some of the characteristics of this type were indicated as follows:⁶⁵

“He wouldn’t sell a chicken, nor a dozen of eggs, nor a bushel of peaches, nor a calf, for any consideration. He is *above* that! He raises *cotton*—*he* does! He rides in a six hundred dollar carriage, for which he is in debt. His daughters thrum a piano that never will be paid for. He buys corn which he could raise at ten cents a bushel, and pays sixty cents for it, after two and a half per cent. advance to his commission merchant.”

The speculative period that culminated in 1837 produced many of these newly-rich and pretentious planters. A contemporary wrote:⁶⁶

“Who has not heard of the Mississippi fortunes, that sprang up like Jonah’s gourd in a single night. . . . The bulk of the plantations were held by adventurers from all the professions, who had gotten tired of the dull routine of their dull business, and by young

⁶³ Abernethy, *Formative Period in Alabama*, 131–136; Phillips, U. B., *Life and Labor in the Old South*, 107–111.

⁶⁴ *Memorable Days in America* (Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XI), 81–84.

⁶⁵ *Southern Planter*, V, 108.

⁶⁶ *Agriculturist*, III, 255.

men from other States, who would come well recommended, and who had the gift of the times, nerve for any thing."

Of some of these adventurers in high finance another wrote:⁶⁷

"For two or three years it was quite common for idle young men to leave Tennessee a few months, and return with as much show as if they were worth millions; but alas, in the 'winding up,' the most of these 'wealthy planters' were worse than paupers. . . . We scarcely know an instance of one of these high pressure speculating gentry who can boast of sober steady habits. The effect has been, many an honest woman has been deceived by marrying drunken spendthrifts, and the very name of *southern planter* is viewed suspiciously."

When the bubble of prosperity burst many planters "ran their negroes to Texas, leaving their lands unsold behind them—many rescinded their contracts, . . . Some few evaded their contracts, by means of the law for the benefit of married women."⁶⁸

The class of newly-rich planters strove to enter the circle of the aristocratic planting class by employing the same methods used by the social climber everywhere. A traveller in the South just before the Civil War gives the following account of this class of guests in the St. Charles Hotel, New Orleans:⁶⁹

"When all the cotton widows and cotton girls have bought their new dresses in Canal or Chartres street, they display them at once in the St. Charles parlor. Every chair and sofa is set out with the new silks and satins. You hear it whispered about, that the dress of white point lace worn by the young belle standing before you cost papa two thousand dollars; and that the lady by her side, from Red River, flames with twenty thousand dollars' worth of jewelry."

There were also included among the plutocratic type of planters a few miserly, grasping, money-seeking individuals who drove their slaves as hard as possible and were too stingy to maintain the standards of living of the upper stratum of plantation society. Hundley calls this class "the Southern Yankees."⁷⁰

VARIOUS TYPES OF UPPER-CLASS PLANTERS

The manner of life and personal characteristics of the upper-class planters in the later decades of the ante bellum period have been long celebrated in history and fiction. They spent their summers in Northern watering places, travelled extensively in Europe, and entertained lavishly their cosmopolitan acquaintances. They were conspicuous in state and national politics. They enjoyed a wide acquaintance among members of their own class. At best, their homes were stately mansions with well-kept grounds. Frequently they kept abreast of the late fashions in furniture, dress, and equipage, but in the older districts there was often a preference for quiet elegance. The successful control of many slaves

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 130.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 255.

⁶⁹ Mackie, *From Cape Cod to Dixie*, 160; cf. Olmsted, F. L., *Journey in the Back Country*, 27–29, 32; Brown, W. G., *Lower South in American History*, 45.

⁷⁰ *Social Relations in Our Southern States*, 131.

placed a premium on men of masterful and self-reliant traits.⁷¹ The adulation and flattery of numerous dependents promoted a strong sense of pride and superiority, sometimes tempered by a humility cultivated under religious impulses. While the possession of power over numerous human beings was conducive to lack of restraint and outbursts of temper, such tendencies were more likely to be manifested by the self-made planter, while among the more aristocratic element gentleness and self-restraint became marks of good breeding. Broad generalizations, however, should be made with the recognition that economic and social evolution produced a number of plantation regions widely different. The Virginia and Maryland upper-class planters differed in many respects from the corresponding class in the Charleston district, as did the latter from the upland planters of the Carolinas and Georgia. The Creole aristocracy near New Orleans, with their Continental habits and Latin conceptions, presented strong contrasts to the cotton plantation society that surrounded them.⁷² Finally, the tone and character of social life among the upper classes in middle Tennessee and the bluegrass region of Kentucky contrasted severely with those of the lower South.⁷³

One of the worst features about this upper stratum of plantation society, from the standpoint of good agriculture and the welfare of their slaves, was the tendency for the masters and their families to be absent from their plantations. In the colonial period a good many plantation owners resided in England, and in eastern South Carolina and Georgia, as we have noted, many remained on their plantations only part of the year, on account of the climate. The tendency toward absenteeism was increased by the penchant of the aristocracy for foreign travel, and sometimes by ownership of several plantations in different parts of the country.⁷⁴ In general, however, absenteeism was less prevalent than in the West Indies.⁷⁵

THE MIDDLE-CLASS AND SMALL PLANTERS

The class of ornamental aristocrats and ultra-wealthy slaveholders, for all the attention they attracted, were numerically few. Beneath them were the numerous middle-class planters, who have been called the backbone of Southern society.⁷⁶ The middle-class planter almost invariably resided on his plantation. Sometimes he employed an overseer to manage details and perform the disagreeable function of chastising slaves. However, if we assume that each of the upper-class planters had at least one overseer at the time of the census of 1850, there would be left only enough overseers to provide for less than 11 per cent of the

⁷¹ Cf. Curry, "The South in the Olden Time," in Southern History Assn., *Publications*, V, 36-38.

⁷² For various interesting contrasts, see Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years*, 335-339; Russell, W. H., *My Diary North and South*, I, 235, 375, 381; Ingraham, *Sunny South*, 318-320; Coulter, "A Century of a Georgia Plantation," in *Agricultural History*, III, 147-150. A number of contrasting types are described in detail in U. B. Phillips' *Life and Labor in the Old South*, Chaps. XII-XIV.

⁷³ Dodd, *Cotton Kingdom*, 13-18.

⁷⁴ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1574-1660, p. 256; Hammond, J., *Leah and Rachel* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 14), p. 12; Mallard, *Plantation Life before Emancipation*, 9; *Southern Agriculturist*, VII, 177; Olmsted, F. L., *Journey in the Back Country*, 26, 119-121.

⁷⁵ Cf. McKinnon, *Tour through the British West Indies*, 108.

⁷⁶ Bassett, *Slavery in the State of North Carolina*, 47.

84,328 middle-class planters. Generally the middle-class planter and his wife exercised an active personal interest in the details of the slaves' welfare. They rarely worked with their slaves, who were under more rigid discipline than in the farming districts. These planters had little time for luxurious or ostentatious living or systematic self-indulgence. They were compelled to rise early to lay out the work for the day. At best, their manner of living was comfortable; at worst, it was slovenly, careless, and comfortless. At best, the houses were large, airy, comfortable, with glass windows and ample verandas. Their comforts were supplemented by a dairy, an orchard, and a well-kept garden. At worst, the house was an enlarged log cabin, dirty and full of flies and mosquitoes; the food a dreary monotony of bacon, "corn-pone," hominy, and coffee.

The middle-class planters were frequently forcible, double-fisted, self-made men. They were not idealistic, and they did not cultivate the graces. "They were humdrum, but they were honest, pious and substantial."⁷⁷ Frequently they were well informed on politics and on practical matters of everyday life. Many, however, were innocent of "book-learning." They were beginning to send their daughters to boarding school and their sons to academy or even to college, striving to elevate them to a more ornamental position. Sometimes middle-class planters ventured on a trip to watering places. Olmsted found that they were by no means uniformly hospitable to strangers but frequently accepted pay for entertainment. Some of the men were reckless gamblers and hard drinkers, but after the pioneer period a large majority were religious, taking their religion seriously and uncritically. Although without the social graces, the women were not lacking in refinement. Hundley, who had a keen insight into the characteristics of Southern classes, describes these middle-class wives as follows:⁷⁸

"Modest and virtuous, chaste in speech and manners; they are, besides, very industrious house-keepers, kind-hearted mistresses, and the most devoted of wives and mothers; although, we are free to confess, they are not unfrequently quite simple and unsophisticated and easily gulled or deceived, knowing at best but little of the world and its manifold follies, and caring even less for its empty vanities and trumpery shows. The labors, indeed, of such a Southern matron are onerous in the extreme. Besides the cares of a mother, the anxieties of a housekeeper, and the wants of her husband, she has also to look after the wants of the blacks. She nearly always superintends the cutting and making of every garment worn by the latter; makes daily visits to the 'smoke-house' in company with the cook, in order to see that they are bountifully supplied with provisions; visits their humble cabins when they are sick, or infirm through age; with her own delicate hands administers the healing medicine left by the doctor, and when all medicines have become alike unavailing, sits down beside the lowly couch of the dying African, and tenderly consoles his last moments."

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 47, 82.

⁷⁸ *Social Relations in Our Southern States*, 98-100; cf. also for an account of this class: Beverley, R., *History of Virginia*, 255; Harrower, *Diary* (American Historical Review, VI), 83; *Tour through Part of Virginia, 1808*, p. 30; Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, I, 98-100; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, II, 448; Burke, E. P., *Reminiscences of Georgia*, 111, 195-199; Hodgson, *Letters from North America*, I, 184; Gosse, *Letters from Alabama*, 151-156; *Southern Cultivator*, VI, 27; Olmsted, F. L., *Journey in the Back Country*, 26, 117, 159-161, 204, 407; *idem*, *Journey through Texas*, 115; Bassett, *Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina*, 16-18; *Southern Planter*, XIII, 49; Johnson, T. C., *Robert Lewis Dabney*, 14-19; Johnston, R. M., "The Planter of the Old South," in *Southern History Assn., Publications*, I, 37-39.

Below the middle-class planters was the rabble of small planters who owned less than ten slaves. They were generally densely ignorant, pursuing a careless and thriftless agriculture under relatively unfavorable conditions. Generally, in their efforts to raise cotton and tobacco, they failed to secure the comforts of the farming class. Almost invariably they lived in small log cabins and pursued a squalid, yet generally cheerful and care-free existence. A small proportion lived in the midst of a degree of comfort almost equal to that of the farming class. This was especially true of the small Creole slaveowners—*petits habitants*,—many of whom possessed the thrifty, industrious habits of the French peasantry.⁷⁹ Olmsted calculated that the average income of the cotton planter owning one family of five slaves was not above \$125 a year, while the owner of two families received not more than \$300. He asserted: "I have seen many a workman's lodging at the North, and in England too, where there was double the amount of luxury that I ever saw in a regular cotton-planter's house on plantations of three cabins" (fifteen slaves).⁸⁰

There were also large numbers of small slaveholders—men who owned from one to five slaves—who are hardly to be called planters, and who were not true farmers because their principal ambition was the production of cotton and the accumulation of slaves. Some of them developed into large slaveholders; others moved from place to place, producing a few bales of cotton and then passing on to new regions. In the first years of settlement their existence differed little from that of the pioneer farmers already described.⁸¹

FREE WHITE AGRICULTURAL LABORERS

In the colonial period the class of free white agricultural laborers was of little economic and social significance. In general they were most numerous in the border States, especially in districts of commercial farming where slavery had not obtained an important foothold. There were a few in the Carolinas and Georgia, particularly in the back country, before the advent of cotton and slavery.⁸² In the colonial period, besides the indentured servants, there were some white artisans who may be considered a part of the agricultural system, since they were employed mainly by planters or farmers. Thus, large planters like George Washington sometimes hired journeymen to teach their slaves crafts or to supervise their work.⁸³ Gradually, as already noted, slaves acquired the necessary skill to displace both indentured servants and white artisans.⁸⁴ As in the North, however, the number of white hired laborers was kept at a minimum by the

⁷⁹ Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, 173; Mead, *Travels*, 20; Hildreth, *Despotism in America*, 75; Buckingham, *Slave States of America*, II, 198–200; *Southern Cultivator*, XVI, 378; Olmsted, F. L., *Journey in the Back Country*, Chap. IV, *passim*, and pp. 139–156 (an excellent description), also pp. 205–208; *idem*, *Journey through Texas*, 88, 394.

⁸⁰ *Cotton Kingdom*, I, 17–19; *cf.* also *ibid.*, 206.

⁸¹ Lincecum, *Autobiography* (Miss. Hist. Soc., Publications, VIII), 446–458; Powell, "Description and History of Blount County," in Ala. Hist. Soc., *Transactions*, 1855, pp. 38–48.

⁸² Extracts from Memoirs of Josiah Quincy, in *North Carolina Colonial Records*, IX, 612; Naime, *Letter from South Carolina*, 55.

⁸³ Washington, *Diaries* (Fitzpatrick), I, 282; Scotus Americanus, *Informations concerning North Carolina* (North Carolina Historical Review, III), 619; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, V, 315.

⁸⁴ *Cf.* letter from Lieutenant-Governor Fauquier to the Board of Trade, Dec. 17, 1766, in Virginia, *Official Correspondence* (Force Transcripts, Library of Congress).

ease with which land could be obtained and by the continual allurements of westward migration.⁸⁵ To this was added the competition of slave labor and the odium that came to be attached to labor for hire.

Mr. Alfred Holt Stone, however, has pointed out the falsity of the conception that there were practically no free laborers in the post colonial South because free labor and slave labor could not exist side by side. The two systems need not exist side by side, for there were large areas where slaves were but a negligible element in the population, and Southern white men performed practically every kind of labor in which the slave worked.⁸⁶

The widely prevalent idea that on account of slavery nearly all the free people of the South were necessarily engaged in agriculture is disproved by the census of 1850. This shows that of the gainfully employed white population over fifteen years of age, 48 per cent in the border States and about 40 per cent in the lower South were in nonagricultural occupations. The proportion in the border States was lower than in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey; it was not greatly different from the percentages for Maine, Vermont, and Ohio; but much larger than for such States as Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan. For the fifteen Southern States, there were 819,419 free white males over fifteen years of age who reported their occupation as "farmer."⁸⁷ Assuming that there was one operator to each of the 569,201 farms and plantations reported, and subtracting the number of farms from the number of farmers leaves a remainder of 250,218 as a maximum estimate of the free whites over fifteen years of age employed as farm laborers. By this method of calculation there were 158,541 white hired laborers in the border States, and 91,677 in the lower South, a ratio of about one free white laborer over fifteen years of age to every 2.3 farms in the former group, and to every 2.2 farms in the latter.

OVERSEERS

Overseers comprised an agricultural class small in numbers,—only 18,859 in 1850,⁸⁸—but of relatively great importance by reason of their economic position.⁸⁹ The overseer system, first employed in this country by the Virginia Company, was an extension of the practice of employing bailiffs to superintend English estates; and in the early colonial period overseers were sometimes called "bailiffs." On some of the Maryland manors there were stewards, but they corresponded in function more closely to the English steward than to the American overseer.⁹⁰

In the colonial period overseers were frequently indentured servants whose term of service had expired.⁹¹ About 1845 it was estimated that in Virginia 60 per

⁸⁵ *Farmers' Register*, III, 475.

⁸⁶ Stone, *Free Contract Labor in the Ante-Bellum South* (*South in the Building of the Nation*, V), 134-144.

⁸⁷ *United States Census*, 1850, p. lxx.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. lxxiv.

⁸⁹ Terms of employment and relationship to plantation organization are discussed in Chap. XXIV.
⁹⁰ Strachey, *Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 2), p. 16; Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, I, 331, 433; Neill, *Virginia Vetusta*, 203; Jones, H., *Present State of Virginia*, 36; Johnson, J. H., *Old Maryland Manors*, 12.

⁹¹ Durand, *Frenchman in Virginia*, 97-99.

cent were previously mechanics who, tired of their former tasks, turned to overseer employment as a supposedly easy way of making a living. In the lower South sons of small planters or, more rarely, poor white families found the position a desirable outlet for their energies, and in some cases a stepping stone to the acquisition of plantations.⁹²

In numerous instances overseers were unreliable and dishonest, and in their treatment of slaves, cruel, drunken, and licentious tyrants. Agricultural papers contained many complaints of dissatisfaction with the system and also with particular individuals or with the class as a whole. Washington spoke emphatically of "the insufferable conduct of my Overseers" and of the "little dependence there is on such men when left to themselves." He found it necessary to watch them closely "to keep them from running about, and to oblige them to remain constantly with their people . . . and moreover, to see at what time they turn out of a morning."⁹³ He complained that although a certain overseer was "of strict integrity, sobriety, industry and zeal, . . . ready to oblige in all things & upon all occasions," yet he failed to plan his crops, continually shifted slaves from one job to another without permitting them to complete anything, was careless of tools and implements, failed to fatten the livestock in spite of heavy expenditures for feed, took little care of hedges, and neglected to inspect slave quarters and to prevent the slaves from injuring or neglecting work stock.⁹⁴ Washington had found by experience that it was essential to "keep them at a proper distance; for they will grow upon familiarity, in proportion as you will sink in authority, if you do not."⁹⁵ Thomas Jefferson sarcastically congratulated himself that a newly employed overseer "seems as if he would be docile, so that I hope to get my own outlines followed by him."⁹⁶

That some capable men of good character might be employed is suggested by advertisements which specify that applicants must be "sober and industrious," and "of unexceptionable character."⁹⁷ Such overseers, however, must have been few. A Virginia planter advertised for an overseer of foreign extraction, declaring, "I must confess, that a native would not be preferred, knowing from past experience, their habits to be inactive; they while away their time, too proud to work themselves, and too lazy to see that others do their work as it ought to be done, few indeed excepted." He also specified that applicants should not be "given to the habit of soaking whisky grog."⁹⁸

As a class, overseers were men of dense ignorance and narrow vision, with the obtuseness that resulted from long familiarity with slavery. Their agricultural knowledge consisted of the rule-of-thumb methods handed down for generations

⁹² *Southern Planter*, V, 209; Mallard, *Plantation Life before Emancipation*, 40; *Southern Agriculturist*, II, 4; *Southern Cultivator*, I, 43; Beverley, R., *History of Virginia*, 236; cf. Halle, *Baumwollproduktion*, I, 38.

⁹³ Letter to Mr. Pearce, Nov. 24, 1793, in Long Island Historical Society, *Memoirs*, IV, 12-13.

⁹⁴ Letter to James Anderson, June 11, 1798, in Washington, *Papers*, Vol. 288, No. 38535 (Manuscripts, Library of Congress).

⁹⁵ Letter to Mr. Pearce, Dec. 18, 1793, in Long Island Historical Society, *Memoirs*, IV, 14.

⁹⁶ Jefferson, *Papers*, Vol. 88, No. 15283 (Manuscripts, Library of Congress).

⁹⁷ *Times and Alexandria Advertiser* (Virginia), Jan. 9, 1798; *South Carolina Gazette and General Advertiser* (Charleston), Sept. 16-20, 1783.

⁹⁸ *Washington Federalist* (District of Columbia), June 8, 1801.

in the class of small farmers. In numerous cases ignorance was added to deep-seated prejudice against "book-farming."⁹⁹ Unfortunately, on account of the social disesteem in which overseers were held, persons of intelligence, education, and high character were deterred from entering this employment. The attitude of the planter himself was largely responsible for the unattractiveness of the occupation to all except ignorant poor whites. "In a large majority of cases," we are told, overseers were "regarded by their employers merely as dependents; who are to be kept at a distance . . . as hirelings, who are hardly worthy the wages of their daily labour. The planter looks down upon his overseer, as one of an inferior and degraded caste."¹⁰⁰

THE WHITE SERVANT CLASS¹⁰¹

The personal characteristics of white indentured servants, an agricultural class of importance only in the colonial period, was extremely various as a result of the different sources from which the class was recruited. It comprised ne'er-do-wells, vicious and desperate criminals, political offenders, vagabonds, and abandoned women, seeking in the New World an oblivion for past offenses. That many of the women were of the scum of English society is shown by the statutes forbidding their illicit relations with Negroes.¹⁰² Probably the great majority of the servant class were stolid laborers accustomed to servitude, artisans and mechanics, teachers, and thousands of small farmers and peasants drawn by the potent lure of cheap land.¹⁰³

In cases when the period of service had not been determined by contract, colonial statutes specified its duration. Thus, under the Maryland act of March, 1638/9, males eighteen years of age or over and females twelve years or over, brought to the Province at the charge of another, might be bound to serve four years. Males under eighteen might be bound to serve until twenty-four years of age, and females under twelve might be bound for seven years. The act of 1654, evidently intended to be more favorable to merchants and owners of servants, specified somewhat longer terms.¹⁰⁴ In 1661 the important requirement was laid down that servants must be brought before a county court within three months after arrival in the Colony, in order to have the term made a matter of record.¹⁰⁵ Similar legislation, except for differences in detail, was passed in other Southern Colonies. Sometimes, for the servant's protection, conditions were imposed on the right of contract. In Virginia, by act of 1705, all contracts between masters and servants were void unless approved by the court. For the further protection of servants their freedom was to be recorded.¹⁰⁶ A Louisi-

⁹⁹ *American Agriculturist*, IV, 319, 368; *Southern Cultivator*, II, 97, 108; Hall, B., *Travels in North America*, III, 193; Olmsted, F. L., *Seaboard Slave States*, II, 121; *Carolina Planter* (1844-5), I, 25-30; *American Farmer*, 1 series, X (1828-9), p. 244.

¹⁰⁰ *Carolina Planter* (1844-5), I, 25-30; *Southern Agriculturist*, IX, 189.

¹⁰¹ Various aspects of servitude are considered above, pp. 361-366.

¹⁰² See especially Maryland statutes of 1663 and 1681. Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, I, 249-251.

¹⁰³ See pp. 345-348.

¹⁰⁴ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), I, 80, 352.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 409. For further minor changes, see *ibid.*, II, 147; (Coun. Proc.), V, 373.

¹⁰⁶ Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, 240; cf. McCrady, "Slavery in the Province of South Carolina," in *Amer. Hist. Assn., Annual Report*, 1895, p. 635.

ana law provided that adults could not bind themselves for a longer period than five years.¹⁰⁷

Unlike the slave, the servant was not a chattel. Consequently he possessed many rights as a person, including the rights of property and contract, the right to bring legal accusation against his master or other freeman, and the right to testify against them.¹⁰⁸ Gradually, however, the popular conception of the institution was transformed so that the master came to consider his right as one in the person of the servant, while the latter in general regarded servitude as odious, and a possible escape therefrom desirable. This change in attitude was necessarily reflected both in legal provisions and in actual relations of master and servant.¹⁰⁹

Planters were at a great advantage in bargaining with servants, especially when the contract was made on this side of the Atlantic. In the time of the Virginia Company pressure was frequently brought to bear by planters to induce servants to make disadvantageous contracts. It was declared that "Planters do polittiquely forbear from making the Covenant here and reserves it to be Donn in Virginia."¹¹⁰ Even when legal safeguards had been provided in the Colonies they were dictated in considerable measure by the interests of the planters; for instance, in legislation providing for extensions of term as a punishment for running away and for other offenses involving financial loss to the master, such as marrying without the master's consent; violations of contract; absence without leave; time lost in making groundless complaints to the county courts, in imprisonment for public offenses, due to birth of an illegitimate child not of the master's parentage, suffering accident or becoming diseased through wilful misbehavior; embezzlement or destruction of the master's goods; and striking the master or overseer.¹¹¹

The status of the servant resembled that of the slave in two important particulars; the right of the master to sell the services of his servant and, in consequence, to transfer his person for the unexpired period of service, and the right of the master to impose chastisement.¹¹² The latter right, however, was usually carefully regulated by law. In some of the Colonies it was provided that chastisement might be administered by public authorities on complaint of the master. Generally servants might make complaint of ill treatment before justices of the

¹⁰⁷ *Louisiana Civil Code*, 48.

¹⁰⁸ Sartorius von Waltershausen, *Die Arbeits-Verfassung der Englischen Kolonien*, 39; cf. Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 1; McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland*, 61; Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, I, 243.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. discussion by Ballagh, *White Servitude in Virginia*, 64.

¹¹⁰ Virginia Company of London, *Court Book*, II, 112, 129-131.

¹¹¹ Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, I, 229, 239; *North Carolina State Records*, XXIII (Col. Laws), 191-197; *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), I, 489; McCrady, "Slavery in the Province of South Carolina," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1895, p. 634; Ballagh, *White Servitude in Virginia*, 50, 55-57; Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland*, 21; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 23; McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland*, 62; Bassett, *Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina*, 83-84; *North Carolina Laws* (Iredell), 68; Geiser, *Redemptioners and Indentured Servants*, 86, 91; Cheyney, "Conditions of Labor in Early Pennsylvania," in *The Manufacturer*, Mar. 16, 1891, p. 7; *South Carolina Statutes* (Cooper), II, 22, 52-54.

¹¹² Ballagh, *White Servitude in Virginia*, 43; Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland*, 24; Geiser, *Redemptioners and Indentured Servants*, 74. In Virginia De Vries found the planters gambling for servants. *Voyages*, 53, 183.

peace. In Maryland mistreatment was held to include whipping by more than 10 lashes. The master might apply to a justice of the peace who was authorized to increase the amount of punishment, but not to exceed 39 lashes. By the Virginia servant code of 1705 the right of chastisement was permitted only when authorized by a justice of the peace. By the act of 1748 a master might not whip a naked servant except on order of a justice of the peace,¹¹³ and this provision was adopted by other Colonies.¹¹⁴ Burial of servants without witnesses was generally prohibited. In South Carolina it was provided by a law of 1691 that if a master whipped or otherwise cruelly abused a servant, the latter might be set free by action of the council, or other relief provided. An act of 1717 specified that the master should be reprovved for the first offense and fined for the second. For a third offense the servant was to be given his freedom.¹¹⁵ Somewhat similar provisions were included in the Louisiana code as late as 1825.¹¹⁶

On the master's part duties and obligations not specified or implied by contract were provided for by legislation in the several Colonies. Thus, a South Carolina law of 1691 gave the servant his freedom on failure of the master to provide adequately for support. Masters were forbidden to turn a servant off before the expiration of his term. Laws of similar intent existed in other Southern Colonies.¹¹⁷

Accounts of the treatment of servants are somewhat conflicting, depending upon the particular experiences as well as the prejudices of the observer. In the third quarter of the eighteenth century Eddis asserted that Negroes were invariably better treated than servants and that the latter "groan beneath a worse than Egyptian bondage."¹¹⁸ The same writer believed that the "free-willers" suffered even worse treatment than the convicts. Another writer, about the middle of the seventeenth century, declared of Virginia:¹¹⁹

"The Planters, many of them doe very much abuse and oppress their poor servants, by not allowing them that lodging and food which is meet, . . . though men of honesty and conscience do discharge their consciences there in the good use of their servants, as the like do here."

About the close of the century another wrote of the treatment of servants in Maryland and Virginia: "Servants should have a little more kind usage from their masters, for a man had really better be hanged than come a servant into the Plantations, most of his food being homene and water. . . . I have been told by some of them that they have not tasted flesh mate once in three months." He asserted

¹¹³ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXX, 177; Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 5-13; McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland*, 62; Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland*, 115; *North Carolina Laws* (Iredell), 85; Geiser, *Redemptioners and Indentured Servants*, 86; Ballagh, *White Servitude in Virginia*, 45; Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, I, 243.

¹¹⁴ For instance, *North Carolina State Records*, XXIII (Col. Laws), 192.

¹¹⁵ McCrady, "Slavery in the Province of South Carolina," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1895, p. 634.

¹¹⁶ *Louisiana Civil Code*, 50.

¹¹⁷ McCrady, "Slavery in the Province of South Carolina," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1895, pp. 634-636; Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, I, 243; cf. *North Carolina State Records*, XXIII (Col. Laws), 192; *Louisiana Civil Code*, 50.

¹¹⁸ *Letters from America*, 70.

¹¹⁹ Gatford, *Publick Good without Private Interest*, 10.

that in order to keep from having to pay freedom dues the planters were accustomed to treat a servant so barbarously in the last few months of his term of service that in order to gain his freedom a month or so earlier he would agree to forego his rights to freedom dues.¹²⁰

On the other hand, John Hammond, the author of *Leah and Rachel*,¹²¹ vehemently denied that the lot of the servant was unduly severe. Alsop also, whose testimony must be discounted because he was obviously trying to stimulate immigration, wrote:¹²²

"And let this be spoke to the deserved praise of Mary-Land, That the four years I served there were not to me so slavish, as a two years Servitude of a Handicraft Apprenticeship was here in London; . . .

"For know, That the Servants here in Mary-Land of all Colonies, distant or remote Plantations, have the least cause to complain, either for strictness of Servitude, want of Provisions, or need of Apparel: Five dayes and a half in the Summer weeks is the allotted time that they work in; and for two months, when the Sun predominates in the highest pitch of his heat, they claim an antient and customary Priviledge, to repose themselves three hours in the day within the house, and this is undeniably granted to them that work in the Fields.

"In the Winter time, which lasteth three months (*viz.*) December, January, and February, they do little or no work or employment, save cutting of wood to make good fires to sit by, unless their Ingenuity will prompt them to hunt . . .

"Now those Servants which come over into this Province, being Artificers, they never (during their Servitude) work in the Fields, or do any other employment save that which their Handicraft and Mechanick endeavours are capable of putting them upon, and are esteem'd as well by their Masters, as those that imploy them, above measure. He that's a Tradesman here in Mary-Land (though a Servant), lives as well as most common Handicrafts do in London, though they may want something of that Liberty which Freemen have, to go and come at their pleasure; . . .

"The Servant of this Province, which are stigmatiz'd for Slaves by the clappermouth jaws of the vulgar in England, live more like Freemen than the most Mechanick Apprentices in London, wanting for nothing that is convenient and necessary, and according to their several capacities, are extraordinary well used and respected."

In some respects the influence of Negro slavery, especially in the latter part of the seventeenth century, tended to increase the severity with which servants were treated. The desperate character of many convict servants must have had a similar effect. The fact that the master's pecuniary interest in the servant was less than in the case of the slave was probably unfavorable to the lot of the servant, as in the West Indies.¹²³ Later the gradual separation in functions of servants and slaves, together with the racial sympathy of master and servant, effected a distinction in the social status of the two servile classes which went far toward alleviating the condition of servants. Even when the two races worked side by side in the tobacco fields they were not associated in the quarters. Social intercourse between servants and Negroes was not extensive, and miscegenation was forbidden by law.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ Great Britain, *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1701, p. 693.

¹²¹ (Force, Tracts, III, No. 14), p. 12.

¹²² *Character of Maryland* (Hall, Narratives), 355, 357-359, 378.

¹²³ Long, *History of Jamaica*, II, 267 n.

¹²⁴ Ballagh, *White Servitude in Virginia*, 68-73; Eddis, *Letters from America*, 65-75; Hammond, J., *Leah and Rachel* (Force, Tracts, III, No. 14), p. 12; Extract from a letter of George Alsop to his father, in Alsop, *Character of Maryland* (Hall, Narratives), 378.

The servant trade was subject to terrible abuses. The overcrowding of ships, insanitary conditions, and numerous fraudulent practices were so common that it became customary to call the ships engaged in the trade "White Guinea-men."¹²⁵ We hear of greedy sea captains who crowded their ships so greatly that there was "not more than twelve inches room for each passenger," of a diet of bread and water issued every two weeks in such small quantities that many passengers exhausted their supply in eight days and begged vainly for more; of instances of terrible mortality—of one ship which lost 100 out of 150 passengers, another 250 out of 312, and still another 350 out of 400. Another estimate for 1758 placed the mortality for fifteen ships at 2,000.¹²⁶ Sometimes "soul drivers" bought up fifty or more servants and drove them through the country like cattle. It was frequently customary to separate families in the sale, although in Pennsylvania the separation of wives and husbands without their consent was finally forbidden. Gradually, however, the development of more humane public sentiment brought about an improvement in the conditions of the trade.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Priest, *Travels*, 142-144.

¹²⁶ Hennighausen, *German Society of Maryland*, 17, 22; cf. Bolingbroke, *Voyage to the Demerary*, 81 & n.; Geiser, *Redemptioners and Indentured Servants*, 46-51.

¹²⁷ Eddis, *Letters from America*, 77; Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, I, 368; Priest, *Travels*, 145; Fearon, *Sketches of America*, 149; cf. especially, Geiser, *Redemptioners and Indentured Servants*, 30, 51-54. For details concerning the economic characteristics of servitude, see Chap. XVI.

CHAPTER XXII

ECONOMIC TYPES AND SOCIAL CLASSES—THE BLACKS

General Tendencies in Slave Codes, 508. Legal Status of Slaves as Property, 508. Recognition of Personality in Protective Statutes, 509. Restrictions on Ownership of Property, Freedom of Contract and Movement, Assembly, and Education, 512. Legal Status of Slave Crimes and Penalties, 514. Conditions Determining the Actual Welfare of Slaves, 517. General Attitude toward Free Negroes, 522. Limitations on Manumission, 524. Restrictions on Migration of Free Negroes, 526. Miscellaneous Social and Economic Disabilities of Free Negroes, 527.

GENERAL TENDENCIES IN SLAVE CODES

In all of the Southern States there existed a great body of slave law which constitutes a starting point for an examination of the status and condition of the slave. This legislation is perhaps of greatest historical value in revealing the contrasts in attitude toward slaves in the various regions and at different times. It is probably safe to venture the generalization that the laws existent in the lower South at any particular time were of somewhat sterner spirit than the laws of the border States. Apparently the codes were harsher about the middle of the colonial period than in the early decades of Virginia. The Revolutionary period was characterized by legislation of extreme liberality, followed by a tendency to temper by discretion some of the provisions passed in the first enthusiasm for the "rights of man." One can detect in the legislation of all the Southern States about 1830 the influence of alarm excited by the Abolition Movement.¹ In the decade prior to the Civil War the influence of the Dred Scott Decision, the struggle over fugitive slaves, and the growing sectional ill feeling may be traced in stricter legislation respecting slaves and free Negroes, especially in legislation on emancipation, fugitives, the status of free Negroes, and the police laws regulating the conduct of Negroes.

LEGAL STATUS OF SLAVES AS PROPERTY

The status of slaves as property was a source of considerable confusion in Southern law.² At common law the slave was personal property, but in a number of communities slaves were made real estate by statute.

Thus, the Virginia law of 1705 declared slaves, heretofore regarded as personalty, to be realty; and a law of 1727 provided for the transfer of estates "tail, in possession or remainder, with annexed slaves or their increase." The principal object of the act, according to Ballagh, was to protect orphans, widows, and reversioners from loss of property through sale of slaves out of the Colony. The same act, however, made slaves subject to execution for payment of debts, a provision made also by a Maryland act of 1681 in cases when other personal property was insufficient.³ Except for claims of creditors the effect of the Vir-

¹ Cf. Professor Bassett's excellent statement of this influence in North Carolina. *Slavery in the State of North Carolina*, 7-9.

² Concerning the legal derivation of the institution of slavery, see above, pp. 359-361.

³ Ballagh, *Slavery in Virginia*, 63-66; *Virginia Statutes* (Hening), III, 333; IV, 224; *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), VII, 197.

ginia act was to develop the doctrine of annexation of slaves to land for purposes of descent. In important respects, however, slaves still retained certain characteristics of personal property. Besides being objects of execution for debt, they did not escheat with the land, they were recoverable by personal action for distrainer, trover, or conversion, their ownership did not confer the right of suffrage, and it was not necessary to record a transfer.⁴ In 1748/9, in order to allay the confusion, Virginia passed a law declaring slaves to be personal property, and not real estate. Although Governor Gooch officially approved the measure, he privately advised the British authorities to veto it; and this action was taken in 1751. Complete change to personalty was not achieved until 1792/3.⁵

The earlier law of South Carolina followed that of Barbados in declaring slaves to be real estate, but exception was made when chattels were not sufficient to satisfy creditors.⁶ The South Carolina act of 1740 declared slaves to be chattels personal. In 1768, in considering a Georgia act making slaves chattels personal, the privy council reversed its former veto of the Virginia act declaring slaves to be personalty. The council asserted that the Virginia act of 1705, although treating slaves as real estate, had been qualified by a proviso that slaves should be liable for execution for debt, and that South Carolina also had passed a law making slaves personal property.⁷ In Louisiana slaves were real estate.⁸ The Kentucky law of 1798 declared slaves to be real estate, but allowed them to be taken in execution when necessary to satisfy creditors. This resulted in the mixed property conception that had led to confusion in Virginia experience. The act of 1852 made slaves personalty but provided that other forms of personal property must be taken first in execution.⁹ This was also substantially the law of Missouri, Florida, and other States.¹⁰ Even when the statutes declared slaves to be realty, custom and usage recognized them as personalty, and it was held in a leading case that a general devise of all personal property by will without specification would include slaves.¹¹

Professor Ballagh has remarked that the more general recognition of slaves as real property might have tended to mitigate their condition by attaching them more definitely to the soil and by strengthening the prevalent tendency to regard the sale of slaves as a more or less disreputable act, a tendency gradually weakened by the conditions that developed the internal slave trade.¹²

RECOGNITION OF PERSONALITY IN PROTECTIVE STATUTES

Under Roman law a slave was a form of property, not a person, but in Southern jurisprudence the slave was recognized as both property and person. The slave's

⁴ Cf. the full discussion in Ballagh, *Slavery in Virginia*, 63–70.

⁵ London, P. R. O., C. O. 5/1327, p. 153 (Transcripts, Library of Congress); Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, IV, 138; Ballagh, *Slavery in Virginia*, 67, 70.

⁶ McCrady, "Slavery in the Province of South Carolina," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1895, p. 644; cf. *Barbados Acts* (Hall), 64, 93, and App., p. 60.

⁷ Great Britain, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, V, 177.

⁸ Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 157; *Louisiana Civil Code*, 140.

⁹ Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 15, 19; *Kentucky Statutes* (Wickliffe), 627; McDougale, *Slavery in Kentucky*, 39.

¹⁰ Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 167, 192; Trexler, *Slavery in Missouri*, 61–63.

¹¹ Chinn & wife vs. Respass, cited by Wheeler, J. D., *Treatise on the Law of Slavery*, 39.

¹² *Slavery in Virginia*, 63.

personality, however, was more largely recognized at equity than at common law.¹³ In fact, his character as a person rested largely on the modification by positive law of the disabilities naturally incident to his character as a chattel, but this modification became sufficiently extensive so that in some State codes laws applicable to slaves were catalogued in the chapters on persons.¹⁴ Even in the absence of specific statutes recognizing personality, there was some tendency to accept it in the form of rights to personal security, although opinions on this point were conflicting. By some courts it was held that any recognition of personality by statute law established a presumption of personality sufficiently strong to endow the slave with the right of personal security, although to a more limited degree than for freemen.¹⁵

Even in the colonial period there were numerous statutory provisions to protect the slave from injury on the part of the general public and the master, though with less severe penalties than for similar offenses against whites, for it was necessary to maintain slavery by compulsion. A Virginia statute of 1669, reenacted from time to time, provided that if a slave resisted correction by his master and if "by the extremity of the coercion should chance to die," his death should be accounted manslaughter, not a felony.¹⁶ In colonial North Carolina willful murder of a slave was punishable by one year's imprisonment, and a second offense by death.¹⁷ The Georgia slave code of 1755, modelled after that of South Carolina, which in turn was derived from the harsh Barbadian code of 1688, provided that persons killing a slave in a heat of passion must forfeit £50, and in case of seriously maiming or injuring any slave, £10. The murder of a slave was declared a felony with benefit of clergy for first offence, and for second offense murder according to the law of England. A law passed five years earlier specified that for any chastisement endangering the limb of a slave, a master should be subject to a fine of £5 sterling for first offense and £10 sterling for second offense.¹⁸ In South Carolina a master was not liable for injury to life or limb in inflicting punishment unless injury was willful. If he willfully or cruelly killed a slave, he was subject to a fine of £50. It was provided in 1740, and by Georgia in 1755, that unless two witnesses appeared against the master his oath was sufficient to exculpate.¹⁹ According to Hewatt, it was almost impossible to secure from a jury a verdict of guilty in cases of violence against Negroes.²⁰

The closing years of the eighteenth century and the early decades of the nineteenth witnessed a great deal of progress in the laws protecting slaves from bodily injury. In 1788 Virginia repealed the law holding that death of a slave

¹³ Ballagh, *Slavery in Virginia*, 71-78.

¹⁴ *Louisiana Civil Code*, Intro., p. vi; Cobb, T. R. R., *Inquiry into the Law of Negro Slavery*, 82-96; Wheeler, J. D., *Treatise on the Law of Slavery*, 1.

¹⁵ For list of cases, see Cobb, T. R. R., *Inquiry into the Law of Slavery*, 86 n.

¹⁶ Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, I, 232, 242; II, 5.

¹⁷ *North Carolina State Records*, XXIII (Col. Laws), 975; Bassett, *Slavery in the State of North Carolina*, 20.

¹⁸ *Colonial Records of Georgia* (By-laws and Laws), I, 58; Habersham, *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, VI), 72; McCrady, "Slavery in the Province of South Carolina," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1895, p. 646; *Georgia Assembly Acts* (De Renne & Jones), 92.

¹⁹ McCrady, "Slavery in the Province of South Carolina," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1895, pp. 650, 657; *Georgia Assembly Acts* (De Renne & Jones), 93.

²⁰ *South Carolina and Georgia*, II, 95; cf. Jervey, *Robert Y. Hayne*, 30.

occurring as a result of chastisement under resistance should be adjudged only manslaughter. In 1791 North Carolina provided that murder of a slave should be punishable in the same manner as murder of a freeman. According to Professor Bassett, however, the verdict was usually for manslaughter, and since there was no penalty for manslaughter, the case was generally discharged. The principle of the act was re-affirmed in 1817.²¹ In 1799 Tennessee declared the willful killing of a slave "with malice aforethought" murder punishable as in the case of a freeman, excepting for death under moderate correction or in resistance to the lawful owner. A statute of 1813 made beating or wanton abuse an indictable offense. Substantially similar legislation was embodied in the Georgia constitution of 1798 and in a statute of 1816. In cases of beating, bruising, wounding, maiming, or disabling for insufficient cause, a statute of 1805 provided trial by judge and jury, with penalties at discretion of the court.²² In 1821 a South Carolina law specified death without benefit of clergy for willful and malicious murder; but if committed in the heat of sudden passion, a fine not to exceed \$500 and imprisonment for not more than six months. In 1841 whipping or beating by another than the master was made indictable, in addition to the master's right to damages. An act of 1858 specified fine and imprisonment at discretion of the court for infliction by an owner of cruel or unusual punishment.²³ A Kentucky law of 1830 provided that the court might seize and sell a slave subjected to inhuman treatment by the master. Similar provisions existed in Louisiana, Alabama, and Texas.²⁴

While the general tendency in the nineteenth century was to impose penalties for the killing or inhuman treatment of slaves in like manner as for similar offenses in the case of whites, it was customary to recognize that the importance of maintaining the subordination of the slave was justification for a more lenient attitude of the courts toward offenses against slaves than for offenses against whites under similar provocation. Within reasonable limits the slave was subject not only to moderate chastisement by the master but also, under certain conditions, by others. The killing of a slave in a state of insurrection was usually justified by statute, and similar though not unlimited discretion was vested in patrols and even citizens in general when slaves were engaged in unlawful assembly, combining to rebel, or resisting arrest. The slave was justified in resisting aggression only in cases where his life or limb was endangered. In several cases the excitement of the passions of a slave by the inhumanity of the master or others was held to constitute circumstances in extenuation of homicide committed by the slave, and a rebuttal of the presumption of malice.²⁵

The general absence in the South of the detailed statutory regulation of the physical care of slaves, as compared with the West Indian codes,²⁶ is notable.

²¹ *North Carolina State Records*, XXIII (Col. Laws), 975; Bassett, *Slavery in the State of North Carolina*, 20; Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 5, 85.

²² *Ibid.*, 90-91, 103; *Georgia Laws* (Clayton), 289.

²³ Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 97, 99-100.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 17; Cobb, T. R. R., *Inquiry into the Law of Negro Slavery*, 98 n.

²⁵ For discussion and list of cases, see *ibid.*, 92-94 & nn., 105-107; Wheeler, J.D., *Treatise on the Law of Slavery*, 202.

²⁶ Bridges, *Annals of Jamaica*, I, 491; Edwards, *British West Indies*, II, 151-191 *passim*.

It suggests that in the South the master's interest was generally an adequate safeguard. In most of the States masters were compelled by law to provide for old and infirm slaves, a policy due partly to humane sentiment and partly to the desire to prevent the burden being imposed on the community. Many States also required the master to provide his slaves with sufficient food, clothing, and care in sickness. In Kentucky the failure of a master to provide for a slave justified the court in selling the slave to a new master.²⁷

In a number of States hours of labor were restricted. The Georgia code of 1755 required that the slave work no more than 16 hours a day. A South Carolina law of 1740 fixed a maximum of 15 hours a day from March twenty-fifth to September twenty-fifth, and 14 during the other six months.²⁸ Masters were forbidden to work their slaves on Sunday except in domestic service. A Louisiana law of 1806 required the master to pay his slave for labor on Sunday.²⁹

Several States prohibited separation of small children from the mother by sale. An Alabama statute of 1852 provided that children under ten years should not be sold without the mother in proceedings for execution unless one of the parties made affidavit that his interest would otherwise be materially prejudiced. A decree of the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals (1801) forbade such division of estates as tended to separate mothers from infant children. In 1854 a Georgia law prohibited the separation of children under five years from their mothers unless division of estate could not otherwise be effected.³⁰

RESTRICTIONS ON OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY, FREEDOM OF CONTRACT AND MOVEMENT, ASSEMBLY, AND EDUCATION

Theoretically slaves were incapable of owning property. The Roman law recognized the right of the slave to a peculium—that is, possession of goods subject to the master's consent. In the Spanish, French, and Danish West Indies slaves were permitted to accumulate enough property to purchase freedom. The peculium was recognized by the French code of Louisiana, and the right, subject to the master's consent, was subsequently embodied in the law of the State.³¹ A slave who had acquired the right of future enfranchisement might also receive property by gift. Whether recognised by law or not, however, the peculium in one form or another was almost universal in the South.³²

Since a slave could not own property, he could not enter into a legal contract. If he received property by inheritance the title became vested in the master.³³ In certain cases, the property might pass through the slave to a

²⁷ "Black Code," reprinted in Louisiana Historical Society, *Publications*, IV, 80, Sec. XVIII; Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland*, 107; Ballagh, *Slavery in Virginia*, 96; Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 102, 153, 157, 194; *Alabama Session Laws*, 1831, p. 18; Cooley, *Slavery in New Jersey*, 50; *Kentucky Statutes* (Wickliffe), 633.

²⁸ *Georgia Assembly Acts* (De Renne & Jones), 94; McCrady, "Slavery in the Province of South Carolina," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1895, p. 658.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 657; Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 157.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 109, 153; Ballagh, *Slavery in Virginia*, 63.

³¹ "Black Code," reprinted in Louisiana Historical Society, *Publications*, IV, 82, Sec. XXIII; Cobb, T. R. R., *Inquiry into the Law of Negro Slavery*, 235 & n.; *Louisiana Civil Code*, 52; Aimes, "Transition from Slave to Free Labor in Cuba," in *Yale Review*, XV, 68-84; *idem*, "Coartación: Spanish Institution for the Advancement of Slaves into Freedom," in *Yale Review*, XVII, 412-431.

³² Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, I, 253; II, 83, 90, 161; Ballagh, *Slavery in Virginia*, 108.

³³ Wheeler, J. D., *Treatise on the Law of Slavery*, 190-193.

manumitted descendant.³⁴ In Louisiana contracts between slave and master for manumission were excepted from the general rule invalidating slave contracts. Even the marriage of slaves involved none of the civil consequences to such a contract between freemen. A Louisiana court, however, held that the contract was merely dormant, and became valid when the parties were manumitted.³⁵

In legal theory the slave had no right to freedom of movement nor to control of his time.³⁶ Actually, the tolerance of masters frequently permitted a freedom of movement that endangered general security, necessitating the development of the patrol system. Certain persons were commissioned to make the rounds of the countryside and to apprehend Negroes found wandering about or on plantations other than where they belonged, without a written ticket or permit from their master or overseer. Patrols were authorized to disperse unlawful assemblages of Negroes and, pursuant to this function, to administer limited corporal punishment. In South Carolina any citizen might apprehend and punish a Negro found wandering at large without a permit. Overseers were required to take this action with respect to strange slaves found on their plantations.³⁷

The practice of permitting slaves to hire their own time became a serious nuisance and source of demoralization. During the first half of the nineteenth century laws were passed in practically all Southern States prohibiting the practice.³⁸ Trading with slaves without the master's written consent was generally prohibited. The act of illicit trading was usually a petty crime for both parties. Some of the statutes allowed damages to the master. The latter was also held responsible for allowing slaves to trade at large.³⁹ In some of the States slaves were forbidden to own stock,⁴⁰ and by an early Mississippi law from raising cotton on their own account.⁴¹

There were numerous regulations restricting education of slaves. Teaching them to read and write was prohibited by Georgia in 1755, Virginia in 1831 and 1847, South Carolina in 1834, Alabama in 1832, and Louisiana in 1830. Shortly after the passage of the act a Louisiana slave owner who petitioned the legislature for permission to educate his slaves, agreeing to give bond for their removal to Africa within five years, was refused. In Missouri schools for Negroes were

³⁴ Cobb, T. R. R., *Inquiry into the Law of Negro Slavery*, 238.

³⁵ Wheeler, J. D., *Treatise on the Law of Slavery*, 199; Cobb, T. R. R., *Inquiry into the Law of Negro Slavery*, 240–246.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 105.

³⁷ McCrady, "Slavery in the Province of South Carolina," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1895, p. 647; Ballagh, *Slavery in Virginia*, 79; *North Carolina Laws* (Iredell), 93; *Kentucky Statutes* (Wickliffe), 633; Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 4, 83, 91, 96, 98, 102, 144, 166, 169, 171, 191, 194; McDougale, *Slavery in Kentucky*, 33, 41.

³⁸ *Southern Planter*, XII, 376; Russell, R., *North America, Its Agriculture and Climate*, 151; Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 4, 15, 84, 87, 92, 94, 99, 107, 191, 194, 199; McDougale, *Slavery in Kentucky*, 32, 34.

³⁹ *Mississippi Session Laws*, 1850, pp. 100–102; *Kentucky Statutes* (Wickliffe), 631; Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 14, 86, 90–91, 95, 151–152, 169, 191–192, 194, 198; McCrady, "Slavery in the Province of South Carolina," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1895, p. 634. The Georgia law of 1812 made exception of Savannah, Augusta, and Sunbury. *Georgia Laws* (Clayton), 133.

⁴⁰ Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, I, 253; II, 83, 90; Bassett, *Slavery in the State of North Carolina*, 13.

⁴¹ Sargent, *Executive Journal* (Mississippi Territorial Archives, I), 232.

prohibited in 1847.⁴² Practically all of the States restricted assemblies of slaves for religious worship, usually requiring the presence of whites.⁴³

LEGAL STATUS OF SLAVE CRIMES AND PENALTIES

Theoretically, slaves, since they were chattels, could not be guilty of crime, and the ordinary penal code did not extend to them;⁴⁴ but in the various Southern States there were special criminal codes for slaves.

In the colonial period special provisions were made for trial of slaves, usually with a view to promoting the simplicity and celerity of the process. The Virginia law of 1692 provided that in case of capital crimes the governor, on notice by the sheriff of the county, should issue commissions of oyer and terminer. The court thus constituted was empowered to arraign and indict the offender, publicly take evidence,—confession, testimony of two witnesses or of one “under pregnant circumstances,”—pass judgment according to the law of England, and award execution. The law of 1765 provided for the issuance of commissions of oyer and terminer to justices for the trial of slaves without juries.⁴⁵ By the Maryland act of 1717 one justice might try slaves for minor offenses and order whipping not to exceed 40 lashes. In 1751 slaves guilty of capital crimes were made triable by county courts rather than by the provincial court, which had jurisdiction over the crimes of free whites. The North Carolina law of 1741 provided trial by three justices and four freeholders, who must be slaveholders. Conviction might rest on the oath of one reputable white man, or on such testimony of Negroes or Indians, with pregnant circumstances, as might appear convincing. After 1783 minor offenses were triable by one justice.⁴⁶ The Georgia act of 1755 provided for trial of capital offenses by two justices and from three to five freeholders. Minor crimes were to be tried by one justice and two freeholders. The law of South Carolina was similar in character.⁴⁷

After the Revolution there occurred a tendency to safeguard still more the machinery and process of trial. Trial by jury, in some cases with more than one judge, was required by Kentucky in 1798 and 1803, by North Carolina in 1793, by Tennessee in 1815, and by Georgia in 1811 for cases involving capital crimes.⁴⁸ The Mississippi law of 1819 required trial by jury before a quorum of three justices of the county, with power to grant new trials and arrest the execution of judgments on the same grounds as for other causes. The law of 1854 provided that offenses not capital should be tried by examination before two magistrates and five freeholders, with the right of appeal by the owner to the circuit court.⁴⁹ Before the close of the ante bellum period trial by jury for the graver crimes was

⁴² McDonogh, *Papers* (Edwards), 78; Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 9, 98, 151, 162; Phillips, U. B., *Georgia and State Rights*, 153; *Virginia Session Laws*, 1831, p. 107.

⁴³ Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 7, 9, 93, 147, 166, 170.

⁴⁴ Cobb, T. R. R., *Inquiry into the Law of Negro Slavery*, 262.

⁴⁵ Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, I, 237, 245.

⁴⁶ *North Carolina Laws* (Iredell), 94; Bassett, *Slavery in the State of North Carolina*, 12.

⁴⁷ *Georgia Assembly Acts* (De Renne & Jones), 78; McCrady, “Slavery in the Province of South Carolina,” in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1895, p. 648. For similar provisions in the Middle Colonies, see Bettle, “Notices of Negro Slavery,” in Penn. Hist. Soc., *Memoirs*, I, 369; Morgan, E. V., “Slavery in New York,” in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Papers*, V, 339; Cooley, *Slavery in New Jersey*, 37.

⁴⁸ Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 15, 84, 91, 102; *Kentucky Session Laws*, 1803, p. 18.

⁴⁹ *Mississippi Session Laws*, 1819, pp. 73–76; Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 149.

required in all of the Southern States, and the aid of counsel provided for, either at the expense of the master or the State.⁵⁰

The testimony of slaves and free persons of color was inadmissible in any trial of a free person accused of committing a crime. This rule came to be recognized in all of the States.⁵¹ The policy was justified on the ground that Negroes were irresponsible, unreliable, and peculiarly subject by their position to prejudice and to the influence of others. Generally testimony of slaves and free persons of color was admitted in the trial of other slaves or free persons of color for criminal offenses. In some of the States such testimony was acceptable only when confirmed by pregnant circumstances.⁵²

It is impossible in brief compass to examine all the varied details of Southern legislation defining crimes and specifying penalties, but certain general characteristics may be recognized.

In addition to offenses ordinarily recognized in the case of free whites there were certain crimes peculiarly imputed to slaves. Most of them were petty offenses connected with the preservation of order among a servile population, including unlawful assembly, going at large without tickets of leave, running away, use of impertinent or abusive language toward whites, buying and selling liquor, buying and administering poisonous drugs either with or without malicious intent, illicit trading, and striking or raising the hand against white persons.

Penalties for crimes differed from those provided for crimes of the same grade committed by whites; partly because peculiarly rigorous punishments appeared essential in order to exert a deterrent influence upon the conduct of a people endowed with vivid imagination but small prospectiveness, partly because a number of penalties applicable to whites, such as fine and imprisonment, were of little or no avail as punishments when applied to slaves. For minor crimes whipping came to be the usual form of punishment, while death was imposed for serious crimes. Suitable forms of punishment for crimes of intermediate grade were lacking.⁵³

In the colonial period, it is true, a number of bizarre methods of punishment prevailed that were later abandoned, such as confinement in stocks, cutting off ears, branding, dismemberment, castration, nailing ears to pillory, and burning alive.⁵⁴ It was a period when severe penalties prevailed for every class of people. The laws in the North with respect to slaves were in many respects no less harsh than in the South.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Cobb, T. R. R., *Inquiry into the Law of Negro Slavery*, 268.

⁵¹ Either by judicial decision or by statute. *Ibid.*, 229. The inclusion of free persons of color was necessarily by express statute.

⁵² Cobb, T. R. R., *Inquiry into the Law of Negro Slavery*, 230; Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, I, 241, 244, 252; II, 20, 23, 152, 158–159, 197; McCrady, "Slavery in the Province of South Carolina," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1895, p. 649; *Georgia Assembly Acts* (De Renne & Jones), 80; *Louisiana Civil Code*, 54; *Tennessee Laws* (Scott), 471; *North Carolina Laws* (Iredell), 307.

⁵³ The tendencies of slaves in the commission of crimes may be judged from the records of convictions in Virginia from 1774 to 1864, collected and classified by Mr. Ulrich B. Phillips. "Slave Crime in Virginia," in *American Historical Review*, XX, 336–340.

⁵⁴ Ballagh, *Slavery in Virginia*, 87.

⁵⁵ Bettie, "Notices of Negro Slavery," in Penn. Hist. Soc., *Memoirs*, I, 369; Cooley, *Slavery in New Jersey*, 39, 41; Morgan, E. V., "Slavery in New York," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Papers*, V, 339; Cheyney,

A few instances, taken somewhat at random, may be given as illustrations of the characteristics of colonial legislation. By the Maryland act of 1729 anyone convicted of breaking into a storehouse and stealing goods to the value of 5 shillings might be executed. A slave convicted of murder or burning a dwelling house was to have his right hand cut off before hanging. His body might be beheaded, quartered, and set up in a public place. Such minor crimes as striking a white person, rambling at night, riding horses without leave, and running away might be punished by whipping, cropping, or branding. By act of 1737 death without benefit of clergy was specified for conspiracy to rebel, murder, poisoning, rape on a white woman, and arson. By the close of the century the death penalty was generally imposed as for whites. For some years after 1819 punishment by whipping, transport, and "sale South" was commonly employed for practically all other crimes. The act of 1846, however, made punishments for serious crimes the same as for whites, reciting the inadequacy of transport and banishment to deter slaves from committing crime.⁵⁶ In the North Carolina law of 1741 Negroes giving false testimony were to have both ears nailed to the pillory and then cut off, and to receive 39 lashes on the bare back.⁵⁷ In South Carolina striking a white person was punishable for the first offense by cutting off one ear and whipping. The influence of private self-interest is shown by the provision that burglary be punished by branding and whipping, whereas the penalty in cases of whites was death. For lesser offenses punishable in the case of whites by branding in the hand, the slave was to be branded on the forehead. The thrifty regard for property values was further reflected in the provision that in case a number of slaves conspired to run away from the Province, only one was to suffer the death penalty, the loss to be shared by the other owners.⁵⁸ In Georgia the death penalty was imposed for arson, enticing other slaves to run away, poisoning or the attempt, rape of a white female or the attempt, assaulting a white person with a deadly weapon, maiming a white person, burglary, burning rice stacks and other commodities, and murder of a slave or free Negro.⁵⁹

With the passing of the colonial period there remained in Southern criminal codes few of these ingenious penalties. Even whipping beyond 39 lashes became rare. However, there were some exceptions. The Alabama law of 1827 specified that a person of color convicted of manslaughter should be punished by not less than 39 nor more than 100 lashes, and by branding on the forehead. In the same State attempted rape on a white person was punishable by death.⁶⁰ The Kentucky law of 1852 permitted 200 lashes, imposed 50 at a time, as an alternative to death for certain capital crimes. The penalty for free Negroes in cor-

"Condition of Labor in Early Pennsylvania," in *The Manufacturer*, Feb. 16, 1891, p. 5; Heston, *Slavery and Servitude in New Jersey*, 13 n. For instances of severe penalties in the South, see Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, II, 117-122.

⁵⁶ Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland*, 120-122; *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XL, 93; Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 20-23; *Maryland Session Laws*, 1846, p. 340.

⁵⁷ *North Carolina Laws* (Iredell), 94.

⁵⁸ McCrady, "Slavery in the Province of South Carolina," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1895, pp. 648-650.

⁵⁹ *Georgia Assembly Acts* (De Renne & Jones), 80-83; Phillips, U. B., *Georgia and State Rights*, 152.

⁶⁰ *Alabama Session Laws*, 1827, p. 42; 1830-31, p. 13.

responding cases was imprisonment from two to ten years.⁶¹ Under the Tennessee law of 1815 arson, burglary, and rape were capital. The law of 1833 declared attempted rape on a white person capital, and in 1852 the administration of poison was made capital. A Louisiana law of 1806 provided the death penalty for striking master, mistress, or one of their children, so as to cause contusion or effusion of blood, a similar act in 1814 including striking an overseer with similar effect. The Florida territorial law of 1822 made punishment for capital crimes the same as for whites, and for minor crimes whipping not to exceed 60 lashes.⁶²

The above instances illustrate also the tendency to punish unsuccessful attempts to commit certain injuries more heavily than in the case of whites, particularly attempts at rape of a white person, administration of poison, and arson.

CONDITIONS DETERMINING THE ACTUAL WELFARE OF SLAVES

The actual well-being of slaves, however, was dependent not so much on laws as on the humane instincts and economic interest of the master, and the power of neighborhood opinion. The latter was undoubtedly an important source of protection. Sir Charles Lyell declared, "The condition of negroes is the least enviable in such out-of-the-way and half-civilized districts, where there are many adventurers and uneducated settlers, who have little control over their passions, and who, when they oppress their slaves, are not checked by public opinion, as in more advanced communities."⁶³

Naturally, conclusions concerning the general treatment and well-being of slaves should be made with great caution. It is difficult to balance with confidence the pros and cons of evidence, for the question was the storm center of bitter controversy. The exaggerated instances of tyranny and cruelty singled out by the abolitionist pamphleteers and the equally exaggerated cases of benevolence and paternalism, employed by defenders of Southern institutions, though probably based on actual instances, did not represent the broad average of plantation life. A number of travellers who had no particular love of the institution of slavery went away convinced of at least two points: that punishment was inflicted usually only for purposes of discipline, and that slaves were in general well provided for as to physical needs.⁶⁴ Godley, though admitting food was abundant, thought clothing and shelter were miserable.⁶⁵ It is not without significance that a number of Northern or foreign travellers went South expecting to see atrocities on every hand but were pleasantly surprised by their observations. Thus, about 1819 the English traveller, Welby, after journeying through three States, admitted that he had been compelled to revise his preconceptions, de-

⁶¹ *Kentucky Statutes* (Wickliffe), 639.

⁶² Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 91-94, 99, 158, 191.

⁶³ *Second Visit to the United States*, II, 181. This may account for the unfavorable opinion formed by Fearon concerning the treatment of slaves in Kentucky, on the occasion of his visit there. *Sketches of America*, 239-242.

⁶⁴ Candler, *Summary View of America*, 268; Allardice, *Agricultural Tour*, 92; Royall, *Letters from Alabama*, 164; Bremer, *Homes of the New World*, I, 275-279, 369-372; Lyell, *Travels in North America*, I, 135, 144-149; Russell, W. H., *My Diary North and South*, I, 241, 246, 373, 381; Hall, B., *Travels in North America*, III, 193; Hall, M., *Two-Fold Slavery in the United States*, 2, 33.

⁶⁵ *Letters from America*, II, 205.

claring; "Not once during the journey did I witness an instance of cruel treatment, nor could I discover anything to excite commiseration in the faces or gait of the people of colour—they walk, talk, and appear at least as independent as their masters; in animal spirits they have greatly the advantage."⁶⁶ Charles Eliot Norton, a New Englander, wrote:⁶⁷

"The slaves do not go about looking unhappy, and are with difficulty, I fancy, persuaded to feel so. Whips and chains, oaths and brutality, are as common, for all that one sees, in the free as the slave states. We have come thus far, and might have gone ten times as far, I dare say, without seeing the first sign of Negro misery, or white tyranny."

Others wrote in similar vein.⁶⁸

Generally speaking, on the larger plantations the life of the slave was more nearly ordered by rule. His labor was more regular but also frequently more severe than on smaller plantations or farms, although qualifications must be applied according to section and region. It was observed about 1837 that the subdivision of plantations which resulted from the change in laws of inheritance had made for a milder treatment of slaves. On large plantations provision for the physical well-being of the slave was more likely to be reduced to rule and adjusted to the teachings of experience. Large plantations, however, were more capitalistic and commercial than were many of the smaller slave properties, and the pressure of credit obligations frequently was responsible for relatively harder driving. Furthermore, on large plantations slaves were likely to be subject to the overseer system, which was conducive to hard driving and poor treatment. The operation of estates by tenants for life, relatively frequent in the colonial period, also made for harsh treatment.⁶⁹ On the small plantations and farms there was a closer personal relation between master and slave, with all the mitigations made possible by ability to depart from fixed rule and to employ that mode of treatment best adapted to the individual case. Absentee ownership and the resulting evils of the overseer system were less prevalent. The slave shared the prosperity and adversity of the master. The latter was likely to speak of his slave force as his "family" and to feel the responsibility growing out of such an attitude.⁷⁰ There were many large plantations also, especially in the older plantation regions, where masters were dominated by a similar sense of obligation. Frequently the women of the planter's family assumed a heavy load of responsibility in providing clothing, nursing the sick, and caring for the aged and children.⁷¹

⁶⁶ *Visit to North America*, 289.

⁶⁷ *Letters*, I, 121.

⁶⁸ Brown, D., *The Planter: or Thirteen Years in the South*, 69; Candler, *Summary View of America*, 268; Mitchell, D. W., *Ten Years in the United States*, 228, 230, 239, 243.

⁶⁹ *Farmers' Register*, IV, 180; Johnson, W., *Nugae Georgicae*, 35; *Southern Agriculturist*, VI, 281-287; Stephen, *Slavery of the British West India Colonies*, I, 85-88; *Carolina Planter* (1844-5), I, 25-30; *Virginia, Legislative Journals of the Council* (McIlwaine), II, 812.

⁷⁰ For instance, concerning the mild treatment in the Valley of Virginia, see *Southern Planter*, XV, 56; Buckingham, *Eastern and Western States*, III, 8. Concerning the generally good treatment of slaves in Kentucky, see McDougale, *Slavery in Kentucky*, Chap. IV.

⁷¹ Washington, *Letters on Agriculture*, 61; Tatham, *Essay on Tobacco*, 104; Russell, W. H., *My Diary North and South*, I, 204; Dew, *Review of the Debate in the Virginia Legislature of 1831 and 1832*, p. 109; Mallard, *Plantation Life before Emancipation*, 9, 44; Candler, *Summary View of America*, 277; Mead,

Another condition that determined the treatment of slaves was a high percentage of newly imported Negroes, partly because of the absence of long-established attachments between master and slaves, and partly because of the difficulties of "breaking in" ignorant, barbarous Negroes. A traveller, writing in 1740, describes the difficulties as follows:⁷²

"A new negro, if he must be broke, either from Obstinacy, or, which I am more apt to suppose, from Greatness of Soul, will require more hard discipline than a young Spaniel. You would be surpriz'd at their perseverance; let a hundred men shew him how to hoe, or drive a wheelbarrow, he'll still take the one by the Bottom and the other by the Wheel; and they often die before they can be conquer'd."

In regions where the numerical preponderance of Negroes was large, the sense of insecurity resulted in greater severity. For this reason the treatment of slaves was in general more severe in South Carolina and Georgia than in Virginia and Maryland.⁷³ Similarly, in the newer districts of the Southwest, where the supply of slaves had largely been obtained by recent purchase, there was a general absence of personal attachments between master and slaves. Masters were also less subject to the restraining influence of public opinion, for social relations were less firmly established. Moreover, the planting class contained a larger proportion of the newly rich, a class largely responsible for the observation that Northern overseers and foreign owners made the hardest masters.⁷⁴

Practically all observers agreed that the slavery system was far more humane in all parts of America than in the British and French West Indies. There is considerable authority, however, for the opinion that the system was less harsh in the French islands than in the English islands, partly because there was less absentee ownership among the French and less racial intolerance.⁷⁵ In the Spanish West Indies the slavery régime became even milder after the savage cruelty of the Conquest had exterminated native populations, due to the sparseness of slave population and the influence of religious motives. Herding, the principal industry of the Spanish islands until near the close of the eighteenth century, was also favorable to a lenient and easy-going policy.⁷⁶

Travels, 20, 69; Olmsted, F. L., *Journey in the Back Country*, 61, 65, 143-156; *idem*, *Cotton Kingdom*, I, 191, 211; cf. Hildreth, *Despotism in America*, 75-77; Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County*, 245; *De Bow's Review*, XVIII, 60; Extracts from the Diary of General Joshua Swift, in Battle, *Letters and Documents relating to the Lower Cape Fear* (James Sprunt Historical Monographs, IV), 104; Sprunt, "Old Brunswick," in *Historical Addresses*, 10; Wyly, *The Seed Sown in Georgia*, 20, 24, 47.

⁷² Campbell, G. L., *Itinerant Observations in America* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, IV), 38; cf. Andrews, G., *Reminiscences of an Old Georgia Lawyer*, 10; Young, *Tour through the Several Islands of Barbadoes, St. Vincent, etc.* (Edwards, British West Indies, IV), 267; Atwood, *History of Dominica*, 265-272.

⁷³ Concerning harsh treatment of slaves by many of the owners of the region around Charleston, South Carolina, about 1815, see quotations in Jervey, *Robert Y. Hayne*, 67-69; Madison, *Writings* (Hunt), VIII, 425-427.

⁷⁴ Letter of Colonel William Byrd to Lord Egmont, July 12, 1736, in *American Historical Review*, I, 89; Watson, *Men and Times of the Revolution*, 50; Kalm, *Travels*, I, 394; Eddis, *Letters from America*, 64; Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*, 216-219; Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, I, 39, 43-48; Chastelux, *Travels in North America*, II, 194; Olmsted, F. L., *Journey in the Back Country*, 119, 171.

⁷⁵ Colonel Chalmers, *Remarks on the Late War in San Domingo*, 7-8; Atwood, *History of Dominica*, 259; McKinnon, *Tour through the British West Indies*, 220; Venault de Charmilly, *Lettre à M. Bryan Edwards en Réputation de son Ouvrage, etc.*, 42, 46; Raynal, *Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, IV, 45; Pinckard, *Notes on the West Indies*, I, 348; II, 330, 458-459.

⁷⁶ Bridges, *Annals of Jamaica*, I, 184; Edwards, *British West Indies*, II, 154-157; Walton, W., *Spanish Colonies*, II, 140-146; Pons, *Travels in South America* (Phillips, Collection of Voyages, IV, No. 2), p. 45; Humboldt, *Cuba*, Chap. VI.

The dread which slaves of the border States had of being "sold South" was probably well founded, although intensified beyond reason by ignorance and superstition.⁷⁷ The lower Mississippi appears to have acquired a bad reputation for the treatment of slaves, although it is probable that before the close of the Latin régime the treatment of the slave was more humane than in South Carolina and Georgia at the same period.⁷⁸ The contrast was due partly to the differences in national attitudes already mentioned and partly to the relatively noncommercial character of economic life in lower Louisiana. With the advent of American control and the resulting increase in commercialism, it became notorious that slaves were overworked, underfed, and brutally treated to such a degree that the rate of mortality exceeded the birth rate, and for a time it was necessary to keep up the supply by importation.⁷⁹ It is probable there was a gradual improvement in treatment of slaves in the Southwest during the first two or three decades of the nineteenth century, as there had been in the older regions of the Atlantic seaboard.⁸⁰

Undoubtedly, economic motives notably influenced the care and treatment of slaves. The same masters who would spend a hundred dollars for a surgical operation to preserve the life of an old and useless slave sent their slaves to work day after day in unhealthful rice swamps. Women were often worked under conditions that impaired their health, because the master could not afford the loss of their labor; and, in a measure, provision for the welfare of the slave was adjusted to the principle of maximum results with minimum expense. There is considerable evidence that the treatment of slaves improved steadily in the latter part of the ante bellum period largely because of the rapid rise in value of slaves, though partly because of general progress of humanitarian attributes.⁸¹ The influence of the economic motive is shown in the tendency to employ Irish laborers in ditching and other unhealthful employments rather than to risk the lives of highly valuable field hands.⁸²

The condition of house servants on large plantations was in marked contrast to that of field servants. The former were in close association with members of the master's family, shared their joys and sorrows, identified themselves with their prosperity and reputation. They enjoyed the first fruits of generosity; theirs were the cast-off clothing, and the presents that good form required the visitor to make to servants of his host. They shared in the abundance and variety of the master's table. In many cases their cabins were more commodious than those of field hands and sometimes located in a separate quarter. Together with

⁷⁷ *Southern Agriculturist*, II, 59; Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland*, 121-124.

⁷⁸ Romans, *East and West Florida*, 111.

⁷⁹ Perrin du Lac, *Travels* (Phillips, Collection of Voyages, VI), 94; Robertson, J. A., *Louisiana*, I, 119; Flint, *Geography and History of the Western States*, I, 527; Nuttall, *Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, 239; Singleton, *Letters from the South and West*, 111; Stoddard, *Sketches of Louisiana*, 332.

⁸⁰ For a favorable account, see Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years*, 341, 346; Stoddard, *Sketches of Louisiana*, 331.

⁸¹ *De Bow's Review*, VII, 220; XXIX, 357-368; Hall, B., *Travels in North America*, III, 188, 233; Russell, W. H., *My Diary North and South*, I, 261, 393; Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years*, 346; Hildreth, *Despotism in America*, 78; Candler, *Summary View of America*, 268; Buckingham, *Slave States of America*, II, 427.

⁸² Olmsted, F. L., *Cotton Kingdom*, I, 89, 95; Russell, W. H., *My Diary North and South*, I, 395, 408.

drivers and the better class of artisans, house servants were the slave aristocracy. Yet, it is said that the ragged field hands did not envy them their position, for the labors of the field were more regular and certain, while the house servant must be ready to dance attendance at all hours.⁸³

Of one thing there can be little question: from the early colonial period until the Civil War there was a gradual but steady improvement in treatment and general condition of slaves, which reflected the increase in slave values, progress of humanitarianism, the smaller proportion of slaves freshly imported from Africa, and progress of the slave himself in civilization, tractability, efficiency, and decency. If the slavery controversy led to a certain stiffening of legislation with regard to slaves, this was more than offset by improvement in treatment.⁸⁴

The greatest misery of slavery centered not in the treatment of the slave on the plantation but grew out of the conditions created by the internal slave trade. Slaves were generally well enough treated by the "hated soul-drivers," for economic self-interest strongly favored such a policy;⁸⁵ but compulsory separation from family and kindred and uncertainty of the fate that awaited them at the hands of the new master—these were real and serious evils. The almost universal deprecation of the slave trade throughout the South, the prevailing hatred of slave dealers, as well as the numerous efforts to mitigate the hardships of the trade and to prevent separation of kindred are evidences that the trade was felt to be the sore spot in the "peculiar institution." There were some who believed the status of slaves should be changed to that of *adscripti glebae*. Such a policy would have offered an easy and safe transition to ultimate freedom, with none of the frightful loss and economic disorganization that resulted from forcible emancipation.⁸⁶

It was not due to peculiar virtues of slavery that the Negro was usually a contented, joyous, rollicking, care-free individual; yet, with comparatively rare exceptions, this was the case. This care-free attitude is well expressed in a verse written by Charles Mackay in 1859:⁸⁷

"Whence the sound of music? Whence the merry laugh?
Surely boon companions, who jest and sing and quaff?
No! the slaves rejoicing; happier than the free,
With guitar and banjo, and burst of revelry!
Hark the volleyed laughter! hark the joyous shout!
Hark the nigger chorus ringing sharply out!

⁸³ Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in the United States*, 284; Mallard, *Plantation Life before Emancipation*, 46; *De Bow's Review*, XXVIII, 195; Olmsted, F. L., *Journey in the Back Country*, 48, 286–290; *idem*, *Seaboard Slave States*, II, 48; Hall, B., *Travels in North America*, III, 192; Candler, *Summary View of America*, 268; Buckingham, *Slave States of America*, I, 199.

⁸⁴ For recognition of the general improvement, see Seabrook, *Appeal on the Subject of Negro Slavery*, 15; *Farmers' Register*, I, 565; Thomas Ruffin's address to the State Agricultural Society of North Carolina, reprinted in *The Arator*, I, 251; Candler, *Summary View of America*, 268; Johnson, W., *Nugae Georgicae*, 35–37; Warden, *Account of the United States*, II, 437.

⁸⁵ See pp. 560–562.

⁸⁶ Trexler, *Slavery in Missouri*, 44–53; Nott, *Slavery and the Remedy*, Chap. XIII, especially 94 *et seq.*; Raumer, *America and the American People*, 135; Candler, *Summary View of America*, 274–278; review of the manuscript, "The Domestic Slave Trade," by Hugh A. Garland, in *Western Journal and Civilian*, XIV, 408.

⁸⁷ *Life and Liberty in America*, I, 252.

Merry is the bondsman; gloomy is his lord;
 For merciful is Justice and kind is Fate's award.
 And God, who ever tempers the winter to the shorn,
 Dulls the edge of Sorrow to these His lambs forlorn—
 And gives them cheerful natures and thoughts that never soar
 Into that dark To-morrow which wiser men deplore.
 So sing, ye careless negroes, in our joyous ship,
Floating, steaming, dancing, down the Mississip."

Ignorant of any other condition, free from responsibility, with his simple physical needs well provided for, the Negro slave was frequently a veritable child of the sun. There was unquestionably some truth in the claim of Southern apologists that there was more misery in the factory towns of England and of New England than on the great majority of Southern plantations. There was also truth in the claim that the slave was better off than the majority of free Negroes, either in the North or in the South.⁸⁸ The slaves had never known a condition of freedom. With the simplicity of children they accepted their condition of subordination, identified themselves with the family of the master, took pride in its social position, rejoiced in its good fortune, and felt keen sorrow in its losses and misfortunes. The confidence with which masters left their homes and families in the care of slaves during the Civil War and the almost universal justification for this confidence constitute an important commentary on the reasonableness and tolerance that in general characterized the relationship of the two classes.⁸⁹

From another point of view, however, the contentment of the slave was a badge of his degradation. If a whipping meant little more than the physical pangs inflicted by the tormentor, it was because slavery dulled the sense of shame that the freeman would have felt, and produced a man who felt a deep pride in the fact that he sold for a high value.⁹⁰ There were large possibilities in slavery as a system for educating African barbarians in the rudimentary elements of civilization, but it offered no promise of a higher development to the black man. "So far thou shalt go and no further" was deeply engraved on the corner stone of slavery in America.⁹¹

The condition of the slave was also largely affected by policies of labor management, which will be considered in a later chapter.⁹²

GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARD FREE NEGROES

Free Negroes came to be numerically a considerable class. In 1790 there were only 32,357 in the territory then included in the South, 20,809 of whom were in

⁸⁸ Governor Hammond's letters to Clarkson, in *De Bow's Review*, VII, 206-225; Chancellor Harper's Memoir on Slavery, in *De Bow's Review*, VIII, 339-347; X, 52 et seq.; Dew, *Review of the Debate in the Virginia Legislature of 1831 and 1832*, 111; McHenry, *Cotton Trade and Negro Slavery*, 269-281. See also below, p. 938.

⁸⁹ Gilman, *Recollections of a New England Bride and of a Southern Matron*, 106-108, 238, 273; Chesnut, *Diary from Dixie*, passim; Cobb, J. B., *Mississippi Scenes*, 160, 173; Thomas Ruffin's address before the State Agricultural Society of North Carolina, reprinted in *The Arator*, I, 246-249; Johnson, T. C., *Robert Lewis Dabney*, 17-19; Mitchell, D. W., *Ten Years in the United States*, 243.

⁹⁰ *Southern Agriculturist*, IX, 79.

⁹¹ Davis, J., *Travels*, 93; Pinckard, *Notes on the West Indies*, II, 463; Frere, *Short History of Barbados*, 117 n.; Lewis, *Journal of a West India Proprietor*, 61, 142; Lyell, *Travels in North America*, I, 135, 147; Royall, *Letters from Alabama*, 164; Allardice, *Agricultural Tour*, 92.

⁹² See Chap. XXIV.

Virginia and Maryland. By 1850 there were 228,128 free Negroes in the fifteen Southern States, nearly 85 per cent of them in the border States, including North Carolina and Tennessee. Louisiana contained about as many as all the other States of the lower South.⁹³

Generally speaking, the legal, economic, and social condition of free Negroes was wretched in the extreme. Whether one accepts the evidence of general observers or studies the legal restrictions by which free Negroes were controlled, one is reminded of the remark of Charles James Fox, "It might be as dangerous to liberate a man used to slavery, as, in the case of one who had never seen daylight, to expose him, at once, to the Meridian Sun."⁹⁴ In some respects the position of free Negroes was inferior to that of slaves. The latter enjoyed the advantage of the master's protection; were assured a minimum of subsistence, medical attention, and support in old age; and so long as they were well behaved, were regarded with benevolent toleration.

Free Negroes and poor whites were the outcasts of Southern society, but the former were subject to numerous legal disabilities not imposed on the latter. With the exception of Louisiana, where the position of free persons of color resembled somewhat the status of the same class in the French West Indies, the free Negro was everywhere "regarded with a distrust bordering on apprehension."⁹⁵ The general attitude is expressed in resolutions passed in 1859 by a convention of slaveholders of the Eastern Shore of Maryland, as follows:⁹⁶

"It is necessary that something should be done in view of the existence among us of the present immense number of free negroes—their habits of idleness and dissipation—the heavy cost of prosecutions against them for violations of our criminal law—the evil example and influence which they exert toward our slave population, rendering them dissatisfied with their condition and comparatively worthless to their owners—their well-known tampering with slaves, and agency in inducing them to abscond from servitude."

Except in Louisiana, their status and general condition in the South were probably much less satisfactory than in the West Indies, particularly the French West Indies.⁹⁷ In Florida and portions of southern Alabama there were free Negroes, derived as a class from the Spanish régime, who were exempt from many of the social disabilities and, by treaty, from the legal disabilities of the free Negro in other parts of the South.⁹⁸ Without capital or the means of obtaining it; without education, from which they were frequently debarred by statute; without skill; subjected to numerous legal restrictions with respect to freedom of movement and economic activity; deprived of rights of citizenship; usually despised alike by whites and slaves; lacking all motive for exertion except the satisfaction

⁹³ United States, *Statistical View: A Compendium of the Seventh Census*, Table XLII, p. 63.

⁹⁴ Quoted by Fowler, *The Negro in Connecticut*, 33.

⁹⁵ A Florida judicial decision, quoted by D. Y. Thomas, "The Free Negro in Florida before 1865," in *South Atlantic Quarterly*, X, 339. For an exceptional case of a free Negro who was held in high esteem, see Mitchell, D. W., *Ten Years in the United States*, 227, 235.

⁹⁶ *De Bow's Review*, XXVI, 114. For similar views, see Taylor, J., *Arator*, 64–66; *North Carolina Planter*, III, 51; *Southern Planter*, XIX, 643; Phillips, U. B., *Georgia and State Rights*, 155.

⁹⁷ See discussion of this point in Kingsley, *Treatise on the Patriarchal System of Society under the Name of Slavery*, Pref., and pp. 5–7, 9–11, 19, 23.

⁹⁸ Thomas, D. Y., "The Free Negro in Florida" before 1865, in *South Atlantic Quarterly*, X, 341–343.

of mere bodily needs;—such were the disabilities of free Negroes in the greater portion of the ante bellum South. Their general wretchedness was probably reflected in statistics of net rate of increase, which in four out of seven decades was less than the rate for Negro population as a whole, in spite of the additions through manumission.⁹⁹

Southern apologists made full use not only of the disastrous results of emancipation in the West Indies and of the discouraging Liberia experiment, but also of the wretchedness of the class of free Negroes, both in the South and in the North, indicated by vital statistics, statistics of criminality, and instances of degeneracy.¹⁰⁰

The status of free persons of color with respect to citizenship was long unsettled. In Virginia free Negroes were not forbidden the right of suffrage till 1723, although their general status as citizens was not defined. An act of 1779 specifically limited citizenship to free whites domiciled in the State. An act of 1783 declared all free persons citizens, but in 1830 and 1849 the suffrage was limited to whites.¹⁰¹ A North Carolina act of 1776 granted the franchise to all free males of suitable age, but in 1835 the new constitution restricted the suffrage to whites. In 1844 the supreme court of the State declared that free persons of color were not to be considered citizens in the larger sense.¹⁰² In 1776 Maryland defined citizenship without restriction as to color, and near the close of the century three States extended the suffrage to male adults without distinction of color—Kentucky in 1792, Tennessee in 1796, and Georgia in 1798.¹⁰³ From this time on, however, the current ran in the other direction. The suffrage was limited to whites by constitutional enactments in Kentucky in 1799; Louisiana, 1812; Mississippi, 1817; Alabama, 1819; Missouri, 1820; Tennessee, 1834; Texas and Arkansas, 1836; Florida, 1845; and Maryland, 1851. In the latter State the same result had been achieved by statute in 1801, and in Georgia by judicial decision in 1848.¹⁰⁴

LIMITATIONS ON MANUMISSION

Contrary to common-law principles the rule came to be recognized in the South that in the case of a Negro there was a presumption of slavery, the burden of proof resting on the Negro. In most of the States the same presumption applied to mulattoes.¹⁰⁵

During the greater part of the ante bellum period the increase of free persons

⁹⁹ See below, Chap. XXVIII. The tendency was noted by Brissot de Warville in the latter part of the eighteenth century. *New Travels in the United States*, 282–284.

¹⁰⁰ For instance, cf. Dew, *Review of the Debate in the Virginia Legislature of 1831 and 1832*, pp. 88–95; also series of articles in *De Bow's Review*, XXV, 28–38; XXVII, 56–73; XXVIII, 573–581. The fact was also admitted by Northern observers. Cf. *De Bow's Review*, XV, 129–143; Fowler, *The Negro in Connecticut*, 34; letter of F. N. Watkins to Edmund Ruffin, reprinted in *De Bow's Review*, XXIV, 287–289.

¹⁰¹ Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, I, 242; II, 3–4, 9, 11; cf. Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 127.

¹⁰² Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 82; Bassett, *Slavery in the State of North Carolina*, 34, 37.

¹⁰³ Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 13, 19, 90, 101.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 15, 19, 24, 93, 107 n., 145, 150, 159, 168, 171, 194, 196; cf. Olbrich, *Development of Sentiment on Negro Suffrage*, 39.

¹⁰⁵ Cobb, T. R. R., *Inquiry into the Law of Negro Slavery*, 67 & n.; Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 86, 89, 173, 197.

of color was regarded with disfavor, though the degree of antagonism waxed and waned in accordance with general political conditions; and this disfavor found expression in public policy with respect to emancipation, control of interstate migration, provisions for ejectment, taxation, and other measures.

In legal theory the master had no inherent right to emancipate his slave, for the consequences of emancipation were public as well as private.¹⁰⁶ Consequently there developed in the several States laws restricting in various ways the privilege of manumission. After the Revolutionary period, particularly, there is apparent a tendency to make manumission more and more difficult, and without provision for an intermediate stage to bridge the gap between slavery and freedom, such as the *coartación* of Cuba.¹⁰⁷

Thus, prior to 1691 there were in Virginia no restrictions, and manumission by deed or will was of frequent occurrence. In 1691 manumission was prohibited unless the owner transported the freedman out of the Colony, a measure, according to Professor Bruce, intended to discourage manumission.¹⁰⁸ In 1723, however, the prohibition of manumission was made unconditional except for meritorious public services, to be determined by the governor and council. By act of 1782 manumission conditional on guarantees against afterwards becoming a public charge was allowed.¹⁰⁹ Toward the latter part of the century, however, public sentiment became more and more hostile toward manumission, because of the criminal practices of free Negroes, their intrigues with slaves, the difficulties of distinguishing them from escaped slaves, and alarm aroused by the Gabriel insurrection. In 1806 an act was passed requiring all Negroes to leave the State within twelve months after manumission. The effect of such a policy was to compel other States to pass acts of exclusion.¹¹⁰

The development of public policy with respect to manumission passed through somewhat the same course in other commonwealths. In the colonial period private manumission was either prohibited unconditionally or permitted subject to removal from the commonwealth. In 1715 the Maryland Council proposed a bill restricting manumission during the life of an owner or by will, on the ground that free Negroes constituted a serious nuisance. The House of Delegates, however, held that the way should be left open to reward the meritorious conduct of slaves by manumission. Testamentary manumission was forbidden by a Maryland law of 1752, and the same law prohibited manumission of disabled and superannuated slaves by deed.¹¹¹ In North Carolina manumission except for meritorious conduct, to be determined by a county court, was prohibited throughout the greater part of the colonial period.¹¹² Just after the Declaration of Inde-

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Russell, J. H., *The Free Negro in Virginia*, 51; Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, I, 214–216. However, the doctrine is held by T. R. R. Cobb that the right exists unless specifically restrained by legislation. *Inquiry into the Law of Negro Slavery*, 279.

¹⁰⁷ Concerning this, see Aimes, "Transition from Slave to Free Labor in Cuba," and *idem*, "Coartación: Spanish Institution for the Advancement of Slaves into Freedom," in *Yale Review*, XV, 68–84, and XVII, 412–431.

¹⁰⁸ *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 121–125, 129; Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, I, 237.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 242; Tucker, St. G., *Dissertation on Slavery*, 70.

¹¹⁰ Russell, J. H., *Free Negro in Virginia*, 64–71.

¹¹¹ *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXX, 65, 177, 179; Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, I, 254.

¹¹² Bassett, *Slavery in the State of North Carolina*, 30–32; *North Carolina Laws* (Iredell), 288. The act of 1777 was confirmed in 1796. Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 82.

pendence many Quakers in North Carolina proceeded to emancipate their slaves. Their action met with violent opposition, and the emancipated slaves were seized as fugitives. In a test case the Court of Appeals upheld the emancipators, but at the next session of the legislature an act was passed authorizing persons possessing landed property to seize and reënslave the emancipated slaves. In general the planters did not avail themselves of this privilege.¹¹³ The period of the Revolutionary enthusiasm resulted in a more lenient attitude. In 1796 Maryland repealed her prohibition of testamentary manumission, and in 1800 South Carolina provided for manumission conditional on giving security against becoming a public charge. North Carolina and Tennessee took similar action the next year. The Missouri territorial act of 1804 included a provision for testamentary manumission. The Kentucky act of 1822 permitted manumission, but the act of 1841 required security.¹¹⁴ The Abolition Movement resulted in a revulsion against manumission and a series of acts either requiring removal of the emancipated person from the State, with severe penalties against return,—usually sale into slavery,¹¹⁵—or prohibiting manumission altogether except by action of the legislature. As the controversy became more acute in the later years of the sixth decade the tendency was toward complete prohibition.¹¹⁶

RESTRICTIONS ON MIGRATION OF FREE NEGROES

Correlative to the gradual prohibition of manumission in the latter part of the ante bellum period was the tendency toward exclusion of immigration, due to desire for protection against Negroes forced to leave other commonwealths. Between 1793 and 1835 acts of exclusion were passed in succession by Virginia, South Carolina, Maryland, Louisiana, Kentucky, Mississippi, Georgia, Missouri, North Carolina, Florida, Tennessee, and Alabama.¹¹⁷ In practically all of these States the policy became permanent with the exceptions of brief intervals in one or two States. In a number of States free Negroes leaving the State—especially for residence in a nonslaveholding State or to be educated—were forbidden to return, under severe penalties.¹¹⁸ It is probable that these acts were not a severe hardship except in isolated cases involving separation from kindred, for, apparently, free Negroes were not generally inclined to migrate.¹¹⁹

More serious still, the gradually rising tide of sentiment against free Negroes resulted in various acts providing for their expulsion from the State of their residence, and these statutes, combined with the acts of exclusion, placed the free Negro "between the devil and the deep blue sea." A Mississippi law of 1831 provided that all free persons of color between the ages of sixteen and fifty must

¹¹³ Giddings, *Exiles of Florida*, 24.

¹¹⁴ Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 17, 19, 85, 90, 96, 167.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 87, 92, 151, 162, 165, 192.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 24, 97, 143, 149, 166, 174; cf. Phillips, U. B., *Georgia and State Rights*, 156.

¹¹⁷ Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 5, 9, 16, 20–21, 86, 92, 95, 97, 104, 109, 146–148, 151–152, 157–161, 168–170, 191, 193.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 9, 97, 107, 170.

¹¹⁹ This fact is emphasized in a memorial of the citizens of Charleston to the legislature in 1822, reprinted in Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, II, 105–108. For an interesting case of manumitted Negroes who sought vainly to return to captivity in their native Georgia, see Coulter, "A Century of a Georgia Plantation," in *Agricultural History*, III, 151–154.

leave the State, except those able to prove good and honest deportment. A Louisiana act of 1830 required all free Negroes who had settled in the State since January 1, 1825, to depart within sixty days. An act of 1843 permitted those to remain who had settled during or before the year 1838. An Arkansas act of 1859 required free Negroes to leave the State, under penalty of being hired out for one year to be held "as slaves are now held."¹²⁰

In most of the States free Negroes were required to register before a county court, and in some cases bonds for good behavior must be furnished. In some States free Negroes were required to wear badges showing registry number, name, and occupation; or to carry certificates, on penalty of imprisonment or the risk of enslavement.¹²¹ A number of States provided that free Negroes must choose guardians to protect them against fraud and vouch for their conduct.¹²²

Even his nominal freedom was menaced by private activity in kidnapping for sale into slavery,¹²³ a practice by no means infrequent, though generally prohibited by statute. It was also menaced by the various public acts that provided hiring out for a term or enslavement as penalties for certain violations of the law, including vagrancy, nonpayment of fines and taxes, and violation of immigration laws.¹²⁴ Finally, just before the outbreak of the Civil War, significant acts were passed by a number of States to permit a free Negro to become a slave voluntarily.¹²⁵

MISCELLANEOUS SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DISABILITIES OF FREE NEGROES

Various social and economic disabilities were imposed by law in addition to those imposed by custom. Legal restrictions on the education of free Negroes existed in many of the States, although they were largely unnecessary, because of the nonexistence of school facilities. The teaching of free Negroes was forbidden by Alabama in 1832. Missouri prohibited schools for free Negroes in 1847. The sale of stationery to free Negroes was forbidden by Georgia in 1841. Even in Connecticut, Miss Prudence Crandall suffered severe persecution in 1831 for attempting to open a school for free Negroes.¹²⁶ Numerous restrictions were provided with respect to religious assemblage and preaching by free Negroes,

¹²⁰ Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 147, 161-164, 174; *Arkansas Session Laws*, 1858-59, p. 175.

¹²¹ Registration acts were passed by Virginia in 1800; Tennessee, 1806 and 1825; Georgia, 1818 and 1835; Mississippi, 1822; and Louisiana, 1843. *Ibid.*, 6, 84, 91-92, 94, 104, 107, 147, 164. Bonds were required by North Carolina in the case of newcomers in 1795; by Louisiana, 1843; and by Tennessee, 1852. Cf. Sydnor, "The Free Negro in Mississippi," in *American Historical Review*, XXXII, 769.

¹²² Acts of this kind were passed by Georgia in 1810; South Carolina, 1822; Florida, 1842; and Alabama, 1852 and 1854. Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 97, 102, 152-153, 193; Phillips, U. B., *Georgia and State Rights*, 156; Thomas, D. Y., "The Free Negro in Florida before 1865," in *South Atlantic Quarterly*, X, 343; *Alabama Session Laws*, 1853-54, p. 49.

¹²³ Collins, W. H., *Domestic Slave-Trade*, 84-95.

¹²⁴ Servitude as a penalty for nonpayment of fines and taxes was provided by Virginia and Mississippi in 1820; North Carolina, 1831; Florida, 1832 and 1835. Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 8, 87, 146, 193. Servitude on account of vagrancy was provided for by Georgia in 1808; Kentucky, 1825; North Carolina, 1826. *Ibid.*, 17, 102; Bassett, *Slavery in the State of North Carolina*, 36. Several States provided for binding out pauper Negro children. Acts for sale into slavery on account of vagrancy were passed by Georgia and Florida in 1859. Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 109, 195.

¹²⁵ By Virginia in 1856; Tennessee, 1857; Texas, 1858; Louisiana and Florida, 1859; and Maryland, 1860. *Ibid.*, 12, 24, 94, 166, 195, 199.

¹²⁶ *Alabama Session Laws*, 1831-32, p. 16; Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 108, 170; Steiner, *Slavery in Connecticut*, 45-52.

although it is unlikely that their religious freedom was seriously impaired by these precautionary measures.¹²⁷ In addition to restrictions on freedom of movement, the numerous restrictions designed to prevent illicit traffic with slaves tended to curtail materially the economic opportunities of free Negroes. In Maryland they were forbidden to sell corn, wheat, or tobacco without license. In 1826 North Carolina forbade peddling beyond the county without license. A Tennessee statute of 1855 prohibited peddling or bartering of market stuff. Trading without consent of guardian was forbidden by a Florida act of 1856.¹²⁸ In most of the States manufacture or sale of liquor by free Negroes was prohibited.¹²⁹ In Mississippi they were forbidden to keep public houses of entertainment, and in Mississippi and Georgia to work in printing shops. A Georgia law of 1845 forbade their employment as masons or mechanics.¹³⁰ Houses in cities might not be rented to free Negroes without the consent of city authorities.¹³¹ In many of the States free Negroes were forbidden to own firearms and other weapons, a restriction that prevented resort to hunting as a means of livelihood. The ownership of servants or slaves by free Negroes was sometimes prohibited, although there were instances of large holdings of slaves by free Negroes.¹³² There was usually no restriction on the acquisition of land by free Negroes, though the matter was at times agitated.¹³³ A Georgia law passed in 1818 prohibited acquisition of land by free Negroes, but it was repealed the following year. A Mississippi decision of 1859 held free Negroes nonresident in the State to be alien enemies and incapable of receiving by devise property located within the State.¹³⁴ Several States passed laws imposing discriminatory poll taxes on free persons of color.¹³⁵ A most extreme case was that of the city of Appalachicola, Florida, which levied a tax of \$2 per poll for whites and \$25 per poll for free Negroes.¹³⁶

¹²⁷ Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 87, 96, 106, 151, 170.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 20, 86, 94, 194.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 18, 89, 91, 98, 144, 150, 173.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 105, 107, 147. Concerning various economic disabilities in Mississippi, see Sydnor, "The Free Negro in Mississippi," in *American Historical Review*, XXXII, 771.

¹³¹ Phillips, U. B., *Georgia and State Rights*, 155.

¹³² Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, I, 233, II, 9; La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, II, 457. In North Carolina a mulatto named Stanley owned 64 slaves. Bassett, *Slavery in the State of North Carolina*, 43-45.

¹³³ Cf. a petition sent to the South Carolina legislature in 1822, urging the prohibition of the acquisition of plantations by free Negroes. Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, II, 114.

¹³⁴ Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 104, 149 n.

¹³⁵ *Alabama Session Laws*, 1826-27, p. 12; 1849-50, p. 6.

¹³⁶ Thomas, D. Y., "The Free Negro in Florida before 1865," in *South Atlantic Quarterly*, X, 343.

CHAPTER XXIII

EXTENT AND CHARACTER OF PLANTATION ORGANIZATION IN THE POST COLONIAL PERIOD

Extent of the Plantation System, 529. Size of Slaveholdings Employed in Various Typical Agricultural Regions, 532. Unusually Large Slaveholdings, 538. Plantation Equipment and Improvements, 539. Capital Requirements, 541. Current Plantation Expenses, 543.

EXTENT OF THE PLANTATION SYSTEM

In 1850 the total number of plantations was classified according to principal staple crop as follows:¹

Plantations producing five or more bales of cotton.....	74,031
Sugar plantations.....	2,681
Rice plantations, each raising 20,000 pounds and over.....	551
Tobacco plantations, each producing 3,000 pounds and over.....	15,745
Hemp plantations.....	8,327
Total number of plantations.....	101,335

Undoubtedly the low limits assumed included many thousand small cotton and tobacco farms with but one or two working hands. Even with them there were only 101,335 so-called plantations out of a total of 569,201 farms and plantations, a little under 18 per cent.

Judged by area, the average size of farms and plantations was somewhat greater than for the country as a whole, but improved land per farm was but little above the average for the United States, while the average value per farm was below the average for the entire country.

As a basis for determining the size of plantations as measured by labor employed, we are fortunate in having classified statistics of slaveholdings for every county in the South for 1860 and by States for 1850. While a single large slaveholding might be distributed among several different plantations, this was undoubtedly exceptional. As already noted, statistics of the proportion of holdings in the various size groups show that in all parts of the South very small holdings were relatively most numerous. It is desirable also to consider the proportion of slaves in the different groups of holdings classified by size (Table 10), for this point of view reveals the scale of organization most favored in the operation of the competitive forces that determined the method of employing the supply of slave labor.

In 1860 about one fourth of all the slaves belonged to holdings of less than 10 and a little more than one fifth to holdings of 10 and under 20. Considerably more than one fourth belonged to holdings of 20 and under 50, and the remaining one fourth to holdings of 50 or more. The concentration of slaveholdings was more than twice as great in the lower South as in the border States, as indicated by the respective estimated median averages of 32.5 and 15.6. Louisiana shows

¹ United States, *Statistical View: A Compendium of the Seventh Census*, Table CXCIV, p. 178.

the greatest degree of concentration, and Missouri the least, about one sixth that of Louisiana.

TABLE 9.—Average acreage per farm, average improved acreage per farm, and average value per farm, 1850¹

	Average acreage per farm	Average improved acreage per farm	Average value per farm
The South.....	399.09	120.9	\$2,131.14
The Southwest.....	273.57	85.9	1,712.54
The United States.....	202.59	78.0	2,256.85

¹ Derived from statistics in United States, *Statistical View: A Compendium of the Seventh Census*, Table CLXXXIV, p. 170. Texas is not included in the Southwest.

TABLE 10.—Per cent distribution of slaves by size of holdings, by States, 1850 and 1860¹

	1 and under 10		10 and under 20		20 and under 50		50 and under 100		100 and under 200		200 and under 300		300 and under 500		500 and under 1000		1000 and over		Median average	
	1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860
Alabama.....	19.6	18.4	19.8	18.1	32.2	30.2	18.7	20.8	8.4	10.3	1.0	1.3	.2	.9					29.9	33.4
Arkansas....	31.6	26.1	22.0	20.9	24.9	26.7	15.2	16.8	5.3	7.6	.9	1.3			.6				18.4	23.4
Delaware....	88.1	79.6	11.9	20.4															5.7	6.3
Florida.....	21.2	20.1	20.7	21.5	28.7	30.0	18.3	16.8	10.2	10.8		.8	.9						28.5	28.4
Georgia.....	21.1	22.2	21.2	21.9	38.5	32.5	12.5	15.8	4.8	5.7	1.2	1.2	.3	.6	.3	.2			26.0	26.4
Kentucky....	49.0	48.9	31.5	30.7	17.5	18.1	1.7	1.8	.3	.4		.1							10.3	10.4
Louisiana....	20.2	15.8	15.0	13.0	23.4	21.7	20.5	21.5	15.5	20.2	3.4	4.6	.9	2.3	1.1	.9			38.9	49.3
Maryland....	43.9	39.8	26.8	25.7	22.5	24.4	5.3	7.2	1.0	2.5			.4	.4					12.2	14.0
Mississippi..	17.9	16.8	18.4	17.8	31.7	30.8	20.8	22.2	8.7	9.8	1.4	1.6	1.0	.8	.2	.2			33.0	35.0
Missouri....	58.5	60.1	27.5	25.9	12.2	11.6	1.4	1.8		.5	.3								8.6	8.3
North Carolina.....	26.7	27.4	27.1	24.4	30.3	29.7	11.1	12.1	3.5	5.2	.9	.8	.4	.5					18.6	19.3
South Carolina.....	15.9	15.8	17.8	17.1	26.9	27.1	17.8	20.0	13.7	13.0	4.1	3.3	2.8	2.1	.4	1.3	.5	.3	38.2	38.9
Tennessee....	36.1	36.8	26.7	26.1	28.2	26.4	7.6	8.0	1.0	2.1	.2	.5	.1	.1					15.2	15.1
Texas.....	35.8	31.0	28.7	25.0	22.3	29.5	10.5	10.2	2.3	4.1	.4	.3							14.9	17.6
Virginia.....	28.4	27.2	26.7	26.0	32.2	31.9	9.1	11.0	3.0	3.4	.4	.4	.1	.1					18.1	18.8
Total South..	26.6	25.6	22.8	21.6	29.0	27.9	13.1	14.9	6.3	7.6	1.3	1.4	.6	.7	.2	.3	.1		20.6	23.0
Border States.	35.5	35.4	27.5	26.3	27.0	26.4	7.4	8.4	2.0	2.8	.4	.4	.2	.2					15.3	15.6
Lower South..	19.8	19.4	19.1	18.6	30.5	28.8	17.5	19.0	9.6	10.6	2.1	2.1	1.0	1.1	.3	.4	.1		30.9	32.5

¹ Computed from *United States Census*, 1850, p. 248; *ibid.*, 1860, *Agriculture*, 247.

In this and the following table showing the percentages of all slaves owned, classified by size of holdings, the number of slaves in each group is obtained as follows: For the groups from 1 to 9 inclusive the number of slaves is the product of the number of holdings, as given in the original statistics, multiplied by the size of the holdings. For the remaining groups it is assumed that the holdings represent an average of the two extremes of the group, and this average has been multiplied by the number of holdings in the group. The sum of these products has been added. The difference between this sum and the total number of slaves in all the groups above 9 slaves, as given in the *Census*, has been added or subtracted from the sum of the provisional figures, being distributed among the groups according to the proportion that the provisional number for the group bears to the provisional total for all the groups. On the basis of the percentages derived from these figures the median averages have been calculated. Within the group the median average has been located by interpolation. The same methods were used in calculating the estimated median averages employed in Tables 12–14 inclusive, showing distribution of slaves by size of holdings in selected groups of counties representative of important types of farming regions.

The table reveals strikingly a widespread tendency in the seventh decade toward concentration in slave ownership. This tendency was naturally most rapid in the five States of the Southwest, and especially notable in Louisiana.

TABLE 11.—Per cent of slaves by size of holdings in certain States, 1790¹

	1 and under 10	10 and under 20	20 and under 50	50 and under 100	100 and under 200	200 and under 300	300 and over	Median average
Virginia.....	27.9	29.7	30.8	7.5	3.3	.9		17.4
Maryland.....	34.6	28.1	26.0	7.5	2.5	.8	.4	15.5
North Carolina.....	41.4	26.1	23.8	6.6	1.6	.5		13.3
South Carolina.....	20.0	15.8	26.2	18.7	12.6	4.6	2.1	36.2
Total.....	29.9	26.3	28.0	9.3	4.5	1.5	.4	17.6

¹ Computed by the writer from statistics of slaveholders, classified by size of holding, in United States, *Century of Population Growth*, 136.

See note to Table 10.

TABLE 12.—Median holdings of slaves by size of holdings, 1860: the minor staples, tobacco regions, and alluvial regions growing short-staple cotton¹

Regions of the minor staples		Selected tobacco regions		Short-staple cotton—alluvial regions	
Name of region	Median	Name of region	Median	Name of region	Median
Entire sea-island cotton and rice region of Ga. and S. C. (a)	64	Middle Va. tobacco region (e)	24	Issaquena County, Miss.	118
Sea-island cotton and rice, S. C. (b)	70	South central Va. tobacco region (f)	28	Yazoo Delta, Miss. (j)	55
Colleton County, S. C.	92	N. C. tobacco region (g)	25	Yazoo and Warren counties, Miss.	56
Georgetown County, S. C.	135	Clarksville-Hopkinsville tobacco region, Ky. (h)	14	Madison and Hinds counties, Miss.	39
Brunswick County, N. C.	42	Entire tobacco region of western Ky. (i)	14	River counties of south-western Miss. (k)	70
Sugar region, La. (c)	81	Christian County, Ky.	19	Mississippi River counties, La. and Miss. (l)	87
Ascension Parish, La.	175			Concordia Parish, La.	117
Brazoria County, Tex.	52			Alluvial counties, south-eastern Ark. (m)	52
Western Shore tobacco region, Md. (d)	21			Crittenden County, Ark.	31
				Rapides Parish, La.	125
				Upper Red River counties, La. (n)	44
				Tennessee River valley, Ala. (o)	32

¹ Computed by the writer from *United States Census*, 1860, *Agriculture*.

- (a) Georgetown, Charleston, Colleton, and Beaufort districts, South Carolina, and Chatham, Bryan, Liberty, McIntosh, Glynn, and Camden counties, Georgia.
- (b) Beaufort, Charleston, and Colleton districts, South Carolina.
- (c) St. Mary, Assumption, Terrebonne, Lafourche, St. James, Iberville, West Baton Rouge, and Jefferson parishes, Louisiana.
- (d) Anne Arundel, Prince Georges, Charles, St. Marys, and Calvert counties, Maryland. Prince Georges produced more tobacco than any other county in the United States in 1860.
- (e) Halifax, Mecklenburg, Pittsylvania, Prince Edward, Lunenburg, Nottoway, Buckingham, Cumberland, Brunswick, Campbell, Caroline, and Louisa counties, Virginia.
- (f) Halifax and Mecklenburg counties, Virginia.
- (g) Rockingham, Caswell, Person, Granville, and Warren counties, North Carolina.
- (h) Christian, Todd, Logan, Warren, and Caldwell counties, Kentucky.
- (i) Includes the counties of the Clarksville-Hopkinsville region just mentioned, together with Henderson, Daviess, Graves, Fulton, Hickman, and Green counties, Kentucky.
- (j) Issaquena, Bolivar, Tallahatchie, Coahoma, and Tunica counties, Mississippi.
- (k) Wilkinson, Adams, Jefferson, and Claiborne counties, Mississippi.
- (l) Tensas, Concordia, and Madison parishes, Louisiana, and Carroll county, Mississippi.
- (m) Chicot, Desha, Arkansas, and Jefferson counties, Arkansas.
- (n) Bossier and De Soto parishes, Louisiana.
- (o) Limestone and Madison counties, Alabama.

Changes in the other States were not very significant except possibly the increases in the medians for Maryland, Delaware, and North Carolina. Between 1790 and 1850 (Table 11), there was a considerable decrease in degree of concentration in Maryland, as indicated by median averages. In Virginia and the Carolinas there was an increase during the period, especially marked in North Carolina, where the plantation economy was developed, for the most part, after the rise of the upland cotton industry.

SIZE OF SLAVEHOLDINGS EMPLOYED IN VARIOUS TYPICAL AGRICULTURAL REGIONS

The size of slaveholdings varied widely in accordance with the kind of staple crop, and in relation to the physiographic characteristics of different regions and their adaptability to the production and marketing of plantation staples.

On account of the large number of very small holdings the arithmetic average reflects very much less effectively than the median the degree of concentration in slave ownership. Thus, the average number of slaves per holding for Christian County, in the tobacco region of southern Kentucky, is 10 and for Ascension Parish, in the sugar region of Louisiana, 27; but the medians for the two counties are 19 and 175 respectively—that is, approximately one half the slaves were in holdings above those numbers. Consequently in the following discussion of the regional variation in degree of concentration the median of number of slaves, rather than the average of slaves per holding or the median of the number of holdings, has been employed although it can only be estimated. (Tables 12, 13, and 14.)

There was no statistical district where sea-island cotton was paramount. All of the counties and districts producing sea-island cotton produced rice also or some other staple. There were two counties, however, in which rice was the most important staple—Georgetown District, South Carolina, and Brunswick County, North Carolina. In the former district the median was 135. In Brunswick County, where the climate is less favorable to rice and it was less exclusively produced, the degree of concentration was less than one third as great. For the entire rice and sea-island cotton region the median was 64. Professor U. B. Phillips asserts that the best results in rice and indigo production were obtained from plantations with working forces of about 30 hands each.² Assuming that the working force in the sea-island cotton and rice district was a little more than one half the entire slave force, a median working force of about 35 is indicated.

In the sugar region of Louisiana the degree of concentration was somewhat greater than in the sea-island cotton and rice region. For the group of typical sugar-producing parishes the median was 81. The median for Brazoria County, Texas, which produced some sugar, was smaller than for the Louisiana parishes, but the tendency toward concentration in the group between 100 and 200 slaves is evident in both regions.

Tobacco was produced in a number of noncontiguous regions differing considerably in soil, climate, and nearness to market; and it was rarely produced

² "Slave Labor Problem in the Charleston District," in *Political Science Quarterly*, XXII, 418.

so exclusively in a given county as sugar or rice. Median holdings for the various groups ranged from 14 to 28 and were in general smaller in Kentucky than in the regions east of the Blue Ridge. Although tobacco production was more or less associated with general farming, the degree of concentration in the tobacco regions appears to have been somewhat greater than in most of the general farming regions, where the medians ranged from 9 to 20. (Table 12.)

Upland cotton was produced over so large a territory and under such diverse conditions that there were widely varying tendencies with respect to concentration of holdings. In general, the concentration varied according to the extent to which production was favored by conditions of soil, topography, climate, and accessibility to market.

The most extreme concentration existed in the alluvial lands of the Mississippi and its larger tributaries, where conditions of commercial production were especially favorable. (Table 12.) In spite of the difficulty of bringing the alluvial lands of the lower Mississippi into cultivation, they were peculiarly suited to the production of cotton under a plantation economy, containing in 1860 the four leading cotton producing counties in the South—Tensas, Carroll, and Concordia parishes, Louisiana, and Yazoo County, Mississippi. The medians were 87 for the Louisiana group, 52 for the counties of southeastern Arkansas, and 55 for the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta. Issaquena County, Mississippi, and Concordia, Louisiana, were characterized by a degree of concentration comparable to that of the rice and sugar regions, with medians of 118 and 117 respectively. Yazoo and Warren counties, Mississippi, which consisted only in part of alluvial land and in part of brown-loam uplands, were characterized by a degree of concentration similar to that of the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta. In Claiborne, Jefferson, Adams, and Wilkinson counties, the oldest settled portion of the State, which were located almost entirely in the region of rich upland loams bordering the river, the concentration of slaveholdings was somewhat greater than in the Yazoo Delta as a whole, probably due to the longer period of development. On the other hand, counties such as Crittenden, Arkansas, and New Madrid, Missouri, though almost entirely alluvial, had been so recently settled that the full tendency toward concentration had not fully developed. Rapides, Louisiana, is typical of a group of parishes, including Avoyelles, Pointe Coupée, and St. Landry, where considerable attention was devoted to sugar, although cotton was the most important crop. Therefore, a larger scale of organization prevailed than in other alluvial cotton producing counties. Bossier and De Soto counties, farther up Red River, and the counties of the Tennessee River valley were typical of regions where the large-scale economy of the river bottoms was offset by numerous small holdings in adjacent uplands. The size of the holdings in both regions was probably affected also by distance to market. The broad valley of the Ouachita is another considerable alluvial region, although no county lay wholly within the alluvial portion. (Table 14.) In the Louisiana part of the valley the median was 29 and in the northern part, lying in Arkansas, 18.

Since for regions otherwise similar the older regions were usually characterized by a larger scale of organization than the newer regions, where the tendency

for large holdings to supplant small ones had not worked out so completely, it appears desirable to consider upland cotton plantation regions in three groups (Tables 13 and 14), including respectively the Carolinas and Georgia, the newer regions east of the Mississippi, and the still newer regions west of the river.

Of the series of larger physiographic regions that run roughly parallel to the Atlantic in the Carolinas, curving westward through Georgia, there are two extensive regions that were largely devoted to upland cotton: the middle and upper

TABLE 13.—*Median holdings of slaves by size of holdings, 1860: upland cotton regions east of the Mississippi river*¹

Older upland cotton regions, east of Alabama		Upland cotton regions in Alabama and Mississippi	
Name of region	Median	Name of region	Median
Northeastern cotton region, North Carolina (a)	26	Black prairie, Alabama (i)	49
Southwestern cotton region, North Carolina (b)	17	Wilcox and Sumter counties, Alabama	47
Middle and upper coastal plain, South Carolina (c)	37	Eastern piedmont region, Alabama (j)	17
Southern piedmont regions, South Carolina (d)	30	Upper coastal plain, southern Alabama (k)	17
Williamsburg County, South Carolina	47	Clay hills region, Alabama (l)	18
Upper coastal plain, Georgia (f)	33	Northwestern Alabama (m)	10
Southern piedmont region, Georgia (g)	26	Northeastern black prairie, Mississippi (n)	44
Older counties of the same region (h)	36	Central and lower coastal plain, southern Mississippi (o)	15
		North central Mississippi (p)	11
		Northwestern Mississippi (q)	28
		Central Gulf coastal plain, Miss. (r)	19

¹ Computed by the writer from *United States Census, 1860, Agriculture*.

(a) Northampton, Halifax, Edgecombe, Pitt, and Lenoir counties, North Carolina.

(b) Mecklenburg, Union, Anson, Richmond, and Rowan counties, North Carolina.

(c) Orangeburg, Clarendon, Barnwell, Sumter, and Richland districts, South Carolina.

(d) Abbeville, Laurens, Edgefield, and Newberry districts, South Carolina.

(f) Burke, Washington, Houston, Sumter, Dougherty, Stewart, Clay, and Thomas counties, Georgia.

(g) Putnam, Morgan, Hancock, Newton, Monroe, Coweta, Troup, Harris, and Meriwether counties, Georgia.

(h) Putnam, Morgan, and Hancock counties, Georgia.

(i) Greene, Dallas, Marengo, Lowndes, and Montgomery counties, Alabama.

(j) Coosa and Chambers counties, Alabama.

(k) Coffee, Conecuh, Covington, and Dale counties, Alabama.

(l) Butler and Pike counties, Alabama. The latter lies partly in the upper coastal plain.

(m) Fayette and Marion counties, Alabama.

(n) Lowndes, Noxubee, and Monroe counties, Mississippi.

(o) Covington, Greene, Harrison, Jackson, Jones, and Marion counties, Mississippi.

(p) Calhoun, Choctaw, and Neshoba counties, Mississippi.

(q) Holmes, Carroll, Yalobusha, De Soto, and Marshall counties, Mississippi.

(r) Scott and Jasper counties, Mississippi.

coastal plain and the piedmont region, which is separated from the coastal plain by a belt of sand hills. In general the upper coastal plain lies east of the fall line of the rivers, and was therefore more advantageously situated with respect to market than were the metamorphic lands. The soil of the former region is, generally speaking, sandy loam, while the heavier clays predominate in the latter. The regions selected for study in the middle and upper coastal plain show a considerable similarity in scale of organization as indicated by median holdings of slaves. In the northeastern cotton region of North Carolina the median of

26 reflected probably in part a greater intermixture of general farming with cotton growing than is the case in the upper coastal plain of South Carolina, where the median was higher. Williamsburg County lies largely in the coastal flatwood area, where the soils, except in alluvial areas, are lighter and less adapted to upland cotton without fertilizers than in the upper coastal plain, and the median of 47 probably reflected the influence of rice estates. The median holding of the eight selected counties of the upper coastal plain of Georgia was slightly less than in the corresponding region of South Carolina, probably because

TABLE 14.—*Median holdings of slaves by size of holdings, 1860: upland cotton regions west of the Mississippi river and regions of general farming based mainly on slave labor*¹

Upland cotton regions west of the Mississippi river		Regions of general farming based mainly on slave labor	
Name of region	Median	Name of region	Median
Claiborne Parish, Louisiana	18	Eastern Shore, Maryland (f)	11
Ouachita Valley, Louisiana (a)	29	Tidewater counties, Virginia (g)	19
Ouachita Valley, Arkansas (b)	18	Bluegrass region, Kentucky (h)	14
Dallas County, Arkansas	19	Central farming counties, Ky. (i)	11
Northeastern Texas cotton counties (c)	20	River counties, Missouri (j)	13
Polk County, Texas	26	Middle Tennessee (k)	13
East Texas cotton counties (d)	23	Valley of east Tennessee (l)	9
Southern part of the black prairie, Texas (e)	16	Central farming counties, North Carolina (m)	15
New Madrid County, Missouri	16	Tidewater farming counties, North Carolina (n)	20
Fayette County, Tennessee	26	Pickens County, South Carolina	14
		North Georgia farming counties (o)	16

¹ Computed by the writer from *United States Census, 1860, Agriculture*.

- (a) Morehouse and Ouachita parishes, Louisiana.
- (b) Ashley, Ouachita, and Union counties, Arkansas.
- (c) Cass, Harrison, Rusk, and Smith counties, Texas.
- (d) Washington, Grimes, Austin, Fort Bend, and Walker counties, Texas.
- (e) McLennan and Travis counties, Texas.
- (f) Somerset, Dorchester, Queen Annes, and Kent counties, Maryland.
- (g) Accomac, Northumberland, Lancaster, Gloucester, Elizabeth City, York, James City, Charles City, and Surry counties, Virginia.
- (h) Bourbon, Fayette, and Woodford counties, Kentucky.
- (i) Harrison, Shelby, Henry, Mercer, Nelson, and Madison counties, Kentucky.
- (j) Lafayette and Saline counties, Missouri.
- (k) Sumner, Davidson, and Wilson counties, Tennessee.
- (l) Hamilton, McMinn, Roane, Knox, Jefferson, Hawkins, and Greene counties, Tennessee.
- (m) Chatham, Davidson, and Sampson counties, North Carolina.
- (n) Gates, Perquimans, Beaufort, Craven, and New Hanover counties, North Carolina.
- (o) Chattooga, Floyd, Gordon, Walker, Hall, and Cobb counties, Georgia.

counties in southwestern Georgia, included in the former group, were of comparatively recent settlement. In the piedmont region of the Carolinas and Georgia only the portion nearest the coast was characterized by the prevalence of cotton plantations. For the plantation part of the region four sub-groups lying almost entirely in that formation are shown in Table 13, including the southwestern cotton region of North Carolina, the southern piedmont of South Carolina, the corresponding region of Georgia, and the older counties of the Georgia piedmont. Medians for these groups range from 26 to 36, except for the North Carolina region, where the much lower degree of concentration indicated by a median of

17 resembled that of Spartanburg County, South Carolina,³ both areas lying comparatively far from market.

In the newer cotton regions of Alabama and Mississippi (Table 13),⁴ the degree of concentration appears to have been determined principally by the same conditions as in the regions already considered—nearness to market, adaptability of soil and climate to cotton, and length of the period of settlement. The fertile black (calcareous) prairie of middle Alabama, favored by easy transport to market, was characterized by a degree of concentration (median average 49) found elsewhere only in alluvial regions.⁵ The counties in Mississippi that comprise the northwestern extension of the same region, marketing their product by means of the Tombigbee river, but farther from market, were characterized by a median of 44. There are a number of counties in central Alabama located partly in the calcareous prairie and partly in other soil formations such as Wilcox and Sumter counties, along the southern border of the prairie, and Perry and Macon counties, along the northern border. Both groups were characterized by a degree of concentration somewhat smaller than in the predominantly prairie group.⁶

In a group of counties lying partly in the clay hills region south of the black prairie of Alabama, the median was only 18, probably partly because the two counties selected (Butler and Pike) are poorly supplied with navigable streams. In two counties of the central Gulf coastal plain of Mississippi considered as a group and in five other counties in Mississippi belonging to the same general region, the scale of organization resembled that of the Alabama group.⁷

In the eastern piedmont of Alabama the median was only 17. Until the construction of railways commercial planting was under a severe handicap on account of remoteness from market, and in some cases poor soils, in the part of Alabama lying just south of the valley of the Tennessee river as well as in large portions of northeastern, northern, and north central Mississippi. In such areas the percentage of slaves was small, and median holdings were about 10 slaves. Very small holdings prevailed also in the sandy lower coastal plain, in the extreme southern part of Alabama and Mississippi. Although much of this region is well favored in water transport, the light sandy lands were not found generally suited for cotton production without fertilizers, except in the bottoms, and medians for various groups of counties ranged from 13 to 17.⁸ The large area of brown loam uplands in northwestern Mississippi is, in general, characterized by better soils, and a larger proportion of the region had ready access to market by water. In a group of five counties the median holding was 28.

For the most part, upland cotton regions west of the Mississippi were more

³ Not shown in the table.

⁴ Some of the counties in these groups were settled before some of the counties already considered in middle and southwestern Georgia.

⁵ None of the counties of the Alabama group or the Mississippi group lies entirely within the calcareous belt.

⁶ Not included in the table.

⁷ These counties are not included in Table 13. They comprise Amite, Copiah, Lauderdale, Lawrence, and Pike.

⁸ Some of the groups are not included in the tables.

recently settled than those east of the river, and this difference appears to have been reflected in comparative size of slaveholdings. (Table 14.) Except for alluvial districts, the greater part of the interior upland regions in Arkansas and northern Louisiana were not regions of extensive slaveholdings. In Claiborne Parish, in northern Louisiana, and Dallas County, in southern Arkansas, typical of the large region of interior coastal plain (Ouachita-Red River rolling lands), comparatively remote from market, median holdings were 18 and 19 respectively.

Bowie County, Texas, and Lafayette County, Arkansas, may be considered typical of the valley of the Red river, above Shreveport. The median holding in the Arkansas county was 37, and slightly more in Bowie County.⁹ Although the scale of organization was clearly influenced by the availability of alluvial lands, the concentration was somewhat smaller than in the upper Red River valley in Louisiana, probably due to shorter distance to market and longer period of settlement of the latter region. In an important cotton growing group of counties of northeastern Texas, situated in the interior coastal plain, the median was 20, practically the same as in corresponding regions of Louisiana and Arkansas. In Polk County, which lies in the gently rolling dense subsoil belt of southeastern Texas, bordering the lower Trinity and Neches rivers, the median was 26. The most important cotton region of Texas centered in a group of counties in the southeast, along the Brazos and Colorado rivers. In five of these counties, located largely in the bottom lands or the eastern black waxy prairie, the median holding was 23. In the western segment of the black waxy prairie, then mainly a herding region, there was little cotton and but few slaves except in the southeastern part, where holdings were small, with a median of 16.

In the important general farming regions where slaveholding was prevalent (Table 14), the median holding varied from about 9 in the valley of east Tennessee—the most remote of the several regions from market—to 20 in the old tidewater counties of North Carolina.

For some of the older regions of the Atlantic seaboard it is also possible to compare the scale of organization with that which prevailed near the close of the eighteenth century. In the counties of the Eastern Shore of Maryland the median holding declined from about 15 in 1790 to 11 in 1860. In four counties of Tidewater Virginia for which comparable statistics are obtainable the median increased between 1783 and 1860. The same is true of the tidewater counties of North Carolina. It is probable that as planters moved from these older districts to the westward there was a tendency for remaining plantation owners of superior ability and resources to acquire some of the slaves of their migratory neighbors, or perhaps the larger planters found it more difficult to disengage themselves from the various obligations and ties that bound them to their ancestral domains. It is notable that regions formerly devoted to the production of tobacco as a staple crop and forced to change to general farming, experienced an increase in the size of slaveholdings in spite of the accepted doctrine that plantation organization is ill adapted to general farming.

⁹ These counties are not shown in the tables.

UNUSUALLY LARGE SLAVEHOLDINGS

In 1860 only one slaveholding with 1,000 slaves or more was reported; it was in South Carolina. There were 13 holdings ranging from 500 to 1,000 slaves, of which 7 were in South Carolina and 4 in Louisiana. There were 74 holdings of 300 and under 500 slaves, more than half in the two States mentioned. Holdings of 200 and under 300 numbered 224, again about half in South Carolina and Louisiana; and holdings of 100 and under 200 slaves numbered 1,980, almost half of them in these two States.¹⁰

As early as 1745 a traveller reported a planter in Maryland who numbered on his lands "near 1000 Wretches" besides white servants. At the close of the eighteenth century a Mr. Bligh, who resided in England, was reported to be the owner of rice estates comprising 1,200 to 1,500 slaves.¹¹ It is probable that about the time of the outbreak of the Revolution Governor Wright's plantations comprised at least 1,000 slaves, for they were capable of producing 2,000 to 3,000 barrels of rice a year.¹² Just before the Civil War Mr. J. A. S. Acland was the owner of seven plantations in one body on the lower Mississippi, besides large holdings in Texas and the largest stock farm in the South, located near Gallatin, Tennessee.¹³ A planter and New Orleans merchant by the name of Burnsidess was reported to have more than 1,000 slaves. In 1860 he purchased a sugar plantation in St. James Parish containing 7,000 or 8,000 acres for \$500,000. Three years previously he had bought the "magnificent" Houmas estate from Colonel John Preston, comprising some 500 slaves, for a price estimated at more than \$1,000,000. His total holdings of sugar plantations in 1860 were considered to be worth nearly \$2,000,000.¹⁴

The Acland and Burnsidess estates illustrate the fact that the largest slaveholdings were not concentrated in a single plantation. They were built up gradually by acquiring or establishing one plantation after another. Men of large affairs combined the advantages of large capital and cumulative profits with extensive credit connections and political influence in reaching out into new regions and establishing plantations or in acquiring them in older regions. Typical of this practice was the case of Henry Laurens, who used the profits from his mercantile business to acquire a number of plantations in the older settled part of South Carolina, while his advantageous position as an importer of slaves facilitated the establishment of new plantations along the Georgia coast and in western South Carolina.¹⁵

The extent of the agricultural operations involved in one of these large estates may be illustrated by a few details concerning the plantations of David Roger-son Williams, a South Carolina cotton planter in the early years of the nineteenth

¹⁰ *United States Census, 1860, Agriculture, 247.*

¹¹ Campbell, G. L., *Itinerant Observations in America* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, IV), 35; La Roche-foucauld, *Travels*, II, 408.

¹² Habersham, *Letters* (Ga. Hist. Soc., Collections, VI), 121.

¹³ This account is based on a clipping from a Nashville newspaper about fifteen years ago, the date unfortunately lost. For lists of planters producing 3,000 to 5,000 bales of cotton a year, see Watkins, *King Cotton*, 176, 200.

¹⁴ United States Agricultural Society, *Journal*, VIII, 180.

¹⁵ Wallace, D. D., *Henry Laurens*, 130.

century. Williams inherited about 100 slaves, and from this beginning built up an estate of 12,950 acres divided into nine plantations, comprising in all about 500 slaves. He maintained about 70 horses and mules, 208 cattle, 50 sheep, and 600 to 1,000 hogs. He butchered about 500 hogs each year to provide meat for his plantations. In February, 1831, he had 27,000 pounds of bacon in his smoke houses, besides 495 hogs. About 700 pounds of bacon were required each week to feed his hands. On two occasions there were 10,000 bushels of corn in his cribs. In 1828 he had 200 bales of cotton spun into yarn to provide clothing and other necessities.¹⁶

Some planters of Maryland and Virginia engaged in general farming operated on an extensive scale. In 1783 Edward Lloyd's estate consisted of 11,884 acres of land, 261 slaves, 799 sheep, 147 horses, and 571 cattle. The year's production of tobacco was 215,000 pounds. About 1813 the Carroll estate, in the rich grain region of western Maryland, comprised 10,000 acres and 1,000 slaves. The same traveller heard of a plantation near Battletown, Virginia, consisting of 10,000 acres, practically all in cultivation, with 600 to 800 slaves.¹⁷

While turpentine farming was carried on mainly by poor white farmers, there were instances of large-scale operation. About 1855 a North Carolina planter operated an estate of some 25,000 acres and 150 slaves, whom he employed partly in gathering turpentine and partly in clearing and cultivating about 1,000 acres on which he produced 7,000 bushels of corn besides other products.¹⁸

Perhaps the largest landholding in the South just before the Civil War was that of Colonel Jacob Carroll, of Texas, who was reputed to own 250,000 acres, mostly livestock range. He pastured 1,000 horses and mules, as many cattle, and 600 hogs. His home plantation consisted of 8,000 acres, where he worked some 50 field hands in the production of about 300 bales of cotton and 20,000 bushels of corn.¹⁹

PLANTATION EQUIPMENT AND IMPROVEMENTS

The character of plantation equipment, of course, was largely determined by the requirements of the staple crop. The cotton and tobacco industries required a minimum of machinery. Labor, work stock, and land were the principal items in the farmer's capital account. The fact that soil exhaustion forced most planters to move once or twice in each generation was unfavorable to the erection of expensive buildings or the making of permanent improvements. The same condition discouraged the making of repairs, and travellers commented on the general air of dilapidation characteristic of such plantation regions, some of which, no doubt, was due to the carelessness of slaves.²⁰ Rice, sea-island cotton,

¹⁶ Cook, H. T., *David Rogerson Williams*, 210-216.

¹⁷ Richardson, *Side-Lights on Maryland History*, I, 167; Gerry, *Diary*, 134, 136. For other instances of large-scale operations in general farming, see Watson, *Men and Times of the Revolution*, 58; *Southern Planter*, VIII, 102; *Farmers' Register*, IX, 214; Evans, *Pedestrious Tour* (Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, VIII), 280; cf. Tennessee, State Agricultural Bureau, *First Biennial Report*, 1855-1856, pp. 166-168.

¹⁸ *The Arator*, I, 43.

¹⁹ *Farmer and Planter*, IX, 254.

²⁰ *Southern Planter*, II, 17, 19; *Southern Agriculturist*, VIII, 175; Ogden, *Letters from the West* (Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XIX), 33; Sutcliffe, *Travels*, 61.

and sugar plantations and plantations in the border States devoted to general farming were generally provided with a more durable type of improvements. Rice and sugar plantations were peculiar in the greater amount of expensive machinery or investments in reclamation required.

The type of residence varied with the wealth of the owner, length of time since settlement of the region, and permanence of the agriculture. On some of the older Virginia plantations and in the sugar region there were many stately mansions, frequently built of imported materials and surrounded with the elaborate handiwork of the landscape gardener. The unhealthfulness of the climate in the rice region and the rapid exhaustion of land in the cotton region inclined most of the planters to content themselves with modest quarters. There were hundreds of plantations owned by absentees and provided with no "great house." Throughout the cotton region the plantation houses of the middle-class planters were the reverse of elaborate. At best, they were comfortable frame cottages; at worst, they were miserable log huts. In newer plantation districts there were numerous plantation dwelling-houses constructed of logs.²¹

Outbuildings were of an inexpensive character. Negro houses represented generally an inconsiderable expenditure, being mostly rude log huts erected by Negro carpenters.²² Barns of large size were unusual on cotton plantations, but there were well-built barns and winnowing houses in the rice region and in the general farming regions of the border States. In Louisiana the sugar house was a large brick or frame building, sometimes as much as a hundred feet in length. On nearly all large plantations there were numerous small, log or frame buildings constructed for the plantation office, hospital, nursery, overseer's house, carpenter shop, blacksmith's shop, loom house, ice house (in the border States), smoke house, gin house, grist mill, wash house, stables and sheds for livestock, dairy and poultry houses, gear and implement sheds, carriage and fodder houses, corn cribs, and other buildings for storing crops. Where plantation by-industries were carried on, there were also cooper shops, weaving houses, tanning houses, turners' shops, and brewing houses.²³

The most usual type of fence was the wooden "worm" fence, which had the advantage that its life was not limited by the rotting of posts. The mortised post and rail fences were less employed, though favored by some because of the smaller amount of timber required and the fact that they covered less ground. Where timber was becoming scarce, hedges were resorted to and occasionally even sod fences or ditches supplemented by small post and rail fences on the embankments. The bluegrass regions of Kentucky, middle Tennessee, and Missouri were characterized by rock fences and plank fences. Experiments with wire fences and iron posts were being made late in the period.²⁴

²¹ Ruffin, *Diary*, I, No. 308, p. 346 (Manuscripts, Library of Congress); Burke, E. P., *Reminiscences of Georgia*, 119; Gosse, *Letters from Alabama*, 151-156; *Southern Agriculturist*, VIII, 175, 177; Johnson, T. C., *Robert Lewis Dabney*, 14-19.

²² See below, p. 562.

²³ Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, I, 251; Burke, E. P., *Reminiscences of Georgia*, 111; *Southern Cultivator*, III, 97; Mallard, *Plantation Life before Emancipation*, 17; *Carolina Planter* (1840), p. 148; *Carolina Planter* (1844-5), I, 221, 223; entry of Dec. 4, 1784, in Carter, R., *Papers* (Account Books, No. 3), pp. 24-26 (Manuscripts, Library of Congress); *Virginia Herald* (Fredericksburg), Aug. 18, 1813.

²⁴ Washington, *Writings* (Sparks), XII, 332, 365, 371; Bordley, *Essays and Notes on Husbandry*, 196;

CAPITAL REQUIREMENTS

The amount of capital required to engage in planting was not so large in the colonial period as later, for in the former period land could usually be obtained by importing servants or slaves, and its value was nominal.²⁵

About 1775 the establishment of a tobacco plantation of 2,000 acres involved an expenditure of about £1,100 sterling for slaves, £300 for necessary buildings and furniture, £60 for implements and arms, £50 for a small sloop, £265 for live-stock, £40 for land fees, and £100 for orchard and other small items. The whole amounted to £1,915.²⁶

A rice and indigo plantation of moderate size about the same period required approximately the same initial expenditure. The main items were as follows:²⁷

	£	8
1,000 acres of land (one third of it good swamp land and the remainder oak and hickory upland).....	575	0
Buildings.....	142	15
Two good Negro mechanics.....	142	15
Two old Negroes to care for stock.....	57	0
Two house servants.....	69	5
26 field slaves (one third of them women).....	927	10
Stock (including 20 oxen and cows, and 8 horses).....	88	16
Plantation tools, carts, and plows.....	21	8
Total outlay.....	£2,024	9

It will be noted, however, that there is no allowance for the value of Negro children and that the purchase of raw land is assumed. The heavy expense of clearing and ditching the land for rice is not included, and for that early period there is naturally no allowance for a rice mill. The inclusion of these omitted items and the great appreciation in the value of slaves largely increased the capital requirements. A much larger investment in stock, tools, and equipment in the latter part of the ante bellum period is shown by the following capital account for 1849 of the large rice estate owned by Governor Aikin, of South Carolina:²⁸

1,500 acres of rice land at \$100 an acre.....	\$150,000
500 acres of upland at \$25 an acre.....	12,500
700 slaves averaging \$300 each.....	210,000
Stock, tools, and other equipment.....	7,500
Total capital.....	\$380,000

There is evidently no allowance for a rice mill, which would have added from \$10,000 to \$18,000. A rice plantation containing 500 acres of rice land and 1,000 acres of high land, with 190 slaves, and equipped with a fine rice mill, sold in 1838 for \$110,000. A small rice estate of 220 acres of cleared land and 80 acres of uncleared land, with 50 slaves and a good rice mill, sold for \$40,000 in 1833.²⁹

For a large plantation devoted to upland cotton—say, in the Mississippi

Southern Agriculturist, I, 307; *Southern Planter*, III, 85; VII, 70; VIII, 142, 153, 251; *Valley Farmer* (St. Louis), VII, 295; XII, 170; *Franklin Farmer*, II, 52; *Western Journal and Civilian*, II, 265; *North Carolina Farmer*, II, 58, 90; III, 135; IV, 162.

²⁵ See Chap. XVIII.

²⁶ *American Husbandry*, I, 235.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 407.

²⁸ *De Bow's Review*, IX, 201.

²⁹ Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, I, 134, 148.

alluvium—60 hands may be considered the typical size of the labor force. In that region, where the proportion of children and aged slaves was small, such a plantation contained about 120 slaves in all. At an average value of \$400 the capital invested in slaves amounted to \$48,000. For this number 1,000 acres of arable land and 600 of reserve woodland were required. Estimating the cleared land at \$35 an acre and the uncleared land at \$10 an acre, the entire investment in land amounted to \$41,000. Plows and harrows cost about \$600. About four wagons were required, worth approximately \$400. A common gin and gin house cost \$500. The entire investment for implements amounted to \$1,500. Thirty mules and horses, averaging \$100 each, 5 yoke of oxen at \$40 per yoke, with perhaps 50 head of cattle at \$10 each, 250 hogs at \$2 each, and 100 head of sheep or goats at \$2 required an investment of \$4,400 for livestock. The total capital account of such a plantation amounted to approximately \$96,400.³⁰

The following is a capital account of a small cotton plantation in the poor pine lands of Alabama, about 1846:³¹

360 acres of poor pine land at \$6 per acre.....	\$2,160
13 hands, for the most part boys and women, equivalent to about 10 good hands	5,800
5 mules.....	375
1 yoke of steers.....	50
Carts, tools, etc.....	115
Total capital investment.....	\$8,500

The above makes no allowance for cattle, hogs, and sheep, which would have amounted to about \$500. Moreover, on account of its poor quality the price of the land was low. A plantation of this size in a fertile area would have represented a capital investment of about \$15,000.

There was a tendency for sugar estates to be either sufficiently large to employ modern machinery operated by steam or small enough to get along with the old-fashioned open-kettle process of sugar manufacture with a sugar mill turned by oxen. About 100 working slaves were required for the well equipped sugar estates; the children and aged added about 60 more. The 160 slaves, averaged at \$550, represented an investment of \$88,000. Seven hundred and fifty acres of land, normally worth at least \$100 an acre, required \$75,000. There was so much progress in the equipment of sugar plantations in the period 1840–1860 that there was a great variation in the amount invested in machinery. On some plantations the sugar house and machinery represented an investment of \$40,000. The average, however, was about \$15,000 to \$20,000. The mules and oxen for such an estate probably represented an outlay of \$5,000. The total investment was about \$200,000.³²

For a Kentucky stock farm with 10 hands it was estimated that about 325 acres of land were required, consisting of 300 acres of open land and 25 acres of

³⁰ The above facts are based on various statements of the capital accounts of cotton plantations. The figures represent a composite modified according to the judgment of the present writer so as to be as nearly typical as possible. For similar statements, see *De Bow's Review*, VII, 52, 435–437; X, 569; Everest, *Journey through the United States*, 98.

³¹ *Southern Cultivator*, IV, 11.

³² Letter of F. Henderson on the cultivation of sugar, addressed to the Secretary of the Treasury, Sept. 25, 1830, in *Southern Agriculturist*, IV, 261; also I, 482; *De Bow's Review*, IV, 385; VIII, 35; XVIII, 162; *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, XIV, 148. For capital requirements of sugar plantations in the West Indies, see Humboldt, *Cuba*, 261; cf. *American Husbandry*, II, 139; Edwards, *British West Indies*, II, 248–260.

woodland. Such an estate represented an investment of \$10,000³³ in areas of cheap land, and ranged upward to perhaps \$50,000.

CURRENT PLANTATION EXPENSES

Of strictly cost accounting there was very little in the South. Many planters kept no systematic accounts, but perhaps the majority either personally or through overseers kept a record of monetary receipts and expenditures and various supplementary records, such as diaries, lists of slaves, and inventories of stock and equipment.³⁴

In the later years of the ante bellum period money expenses and income varied greatly according to degree of self-sufficiency. There were numerous plantations on which practically no annual money expenditure was necessary except for taxes and the purchase of medicines, sugar, and a few other commodities not procurable on the plantation. Many planters failed to include the large factor of depreciation as an item of expense. Others properly objected to the inclusion of interest in expense when endeavoring to ascertain the ratio of net returns to total capital invested. Interest, of course, was significant as a factor in the industrial competition of individuals, commodities, or regions.³⁵

These nonmonetary elements of expense, however, were usually the largest proportion of the total cost of production in the plantation economy. Even in the case of sugar plantations, in which the monetary expenses were unusually large, interest estimated at 7 per cent amounted to 50 to 60 per cent of total expenses. On an Alabama cotton plantation of 120 slaves, where the greater part of the food of slaves was produced on the plantation and most of the clothing was homemade, monetary expenses were \$900, while interest on invested capital at 7 per cent was \$5,756.80. A Georgia plantation of about 165 slaves spent in 1844 only \$1,300 for cash expenses, including overseer's salary, taxes, and the board of children probably sent to school in a nearby town. Interest and depreciation were probably several times that amount. On a cotton plantation worked by 254 slaves, much less self-sufficing in character, the monetary expense was \$6,791.48, as contrasted with \$11,103 interest.³⁶ Monetary expenses of a rice and sea-island cotton plantation averaged about \$700 a year, and some years later about \$850, while the capital invested was probably not less than \$25,000.³⁷

Other nonmonetary expenses, such as depreciation and risk or insurance, are more difficult to determine. The period of utilization of tobacco land in the post colonial period was probably generally from five to ten years, but much longer where tobacco production was carried on in connection with general farming. Cotton lands might be used from ten to twenty years. A South Carolina cotton planter allowed 5 per cent in his expense account for deterioration of land. Another planter calculated that buildings must be replaced every fifteen or twenty years, but they frequently became useless before they were actually worn out, because of soil exhaustion. Depreciation of sugar machinery and equip-

³³ United States, Patent Office, *Annual Report*, 1845, p. 346.

³⁴ *Farmers' Register*, IV, 725-727; *Farmer and Planter*, X, 16; *Southern Planter*, I, 29.

³⁵ *De Bow's Review*, VII, 437.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 436; Flanders, "Two Plantations and a County of Ante-Bellum Georgia," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XII, 5-7, 9.

³⁷ Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, I, 149-156, 159-165.

ment was said to be at least 10 per cent. On cotton and sugar plantations where mules were not raised, it was regularly necessary to replace annually at least 10 per cent of the total working force.³⁸

Plantation agriculture was so largely self-sufficient in the colonial period that monetary costs of maintaining a slave were small. About 1791 Thomas Jefferson estimated the cost for meat and other articles purchased at about \$25 per slave.³⁹ A few years later expenses of maintenance in the rice region of South Carolina were said to be about \$12 to \$13 per head.⁴⁰ The cost per hand was probably at least double that amount. Estimates of the current costs for maintaining slaves in the post colonial period vary considerably according to whether food and clothing were purchased or produced on the plantation. The highest contemporary estimate, made by the State engineer of Louisiana, was \$72.60 per head. This represents cost of purchase of all items of food, clothing, shelter, and medical attendance for 103 slaves owned and employed by the State of Louisiana.⁴¹ About 1855 the average annual expense of feeding and clothing slaves hired to work in building Virginia canals was estimated at \$25 for food and \$10 for clothing, everything being purchased.⁴² On plantations expenses were almost invariably less. Expense accounts of several plantations where practically all provisions and clothing were produced at home show an average annual out-of-pocket expense of \$2.50 per slave, consisting chiefly of the purchase of shoes and materials for manufacturing clothing, together with a few delicacies for the hospital. Assuming one "hand" to every two slaves, this minimum expense averaged about \$5 per hand.⁴³ Plantations purchasing a portion of the clothing ready-made, together with fish or other meat and a few delicacies, averaged about \$7 to \$10 a slave, or \$14 to \$20 per hand.⁴⁴ Plantations where a large part of the clothing and food used by the slaves was purchased averaged from \$25 to \$40 per hand for food and clothing.⁴⁵ Expenses for medical attendance were, of course, irregular, except when a contract was made with a doctor at so much a head; for instance, \$1.50 to \$2 per head for a year.⁴⁶

Taxes comprised a minor element. In 1859 slaves were taxed 70 cents a head in South Carolina, 40 cents a head in Mississippi, \$1.20 a head in Virginia, and an average of 60 cents a head in Alabama. In other States the tax was rated on the \$100 of property valuation. In Georgia taxes collected on slaves in 1850 averaged about 39 cents per head.⁴⁷

³⁸ *De Bow's Review*, VII, 435; X, 569-570; *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, XIV, 148; XXXI, 640; *Southern Agriculturist*, IV, 261.

³⁹ Notes by Jefferson enclosed in Washington's correspondence with Arthur Young, reprinted in *Farmers' Register*, V, 339.

⁴⁰ La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, II, 446.

⁴¹ *De Bow's Review*, XIX, 194.

⁴² *Ibid.*, XVII, 78.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, VII, 435-436; *American Husbandry*, I, 407.

⁴⁴ Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, I, 150-165; *De Bow's Review*, VII, 435; *American Husbandry*, I, 236.

⁴⁵ *De Bow's Review*, VII, 52; X, 569; *Southern Agriculturist*, IV, 261; new series, V, 89; *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, XXXI, 640; Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, I, 135; Russell, R., *North America, Its Agriculture and Climate*, 180; Stuart, *Three Years in North America*, II, 70.

⁴⁶ *De Bow's Review*, VII, 52, 435-436; X, 569; *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, XV, 379; XXXI, 640; Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, I, 166.

⁴⁷ From a note appended to the late report of the Comptroller General of Georgia, republished in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, XL, 224; also *ibid.*, XXIII, 452.

CHAPTER XXIV

ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT OF SLAVE LABOR¹

Plantation Supervision, 545. Division of Occupation and of Labor, 547. Field Organization, 550. Period of Labor, 556. Plantation Punishments and Police Regulations, 557. Provisions for Health, Sanitation, and Housing of Slaves, 560. Food and Clothing, 563. Hiring of Slaves, 565.

PLANTATION SUPERVISION

In many cases the employment of overseers was made necessary by the fact that the owner resided elsewhere or owned a number of plantations, but there were also a good many resident planters who employed overseers. On a large plantation the numerous details of oversight required the assistance of an additional manager, without whose aid the owner would have been compelled to remain every day upon his plantation. Laying out daily tasks, caring for the sick, and weighing out and distributing rations were a few of the details demanding daily attention. Most large planters disliked punishing slaves or driving them in the fields, and planters gained in social standing by employing overseers to do the unpleasant work. Small planters contented themselves with the services of a driver or crop foreman.² Large planters kept Negro drivers to superintend each field "gang" and to assist in enforcing police regulations.

In the colonial period overseers received generally from £25 to £150 or £200 sterling a year. It seems to have been a very common practice, however, to hire overseers on shares. In North Carolina, according to Brickell, the customary wage was "every seventh Calf, seventh Fole, and half of all young Hogs that are bred during his Stewardship, and likewise the seventh part of all sorts of Grain and Tobacco that is produced on the said plantation." In the tobacco Colonies a share was generally reckoned in terms of the product of one able-bodied slave. The number of shares of the overseer, therefore, varied directly with the number of slaves worked, though not in the same proportion. The share system was employed also in the French sugar Colonies, but in the English sugar Colonies overseers were usually paid fixed salaries.³ With the development of the upland cotton industry, overseers were generally paid salaries, ranging from \$200 to \$2,000 a year, the latter only for men of exceptional ability. Typical salaries were from \$400 to \$600 per year. Sugar plantations seem to have offered the highest salaries, for men with ability above the average were

¹ The reader of this chapter should also avail himself of the wealth of descriptive detail to be found in Professor U. B. Phillips' discussion of the same subjects. See *American Negro Slavery*, Chaps. XIII-XIV.

² *Southern Cultivator*, II, 107; Davis, J., *Travels*, 90.

³ *American Husbandry*, I, 246; Parkinson, *Tour*, II, 415; letter of George Washington to his manager, Aug. 14, 1797, in Long Island Historical Society, *Memoirs*, IV, 274; Brickell, *Natural History of North Carolina*, 269; Tatham, *Essay on Tobacco*, 103; Ford, W. C., *Washington as an Employer of Labor*, 28-32; Gould, *Land System in Maryland*, 72; *American Farmer*, 1 series, XV (1833-4), p. 139; Venault de Charmilly, *Lettre à M. Bryan Edwards en Refutation de son Ouvrage, etc.*, 16.

required. In addition to salary the overseer usually received certain perquisites. His food and that of his family were derived entirely from the plantation. He received a free house, firewood, and feed for his horse. Frequently certain slaves were assigned for his special service.⁴

The number of slaves per overseer varied with the type of farming. In colonial tobacco regions, for instance, it was believed that a less proportion than 20 slaves to an overseer was unprofitable when the overseer was paid a salary.⁵ Under the share system the interest of the owner in the number of slaves per overseer was determined partly by considerations of efficiency in supervision and partly by the proportion of the shares received by the overseer to the number of slaves worked. Jefferson, who was engaged largely in general farming supplemented by domestic manufactures, divided his land into farms of 240 acres, with 8 slaves and a steward for each farm.⁶ In 1767 an advertisement was inserted in the *Virginia Gazette* for a manager to supervise the labors of 80 slaves.⁷ In the colonial period about 30 slaves was considered the economical number for a rice plantation.⁸ It was not uncommon, even in the colonial period, for one overseer to superintend more than one plantation.⁹ With expansion into the Southwest this became even more common. In the cotton region of the Mississippi alluvium Olmsted found one overseer superintending four large plantations, each with 100 hands. There was an assistant overseer on each plantation. Olmsted was informed by the superintendent that the best ratio was 50 hands to each overseer.¹⁰ The number of slaves for each overseer was probably largest on sugar plantations.¹¹

The employment of the overseer depended usually on his reputation for producing a large staple crop. To the end of gaining and maintaining this reputation, Negroes were overworked, land exhausted, stock neglected, and equipment allowed to deteriorate. Some overseers assumed the attitude that if the owner would have a large crop, he should give the manager free rein.¹² Frequently, however, the tendency to strive for a maximum crop of cotton was intensified by the demands of owners—especially of absentee owners—for larger returns.

Many thoughtful Southern planters devoted their attention to the elimination of the vicious aspects of the system, particularly during the period of depression of the fifth decade, when retrenchment and economy of land, labor, and capital were found to be necessary. Later, when cotton again became profitable, slaves

⁴ United States, Patent Office, *Annual Reports*, 1847, p. 391; 1850, *Agriculture*, 188; *American Farmer*, 1 series, IX (1827-8), p. 234; *De Bow's Review*, VII, 52; *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, XV, 378; XXXI, 640; *Southern Cultivator*, IV, 11, 106; Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, I, 150-153; *Southern Agriculturist*, IV, 261; Olmsted, F. L., *Journey in the Back Country*, 55-62.

⁵ *American Husbandry*, I, 246.

⁶ La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, III, 144.

⁷ Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, I, 133.

⁸ Glen, *Description of South Carolina* (Carroll, Hist. Collections, II), 202.

⁹ Letter of George Washington to his manager, Aug. 14, 1797, in Long Island Historical Society, *Memoirs*, IV, 274; Washington, *Writings* (Ford), XIII, 259.

¹⁰ *Journey in the Back Country*, 80.

¹¹ For a discussion of size of plantations in different regions, see above, pp. 532-537.

¹² *American Agriculturist*, IV, 319, 368; *Southern Cultivator*, II, 97, 107, 123, 170; III, 99; IV, 113; Olmsted, F. L., *Journey in the Back Country*, 55-62; *idem*, *Seaboard Slave States*, II, 121.

rose so rapidly in value that it became good business to look to their welfare.¹³ Many planters undertook either to get along entirely without overseers or to superintend in person the policy of management, employing overseers merely to execute details. The old maxim, "The master's footsteps are manure to his land," acquired an increased emphasis during this period.¹⁴

Some owners embodied in their contracts with overseers provisions that they keep systematic records. They were required to make annual inventories or even quarterly inventories of stock and implements and to record births, deaths, marriages, physician's visits, and the quantity of clothing, supplies, and implements received. Sometimes a cotton account must be kept showing the amount picked daily by each hand.¹⁵

Something of the daily routine of the overseer is indicated in the following instructions issued in the late ante bellum period by one of the largest planters of Louisiana:¹⁶

"It is strictly required of the manager, that he rise at the dawn of day every morning; that he ring a bell for the assembling of the hands; require all hands to repair to a certain and fixed place, in twenty minutes after the ringing of the bell, and there himself see that all are present, or notice absentees; after which the hands will receive their orders, and be started to their work under charge of their foreman.

"All sick negroes will be required to report to the manager at morning call, either in person, if able to do so, or through others, when themselves confined to the house.

"Immediately after morning call, the manager will himself repair to the stable, together with the plowmen, and see to the proper feeding, cleaning, and gearing of the horses. He will also see to the proper feeding and care of the stock at the farm yard.

"As soon as the horses and stock have been fed and otherwise attended to, the manager will take his breakfast; and immediately after, he will visit, and prescribe for the sick, and then repair to the field to look after the hands, and he will remain with them as constantly as possible during every day.

"The sick should be visited, not only every morning immediately after breakfast, but at such other times of the day and night as cases may require; suitable medicine, diet, and other treatment be prescribed, to be administered by the nurse, or, in more critical cases, the physician should be sent for. An intelligent and otherwise suitable woman will be appointed as a nurse upon each plantation, who will administer medicine and otherwise attend upon the sick.

"There will be stated hours for the negroes to breakfast and dine, and those hours must be regularly observed. The manager will frequently inspect the meals as they are brought by the cook, see that they have been properly prepared, and that vegetables be at all times served with the meat and bread.

"The manager will, every Sunday morning after breakfast, visit and inspect every quarter; see that the houses and yards are kept clean and in order, and that the families are dressed in clean clothes."

DIVISION OF OCCUPATION AND OF LABOR

On large plantations there existed a considerable division of occupation. There was the primary division into house servants and field servants. Further divi-

¹³ *American Agriculturist*, IV, 319, 368; *Southern Cultivator*, II, 97; *De Bow's Review*, XXII, 43.

¹⁴ *Southern Cultivator*, II, 123; III, 26; IV, 106.

¹⁵ *De Bow's Review*, XXI, 617; also X, 625.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, XXII, 376. These instructions were copied from part of a code prepared some years earlier by Mr. St. George Cocke, of Virginia. See *ibid.*, XIV, 177.

sions were based on color, sex, age, and physical strength. On large plantations in the West Indies there were at times a number of white employees, including the general overseer, assistant overseers, stewards, distillers, bookkeepers, apothecaries and doctors, sugar makers, and sometimes white carpenters and farriers.¹⁷ After the close of the colonial period there were few white employees on Southern plantations except overseers and, on Louisiana sugar plantations, engineers and sugar makers. There were a number of petty official positions held by slaves. The most important was the position of driver, who was in immediate charge of laborers in the field, sometimes endowed with limited power to punish refractory slaves. It was his duty to measure off the customary tasks in each new field. He was sometimes permitted to excuse certain tasks at the end of the day if found too heavy, but not to increase them. He was also charged with seeing that slaves retired regularly, preventing night prowling, and getting slaves out to work early. Plantations of considerable size were likely to have a number of other slave functionaries, such as one or more carpenters, blacksmiths, and wheelwrights. Sometimes there were also coopers, millers, boatmen, and fishermen, and a steward, who carried the keys and dealt out provisions and materials. Most of these positions were eagerly sought for the sake of the distinction and because they involved partial or complete exemption from field labor.¹⁸ Aged or infirm women were employed as hospital nurses, assistant cooks, workers in the dairy or poultry yard, caretakers of small Negro children in the plantation nursery; in sewing and repairing garments; and in spinning and weaving. Old men were assigned regular duties as gardeners, wagoners, carters, and stock-tenders.¹⁹ On some large plantations one man was given entire charge of the stock and the task of keeping harness in order; but members of the plow gang were generally required to harness and unharness the mules which they used.²⁰

There were certain field tasks requiring considerable manual dexterity that were regarded as best performed by men, such as splitting staves, barrel heading, puncheons, and rails; cutting hoop poles and firewood; squaring timber; and felling trees. On some plantations women were not employed in plowing but were assigned, together with the feeble men and children, to the hoe gang. On some plantations men threshed rice and ginned sea-island cotton, while women were assigned the tasks of moting and sorting lint. It was customary to distinguish between the sexes also in quantity of work allotted. In the gang system of organization, as in the West Indies, a classification of the working force was made in accordance with age, sex, and strength. Under the task system women were frequently classed as three-quarter hands. Sometimes, however, women

¹⁷ Frere, *Short History of Barbados*, 107 n.; cf. Phillips, U. B., *American Negro Slavery*, 55.

¹⁸ *De Bow's Review*, XXI, 620; XXII, 40-43; Russell, W. H., *My Diary North and South*, I, 380; *Southern Agriculturist*, IV, 261; *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, XXXI, 640; Olmsted, F. L., *Journey in the Back Country*, 47; *idem*, *Seaboard Slave States*, II, 53, 62-66; Kemble, *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation*, 18, 42-44; Mackie, *From Cape Cod to Dixie*, 181; Hall, B., *Travels in North America*, III, 218.

¹⁹ Mallard, *Plantation Life before Emancipation*, 34; *Southern Cultivator*, IV, 44; Russell, W. H., *My Diary North and South*, I, 380, 396; *De Bow's Review*, X, 326; *Bland Papers* (Campbell), I, 156.

²⁰ Extract from Affleck's "Plantation Book," in *De Bow's Review*, XVIII, 341.

were expected to bear the same part in the labors of the field as the men.²¹ Mrs. Emily Burke observed that Negro women, toughened by continual labor, were but little inferior to men for field work. She described the prevailing system in eastern Georgia as follows:²²

"In those large fields of which I have previously spoken, thirty and forty men and women promiscuously run their ploughs side by side, and day after day, till the colter has passed over the whole, and as far as I was able to learn, the part the women sustained in this masculine employment, was quite as efficient as that of the more athletic sex. In the harnessing and unharnessing of the mules and in the distribution of the provender among them when they returned from the field, I always observed that the females displayed the most agility, and usually completed their task first."

Children were employed in various light tasks—running errands, carrying water, looking after infants, driving stock, harnessing or saddling horses, and feeding poultry. After reaching a certain age, which varied from six to twelve years, the boy or girl was assigned a fractional task in the field. Thomas Jefferson specified that children on his plantation should serve as nurses until the age of ten. From ten to sixteen years boys were to be occupied in making nails, and girls in spinning. Above sixteen they were to work in the field or learn trades.²³

Sometimes special skill was recognized in a division of labor in field work. In addition to the distinction between plow hands and hoe hands, a division of function was sometimes recognized even in hoeing cotton. The following is an account of such an arrangement on Governor McDuffie's plantation:²⁴

"When the period for planting arrives, the hands are divided into three classes: 1st, The best hands, embracing those of good judgment and quick motion. 2d, Those of the weakest and most inefficient class. 3d, The second class of hoe hands.

"Thus classified, the first class will run ahead and open a small hole about seven to ten inches apart, into which the 2d class drop from four to five cotton seed, and the third class follow and cover with a rake. You have visited this farm and can testify to the goodness of the stand of cotton, and to the regular and exact distance of the stalks from each other."

The tendency to specialize field functions is described in the following account of the operation of cotton planting in South Carolina during the later years of the ante bellum period:²⁵

"Enough plows go ahead to ridge up entirely the balance of unbroken earth; harrows follow, openers, droppers, and last coverers. I never wish to sow more than one bushel of seed, and prefer to cover with a board or block so as to cover shallow, to leave ridge smooth, and to compress earth to seed. Upon level land, I require a set of hands

²¹ Mallard, *Plantation Life before Emancipation*, 34; *American Farmer*, 1 series, V (1823-4), p. 319; Edwards, *British West Indies*, II, 128; Hall, B., *Travels in North America*, III, 218; De Brahm, *Philosophico-Historico-Hydrogeography of South Carolina, Georgia and East Florida* (Weston, Documents), 198.

²² *Reminiscences of Georgia*, 227.

²³ *Farm Book*, 77 (Photostat copy, Library of Congress); *Southern Agriculturist*, I, 527.

²⁴ *De Bow's Review*, VI, 149.

²⁵ *Southern Cultivator*, VIII, 7.

to plant ten acres per day, length of row averaging 440 yards; a set of hands is one harrower, one opener, one to sow seed, and one to cover.”

The division of labor in the harvesting and boiling of sugar by the open-kettle method is described as follows:²⁶

“It will require for one set of kettles twenty knives, twenty binders and cart-loaders, from four to eight (this depends upon the distance) cart boys, two at bagass carts, six to take cane to mill, one feeder, three at kettles, one fireman, who ought to be relieved every six hours, one boy in horse [stable], one in ox stable, one with wheel-barrow to supply firemen with wood, and if you have an engine, another fireman and assistant engineer. For two sets of kettles it will require double the number of these with the exception of bagass carts, attendants on stables and engine.”

There was a considerable division of labor in the preparation of sea-island cotton for market. According to Halle, each bale required 54 days of labor, divided among 1 dryer, 30 sorters, 12 ginners, 7 moters, 2 packers, and 1 overseer.²⁷

An account of the systematization of labor worked out by George Washington for his wheat harvest savors of a sort of Scientific Management. In his diary for July 15, 1769, he wrote as follows:²⁸

“From the remarks and observations made this year in Harvesting my Wheat, it appeared evident that 10, and sometimes 9, Cradlers (according as the Wheat was thick or thin) were full suff. to keep the rest of my hands employ’d; and it likewise appeared, that it was evidently to my advantage to employ my own hands to Cradle the Wheat rather than to hire any at all, as these may be got for 2 Shillgs. or half a Crown a day, whereas the Wages of the White Cradlers are exorbitantly high. But if Wheat of different kinds are sowed so as to prevent the Harvest coming on at once, it is my opinion that hirelings of all kinds may be dispensed with. The Rakers in the generality of the Wheat is sufficient to Rake and bind after a Cradle, and the rest of the hands can manage (after the water Carriers and Cooks are taken out) to get the Wheat into conven[ien]t places and attend the Stackers. Two, and sometimes three, Stackers will Stack as fast as it is cut and I am of opinion that two brisk hands is suff. for this purpose.

“From experience it has been found advantageous to put the Cradlers and their attendants into at least 3 Gangs. The Stops and delays by this means are not so frequent, and the Work much better attended to, as every Mans work is distinguishable, and the whole Cradles not always stopping for every little disorder that happens to each respective one, as is the case when they cut altogether.”

FIELD ORGANIZATION

Two important systems of field organization prevailed in the South—the task system and the gang system. There were also various intermediate systems. Under the task system the slave was assigned a certain amount of work for the day, and after completing the task he could use his time as he pleased. Under the gang system slaves were worked in groups under the control of a driver or leader. In its worst form the driver was expected to exact the maximum amount of labor by use of the lash. In the West Indies the driver frequently stood

²⁶ *Southern Agriculturist*, III, 140.

²⁷ *Baumwollproduktion*, I, 91.

²⁸ *Diaries* (Fitzpatrick), I, 338.

behind the line of slaves and urged them on with the whip.²⁹ In this extreme form the gang system was not general in the South. At the worst, the driver was present with his lash, ready to punish for loitering. Even this extreme prevailed only on very large plantations, and principally in the Southwest. Frequently the driver was the leader, going ahead and setting the pace. In the gang system the laborer was compelled to work the entire day with the exception of the periods allowed for meals and for rest. Sometimes, as already noted, the laborers were divided into several gangs according to strength and dexterity, so as to make each gang more homogeneous in efficiency.³⁰

The task system was the predominant method of labor management in the coastal region of South Carolina and Georgia, not only for rice and sea-island cotton, but also for lumbering and for secondary plantation activities, such as the production of potatoes and corn, fencing, barrel-making, and carpentering. It was also employed in the rice region of North Carolina.³¹ The prevalence of the system in the Carolinas is indeed notable in view of the fact that in the West Indies, from which the plantation institutions of eastern South Carolina were largely borrowed, the gang system so generally prevailed. The task system, however, was also employed in the West Indies for various operations, such as grass-picking.³²

Something like a combination of the gang system and the task system was not unknown to the South Carolina-Georgia coast. Thus, on Thomas Couper's plantation "Hopeton," the field hands were distributed among three gangs of males and four of females, representing different gradations of strength and endurance. In ditching "none but the primest" males were employed. Moting and sorting cotton were reserved for number three gang women. In harvesting sugar-cane, number two gang women were employed in stripping blades, number one in cutting, and number three in binding and carrying. Within each gang the task system of classifying hands into whole, three-quarter, half, and quarter hands was employed.³³

The task system was used also to some extent in the upland cotton region of South Carolina and Georgia and was applied to picking cotton and husking corn in parts of Alabama and Mississippi.³⁴ About 1854 a planter of upper South Carolina described his system of labor management as follows:³⁵

²⁹ Stokes, *Constitution of the British Colonies*, 413; Edwards, *British West Indies*, II, 129; McKinnon, *Tour through the British West Indies*, 28; Stephen, *Slavery of the British West India Colonies*, I, App. V, pp. 477-479; *Practical Rules for the Management and Medical Treatment of Negro Slaves in the Sugar Colonies*, 151-156, 159, 162, 168.

³⁰ Phillips, U. B., "Origin and Growth of the Southern Black Belts," in *American Historical Review*, XI, 804; *Southern Cultivator*, V, 61; *American Farmer*, 1 series, XV (1833-4), p. 18; Russell, W. H., *My Diary North and South*, I, 380; Olmsted, F. L., *Journey in the Back Country*, 14, 48, 78; Singleton, *Letters from the South and West*, 111.

³¹ Scotus Americanus, *Informations concerning North Carolina* (*North Carolina Historical Review*, III), 616; Schaw, *Journal of a Lady of Quality*, 163; Attmore, *Journal of a Tour to North Carolina* (James Sprunt Historical Publications, XVII, No. 2), p. 26.

³² Whiteley, *Three Months in Jamaica*, 7; *Practical Rules for the Management and Medical Treatment of Negro Slaves in the Sugar Colonies*, 152; Stephen, *Slavery of the British West India Colonies*, I, 478; Bolingbroke, *Voyage to the Demerary*, 143.

³³ *Southern Agriculturist*, VI, 571.

³⁴ Gosse, *Letters from Alabama*, 278; *De Bow's Review*, VI, 149; XVII, 424; XIX, 486-489; *Southern Cultivator*, VIII, 7; Claiborne, J. F. H., *Mississippi*, 144; Kemble, *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation*, 27; *Southern Agriculturist*, VII, 348.

³⁵ *Farmer and Planter*, V, 229.

"I do not believe in tasking Negroes all the time, but I believe in tasking them when it is necessary, in cases of a push, when the crop is suffering. I find it a good plan, as every overseer will find it to be, to separate his hands when he cannot be with them all the time, which is very often the case. . . . When thus situated I give a task for the day by stepping the ground they have to hoe over, or time them by the watch on a row or two, and set the task by that for the day, and place each hand a day's work apart; then the overseer can see each hand's work separately, and be at no trouble to find his indifferent hand's work. If I do not wish to task them, I find it to be a capital plan to place them apart by counting them off a certain number of rows. They will do more work, will do it better, and with less trouble than any plan that I have ever seen tried. I do not think it is a good plan to task plow hands, and I never do it. Nor do I think it is right to give them to understand that they have to get to a given point by a certain time, unless I know that they can arrive at that point without straining the team. I think it is best for the overseer to see that his plows do their duty, and not risk tasking."

Sometimes the gang system was employed as a method of determining the proper task. On a plantation in Avoyelles Parish, Louisiana, the fastest worker took the lead. An overseer, whip in hand, followed the line of slaves on horseback. If any slave fell behind the leader he was whipped. In picking cotton a new hand was "whipped up smartly, and made for that day to pick as fast as he can." Thereafter, the amount thus accomplished became his regular task. None was to fall below 200 pounds a day.³⁶

In the border States the task system was employed for a number of operations. One of these was stripping and prizing tobacco. In pulling or cutting hemp an average laborer was assigned from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{3}$ of an acre per day. In breaking hemp the task was 75 to 100 pounds a day. Some hands broke 200 to 300 pounds under the stimulus of a bonus of a cent a pound for all over the required task. Negresses were tasked in spinning and weaving.³⁷

Under the task system, the overseer or driver was supposed to point out each morning a certain task to be performed by each slave, carefully adjusting the task to the strength of the slave and making due allowance for special circumstances that rendered the task lighter or heavier. In practice, however, the system tended to become stereotyped. In the rice region the usual custom of irrigation resulted in the division of the fields by ditches into rectangles varying in size from a quarter of an acre to one acre. Sea-island cotton fields were "staked off" into divisions of about a quarter of an acre. Field tasks were assigned as fractions or multiples of this unit.³⁸ In many cases the acre was the unit for tasks. According to De Brahm, the "task acre" was originally 220 feet square. As old rice land became grassy and more difficult to cultivate, the acre was gradually reduced until it was only 200 feet square. In southern and south-

³⁶ Northup, *Twelve Years a Slave*, 165.

³⁷ *American Husbandry*, II, 138; Anburey, *Travels through America*, II, 296; Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland*, 104; *Farmers' Register*, IX, 136-137; *Tennessee Farmer*, I, 301; Morton, J. R., "Life in Kentucky in the Days of Negro Slavery," in Ky. State Hist. Soc., *Register*, V, 45; Trexler, *Slavery in Missouri*, 25-26.

³⁸ *Southern Agriculturist*, I, 525; III, 225; *Colonial Records of Georgia* (Minutes of the Com. Coun. of Trustees), II, 275; *De Bow's Review*, XVI, 609; *American Farmer*, 1 series, X (1828-9), p. 346; Hall, B., *Travels in North America*, III, 218; Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, I, 126; Olmsted, F. L., *Seaboard Slave States*, II, 58; *idem*, *Journey in the Back Country*, 483.

western South Carolina about 1839 the task acre was divided into four "tasks," each about 105 feet square, and two of these "tasks" was a day's work for a full hand. In the cotton region the "task" unit was a portion of land 150 feet square.³⁹

Sometimes it was thought desirable to assign each hand the same piece of land as his task time after time, for the following reasons:⁴⁰

"Where a negro knows that the task he is working is to be worked by him the next time he goes over the field, he is induced, in order to render the next working as light as possible, to work it well at first. But where he is allowed to take his task indiscriminately as he comes into the field, there is always a great contention for tasks, each endeavoring to obtain the easiest to work. By that means great injustice and imposition arise. The fastest worker would always have the choice of tasks, and it is not always the fastest worker who is the best worker. Instead of taking pains to do his work well, he hurries over it, to have the choice of the next task."

The classification of slaves into full hands, three-quarter hands, half-hands, and quarter hands, according to strength, was usually made once each year. Slaves made application on various pretexts for a reduction in their rating, temporarily or permanently. The task was more easily lowered than increased, for the arrangement hardened into custom, backed by strong sentiment that many masters found it good policy to respect. On some plantations slaves were paid for work in excess of the regular task.⁴¹

The task system became standardized also with respect to numerous activities incapable of measurement by units of land but sufficiently uniform to permit of a general rule. Planters published their experience with respect to suitable tasks for slaves of moderate ability. Thus, in barrel-making the various processes were tasked as follows:⁴²

"Where hoop poles are plentiful, a negro can with ease cut one hundred, and bring them home, where the distance is not too great.

"In splitting staves, four hands are generally sent out, and employed thus: two to cut down and cross-cut the tree to the length of the staves wanted; one to bolt; and the fourth negro is employed in splitting. Five hundred is the task per day. The second day another negro is sent to draw the staves split the day before; his task is 300. The staves being split, they are put into piles of four or five hundred, to season.

"The same number of hands are employed in splitting heads for barrels. The task for splitting, per day, is 250 pieces, of two pieces to each barrel head, and 150 in drawing and trimming, for one cooper per day. If more than two to the head, the task is 200."

The plantation cooper was required to set up 3 rice barrels per day. In laying worm fences, the task was 100 panels per day for a man and woman. In setting up post and rail fences, four slaves were required to place 35 or 40 panels, digging the holes 2 to 3 feet deep and 9 feet apart. In splitting rails, the day's task

³⁹ *Philosophico-Historico-Hydrogeography of South Carolina, Georgia and East Florida* (Weston, Documents), 197; *Southern Agriculturist*, XII, 175 n.

⁴⁰ *Southern Cultivator*, IV, 44.

⁴¹ Hall, B., *Travels in North America*, III, 218-223; Claiborne, J. F. H., *Mississippi*, 144; Olmsted, F. L., *Seaboard Slave States*, II, 60-62; Morton, J. R., "Life in Kentucky in the Days of Negro Slavery," in Ky. State Hist. Soc., *Register*, V, 45.

⁴² *De Bow's Review*, XVIII, 352, 473; Olmsted, F. L., *Seaboard Slave States*, II, 63; cf. *American Farmer*, 1 series, V (1823-4), p. 320; *Southern Agriculturist*, VII, 297.

was 100 rails, 12 feet long. In cutting wood 4 feet long, the task was a cord per day.⁴³ The task in threshing rice with flails was 10 bushels per day or 600 sheaves for a man and 500 for a woman. In ginning sea-island cotton by the roller gin, 20 to 30 pounds were required. The task for sorting sea-island cotton in the seed was from 150 to 200 pounds. Forty pounds was the task in moting.⁴⁴ In digging rice ditches, the task was about 600 to 700 cubic feet. Another specification was 700 square feet for ditching and the same amount in putting mud upon the bank. In forming new drains $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep, the requirement was 210 linear feet per day; in clearing old drains, 6 to 10 quarters, and in clearing old ditches, 1 to 2 quarters. Three piled cart loads per hand was the task in gathering marsh mud for fertilizer. In breaking up light rice land with the hoe, the task was $\frac{1}{4}$ acre; in chopping up land, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre. A half acre was assigned in listing corn, cotton, or potato land; but $\frac{1}{4}$ acre if the land was old pasture. In bedding-up, the task was $\frac{3}{8}$ acre for light land and $\frac{1}{4}$ acre for heavy land; in trenching rice land, $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ acre, and the same for covering. In sowing rice, 9 quarters per day was the task. In hoeing rice, much depended on the amount of grass, but $\frac{1}{2}$ acre was the usual task. A half acre per day was the task in harvesting rice with the sickle, and the same in binding sheaves and in shocking.⁴⁵

In the upland cotton industry, when the task system was employed, an acre was said to be the task in scraping. In running off rows 4 feet apart with the plow, 10 acres was the rule. Twelve acres were assigned in opening out furrows for sowing cotton seed, and 10 acres for sowing. In the first hoeing the task was about an acre, and about 2 acres in "chopping through."⁴⁶

Other processes for which tasks became standardized were sowing oats, harrowing, planting hedges, cradling grain, stripping corn blades, riving and drawing shingles, and carting manure. In gathering turpentine, each laborer was assigned 10,000 trees. The task system was sometimes employed in manufacturing establishments—notably in the hemp factories of Kentucky.⁴⁷

In general farming districts and on small plantations the organization of field labor was informal; James Madison asserted in 1823 that in the part of Virginia where his home was located there was no regular system of tasking.⁴⁸ There were frequently a number of diverse operations at the same time in different parts of the plantation, some of them requiring only one or two Negroes, and consequently difficult to standardize. The following extract from the diary of a Virginia planter illustrates this diversity:⁴⁹

⁴³ *American Farmer*, 1 series, V (1823-4), p. 320; Seabrook, *Appeal on the Subject of Negro Slavery* (quoting a letter from Robert I. Turnbull, 1822), p. 17. Concerning the task system in the colonial lumber industry, see De Brahm, *Philosophico-Historico-Hydrogeography of South Carolina, Georgia and East Florida* (Weston, Documents), 199.

⁴⁴ *Southern Cultivator*, VIII, 115; *Southern Agriculturist*, I, 172.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 27, 108, 251; IV, 292; VII, 297; Seabrook, *Memoir on Sea Island Cotton*, 13; *American Farmer*, 1 series, V (1823-4), p. 319; *De Bow's Review*, XII, 297; XVIII, 350; XXIV, 324.

⁴⁶ *Southern Cultivator*, VI, 85; cf. *ibid.*, VIII, 84.

⁴⁷ Ruffin, *Diary*, I, No. 138, p. 75 (Manuscripts, Library of Congress); *Southern Cultivator*, VI, 85; *De Bow's Review*, XIX, 486-489; Olmsted, F. L., *Journey through Texas*, 19.

⁴⁸ *Letters and Other Writings*, III, 314.

⁴⁹ Extracts from the journal of the manager of Belmead Plantation, Powhatan County, Virginia, in Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, I, 208 et seq. There were 127 slaves on the plantation.

Monday, January 16, 1854.

"4 four horse ploughs ploughing in Low grounds ploughed 6 acres one ox cart hauled wood two hauling Turnips one four horse wagon hauled straw 2 hands Loading other hands puling Turnips and triming put the Big Boat in the River this evening."

Monday, April 10, 1854.

"Six coalters and two harrows preparing corn land five hands sowed plaster one ox cart hauled plaster Jefferey Manuring plant Beds four hands Bulking Tobacco other hands chopping ditch Banks Dick at the Mill."

Monday, July 3, 1854.

"Commence cutting oats this Morning with eight cradels untill 9 oclock weded Tobacco the Balance of the day three hands Repairing wheat shocks three Skimers ploughing Tobacco Three horse Rakes gleening wheat field."

Under such conditions the gang system in the ordinary sense was not to be thought of. Squads of Negroes under trusty leaders were sent to perform various functions. Occasional visits from the overseer and punishment for obvious shirkings, with the offer of prizes for particularly energetic efforts, were the means largely relied on. The policy of offering prizes was employed also in the lower South, especially in picking cotton.⁵⁰

Sometimes on small plantations slaves felt a sense of responsibility concerning the work of the plantation and observed the regular hours of labor, going and coming with little of the military precision that prevailed on large plantations. The system of organization on a small plantation in Mississippi is described by Olmsted as follows:⁵¹

"I asked our host if he had no foreman or driver for his negroes, or if he gave his directions to one of them in particular for all the rest. He did not. They all did just as they pleased, and arranged the work among themselves. They never needed driving . . .

"If I ever notice one of 'em getting a little slack, I just talk to him; tell him he must get out of the grass, and I want to hev him stir himself a little more, and then, maybe, I slip a dollar into his hand, and when he gits into the field he'll go ahead, and the rest seeing him, won't let themselves be distanced by him. My niggers never want no lookin' arter. They tek more interest in the crop than I do myself, every one of 'em.'"

Even where tasks were not rigidly standardized, plantation managers had fairly definite ideas of a fair day's work. Thus, Thomas Jefferson wrote, "A laborer will weed 500 corn hills a day. [Hoes] flush, 2 laborers will follow one plough and weed the intervals between the hills, a laborer will grub from half an acre a week of common bushy land in winter."⁵²

Sometimes on large wheat farms there was employed something approaching what, in the nomenclature of Scientific Management, might be called a "team system."⁵³ About 1852 a Virginia planter described his method of harvesting wheat as follows:⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Gilmer, G., *Papers, Military and Political* (Va. Hist. Soc., Collections, new series, VI), 126; *Southern Cultivator*, VII, 164; *American Farmer*, 1 series, VII (1825-6), p. 2.

⁵¹ *Journey in the Back Country*, 155.

⁵² Jefferson, *Farm Book*, 84 (Photostat copy, Library of Congress).

⁵³ Cf. "The Science of Farm Labour: Scientific Management and German Agriculture," in *International Labour Review*, XV, especially pp. 403-407.

⁵⁴ *Southern Planter*, XII, 177-179. A somewhat similar type of organization is described by Washington. *Diaries* (Fitzpatrick), III, 91.

"When the harvest commences some steady, good reaper should be selected to lead the gang, with orders to take a steady, moderate gait. . . . Each cutter should have his place assigned him with a positive prohibition from crowding the man immediately in front of him. The best cradlers cut wider rows, the inferior cut narrower, and thus all keep together.

"Each cradler should be followed by a binder who is to bind the wheat in good sized bundles, as large as can be tied with a single length of straw. . . .

"By properly proportioning the work and by selecting a good leader each hand is tasked throughout the day, every falling back is instantly observed, and the operations are simplified because they are systematized."

If the task system had been accurately adjusted daily to exploit fully the labor power of each slave, it would probably have been as effective as the gang system. The tendency, however, to standardize the task for all slaves of a certain class practically made it necessary to adjust the task to the strength of the weaker slaves of the group. Those superior in skill and strength were enabled to finish their tasks with ease—sometimes by two o'clock, but generally between four o'clock and six.⁵⁵ Moreover, the task system created the tendency toward an inferior quality of work; and the supervision that was required under the gang system to secure both quantity and quality was necessarily concentrated under the task system to prevent careless and hasty performance. The task system was condemned in unqualified terms by the shrewd Northern agriculturist, Solon Robinson, who declared, "The whole 'task system' is equally light, and is one that I unreservedly disapprove of, because it promotes idleness, and that is the parent of mischief."⁵⁶ Under the diverse industrial requirements of the coastal region of South Carolina and Georgia, the task system probably economized in supervision. Olmsted considered the system tended to alleviate the condition of slaves.⁵⁷

PERIOD OF LABOR

Hours of labor varied with the attitude and personality of the planter, with the degree of commercialism, and with the exigencies of the season. The system of regularly overdriving Negroes practiced in the West Indies was not usual in the South. Nevertheless, where agriculture was highly commercial the average planter tried to obtain as much work as was consistent with maintaining health, strength, and reasonably good spirits. Probably George Washington expressed the attitude of most planters when he wrote:⁵⁸

"To request that my people may be at their work as soon as it is light, work till it is dark, and be diligent while they are at it, can hardly be necessary, because the propriety of it must strike every manager, who attends to my interest, or regards his own character, and who, on reflecting, must be convinced that lost labor is never to

⁵⁵ Hall, B., *Travels in North America*, III, 180, 218–223; Mallard, *Plantation Life before Emancipation*, 35; *De Bow's Review*, XXIV, 324; Hodgson, *Letters from North America*, I, 46; Olmsted, F. L., *Seaboard Slave States*, I, 64, 102; *Southern Cultivator*, VIII, 85.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 115.

⁵⁷ *Seaboard Slave States*, II, 112.

⁵⁸ *Agricultural Notes* (Farmers' Register, V), 488.

be regained. The presumption is, that every laborer does as much in twenty-four hours, as his strength, without endangering his health or constitution, will allow."

In the lower South the practice of measuring the year's accomplishment in terms of the number of bales of cotton or hogsheads of sugar per hand, and particularly the zeal of overseers to make a showing, led in many cases to overplanting. Then the plantation manager, finding his crop "in the grass," was forced to overwork his force, cutting short the usual periods for eating and for rest, prolonging the day's work until dark, compelling slaves to do various odd jobs after dark in addition to pounding corn and preparing meals, and requiring labor on Sunday.⁵⁹ These periods occurred mainly in connection with the peak demands of the crop. Thus, in boiling sugar the comparatively short period available for saving the cane made it necessary to work Negroes night and day for two to three months.⁶⁰ Night work was also required in threshing rice, and sometimes in stripping tobacco and husking corn, the slave being assigned a regular task to complete after supper. These sedentary tasks, however, were often the occasions for song and jollification.

In the South as a whole hours of labor were about the same as for farm work in other parts of the United States: that is, from 15 to 16 hours a day in the busy season, including meal time and intervals allowed for rest. A very common custom was to send the slaves to the field at sunrise. Breakfast was sent to the field, and a half hour allowed for eating. Two hours of rest were given at noon. Work stopped at sundown, but in rush seasons might be prolonged until dark. Under the task system, of course, the slave quit work when the task was completed. In the winter season and in "lay-by" periods labor requirements were likely to be lighter. When the economy was noncommercial or the organization small, labor was more casual.⁶¹

It was the usual custom to allow Sunday free except in rush periods. On some plantations slaves were allowed Saturday afternoon, being required, however, to use part of the time in cleaning up their cabins and persons. A holiday of from three days to a week was allowed at Christmas, and occasionally other holidays, such as a day to celebrate the completion of harvest.⁶²

PLANTATION PUNISHMENTS AND POLICE REGULATIONS

Serious problems of management were involved in the necessity of entrusting the lives of human beings to hired subordinates, who at best were men of little education, with narrow vision and sympathies; at worst cruel, licentious tyrants. Some masters gave their slaves the right to appeal to them or to their business

⁵⁹ *Farmers' Register*, VIII, 426; *Carolina Planter* (1840), p. 209. Cf. above, p. 451.

⁶⁰ Berquin-Duvallon, *Travels in Louisiana and the Floridas* (Davis), 84; Mackie, *From Cape Cod to Dixie*, 80.

⁶¹ Dumont, *Mémoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, II, 241; *De Bow's Review*, X, 328; XII, 292; XVII, 424; *Southern Cultivator*, IV, 127; *American Farmer*, 1 series, IV (1822-3), p. 274; Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour*, I, 44-46; Olmsted, F. L., *Cotton Kingdom*, I, 103; *idem*, *Journey in the Back Country*, 49-51; *Farmer and Planter*, II, 170; VI, 10.

⁶² Hall, B., *Travels in North America*, III, 179; Reck, *Extracts of Journals* (Force, Tracts, IV, No. 5), p. 9; *De Bow's Review*, XII, 292; XIII, 193; XVII, 424; XXII, 40; Olmsted, F. L., *Cotton Kingdom*, I, 74, 87; Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, I, 148; Russell, W. H., *My Diary North and South*, I, 370, 399.

agents in case of injustice. It was sometimes required that twenty-four hours must elapse between an offense and its punishment, in order to allow passions to cool or time for investigation. Frequently the power of punishment vested in the overseer was limited to a certain number of lashes. Some planters tried other forms of punishment than whipping, such as deprivation of privileges, holidays, and presents; extra labor; confinement on limited diet; and confinement in stocks. It was generally believed, however, that fear of whipping was necessary. Although there were numerous instances when violent punishment was imposed in the heat of passion or to gratify personal pique, the better managers used punishment as a means to an end. The following instructions of a planter to his overseer are typical of this attitude:⁶³

"Be *firm* and at the same time *gentle* in your control. Never display yourself before them in a passion; and even if inflicting the severest punishment, do so in a mild, cool manner, and it will produce a tenfold effect. When you find it necessary to use the whip . . . apply it slowly and deliberately, and to the extent you are determined in your own mind to be needful before you begin. The indiscriminate, constant and excessive use of the whip is altogether unnecessary and inexcusable."

In practice the management of slaves was largely influenced by sentiments of humanity and public opinion, which became increasingly humane. Furthermore, the slave was a human being, the quantity and quality of whose work was affected in large degree by his state of mind. Slaves driven to desperation were capable of almost unlimited ingenuity in annoyance. Slaves who were sullen and discontented, especially artisans, were capable of innumerable methods of sabotage and shirking.⁶⁴ Running away, a source of great trouble and inconvenience, was usually possible in last resort.

It was the part of good management, therefore, to avoid friction, and as far as was consistent with discipline, to conciliate slaves and render them contented. The master could not ignore the force of established custom on his plantation and in his neighborhood. For example, the custom of granting a holiday of several days at Christmas could hardly be set aside.⁶⁵ Good managers endeavored to keep slaves in good humor by small presents, occasional holidays, dances, and barbecues. Some planters maintained a fiddler and encouraged dancing or provided other forms of amusement. Others instructed their overseers to ask the advice of the older or more intelligent slaves on matters of plantation policy. Many planters employed a system of prizes and rewards to stimulate good conduct, supplementing the system of punishments.⁶⁶

⁶³ *De Bow's Review*, XVIII, 344; cf. *ibid.*, XXII, 40; *Farmer and Planter*, II, 171; *Carolina Planter* (1844-5), I, 25-30; Russell, R., *North America, Its Agriculture and Climate*, 180; Cobb, J. B., *Mississippi Scenes*, 160, 173.

⁶⁴ For an amusing instance of the latter, see letter from Thomas Jones to his wife in England, July 22, 1728, *Jones [Thomas] Family Papers* (Manuscripts, Library of Congress).

⁶⁵ Brown, D., *The Planter: or Thirteen Years in the South*, 68.

⁶⁶ Johnson, W., *Nugae Georgicae*, 35-37; letter of George Washington to his manager, July 20, 1794, in Long Island Historical Society, *Memoirs*, IV, 91; Hall, B., *Travels in North America*, III, 193, 226-228; *Southern Agriculturist*, I, 523; IX, 73; *De Bow's Review*, VII, 220, 381, 499; X, 625; XIII, 193; XVIII, 344, XXII, 40; XXVI, 579; XXIX, 357 et seq.; *Cultivator*, new series, III, 31; Russell, W. H., *My Diary North and South*, I, 190, 374; cf. Curry, "The South in the Olden Time," in Southern History Assn., *Publications*, V, 44; Kingsley, *Treatise on the Patriarchal System of Society under the Name of Slavery*, 21-23; *Farmer and Planter*, II, 171; *Practical Rules for the Management and Medical Treatment of Negro Slaves in the Sugar Colonies*, 12.

On large plantations the exigencies of discipline necessitated a more elaborate and rigid body of police regulations than was requisite for small plantations. Negroes were compelled to be in bed at a certain hour, and drivers or overseers sometimes visited cabins several times during the night in order to prevent night roving. On large plantations a roll call was held at regular intervals. Some planters forbade slaves to marry off the plantation, and many masters discouraged the practice in order to minimize the necessity of separating families in case of sale.⁶⁷ Under the patrol system slaves were required to have tickets of leave when away from the plantation.⁶⁸ A great deal of legislation was passed to promote the capture of runaway servants and slaves and to regulate commercial traffic between slaves and persons outside the plantation in order to prevent the sale of stolen goods and the sale of liquor to slaves.⁶⁹

The detailed character of the police regulations is illustrated by the following rules for a large Southern plantation in the late years of the ante bellum period:⁷⁰

"No negro shall marry another off, or not belonging to, the estate, without the consent of the owner. No negro on the estate will be permitted to marry a free negro. Men who have wives on different plantations from the one they are on, may visit their wives once during the week.

"All running about at night is strictly prohibited, and any negro found out of his or her quarter after the last bell, without permission or good reason, must be punished.

"No negro not belonging to the estate, must be permitted to come among and be with my negroes, without special permission.

"No negro preachers but my own will be permitted to preach or remain on any of my places.

"The regularly appointed minister for my places must preach on Sundays during the daylight, or quit.

"The negroes must not be suffered to continue their night meetings beyond 10 o'clock.

"They are all to be dealt with fairly and equally in their general supplies.

"The Negroes.—The most entire submission and obedience is required on the part of every negro. If a negro resists when corrected, every other negro man present must assist in arresting him.

"No negro will be allowed to use ardent spirits or have the same about his house.

"Stealing, lying, adultery, fornication, profane language, fighting, and quarreling must be invariably punished.

"No negro must leave the *estate* without a written permission from the manager, agent, or owner.

"No negro shall trade, traffic, or barter with any flat or trading boat, without special written permission.

"No negro will be allowed to raise stock of any kind.

"No negro will be allowed to ride the horses, mules, or colts on the place, without permission; and the habit of riding about on Sundays and at night must be discontinued.

⁶⁷ *De Bow's Review*, XIII, 193; XVII, 425; XXII, 376-377; *Southern Cultivator*, IV, 44; VIII, 164.

⁶⁸ See above, p. 513.

⁶⁹ Moore, G. H., *Slavery in Massachusetts*, 52; Steiner, *Slavery in Connecticut*, 12; Cheyney, "Condition of Labor in Early Pennsylvania," in *The Manufacturer*, Feb. 16, 1891, p. 5; Geiser, *Redemptioners and Indentured Servants*, 90; Cooley, *Slavery in New Jersey*, 32-34; Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland*, 72-78, 100, 103; Bassett, *Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina*, 32-42; Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina*, 314; Smith, W. R., *South Carolina as a Royal Province*, 180; *Georgia Assembly Acts* (De Renne & Jones), 85-94; *De Bow's Review*, XIII, 193; XIV, 178; XXII, 38; Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, I, 126; *Southern Agriculturist*, new series, I, 280; Henry, *Police Control of the Slave in South Carolina*, 21-95, 114, 117-123.

⁷⁰ Extract from *De Bow's Review*, XXII, 377-380.

"The negroes are required to remain on their respective plantations during the week, unless permitted to be absent, or to see the owner or agent. On Sundays they may visit the various plantations, but must first obtain leave of the overseer.

"The negroes may occasionally have fresh meat, but the overseer must first notify the owner, if present, or the agent, of his wish to kill some of the stock for the negroes.

"The negroes must be *certainly* punished for abusing the stock, losing their implements of work, leaving gates open, or defacing, breaking, or otherwise injuring the fences or houses on the plantations. By strictly and rigidly adhering to this rule, they will soon be careful and particular.

"The negroes will not be permitted (and it is here particularly enjoined on the overseers not to suffer them) to have barrels, ashes, and chicken-coops, or trash, or filth of any kind under or about their houses. The quarters must be cleaned every week.

"The negroes must *all* rise at the ringing of the first bell in the morning, and retire when the last bell rings at night, and not leave their houses after that hour, unless on business or called.

"Women, when in-doors on account of pregnancy or convalescing from sickness, must spin or sew.

"The men must work in the gardens or about the stables, until able to go to the field.

"Every negro will be required, when he is done using a farming implement, to show it to the overseer, and then deposit it in the tool-house.

.....
 "In order to establish some accountability amongst the negroes for the care and preservation of the implements, there must be a special assignment of certain implements to each negro; from the wagon and gear, carts, yokes, etc., down to the smaller tools, such as hoes, axes, etc., and such smaller tools as cannot readily be distinguished the one from the other of the same sort, will be marked (either upon the iron or the wood) with the first letter of the name of the negro to whom they have been assigned."

PROVISIONS FOR HEALTH, SANITATION, AND HOUSING OF SLAVES

Good management required careful precautions to preserve health and fitness for labor. The death or serious injury of a field hand meant the loss of a considerable part of a year's profits. The unnecessary loss of one or two prime slaves would likely cost an overseer his employment; consequently he could not be unconcerned. The attitude of many overseers is exemplified in the following account of a visit to the nursery and children's house on a large plantation:⁷¹

"As a jolly agriculturist looks at his yearlings or young beeves, the kindly overseer, lolling in his saddle, pointed with his whip to the glistening fat ribs and corpulent paunches of his woolly-headed flock. 'There's not a plantation in the State,' quoth he, 'can show such a lot of young niggers.'"

Since Negroes as a class could not be depended on to provide for cleanliness and sanitary conditions, orders to overseers contain numerous injunctions to see that the Negro houses be kept clean, to prevent accumulation of filth in the yards and under the cabins, to provide clean drinking water, and to require Negroes to practice personal cleanliness. Particular care was taken that Negroes should not work in the rain or rest in the sun. Sometimes shelters were

⁷¹ Russell, W. H., *My Diary North and South*, I, 397.

provided in the fields where they might take their noonday rest. Managers tried to make them observe regular hours of sleeping and eating.⁷²

On large plantations children were kept in a nursery in care of a plantation nurse assisted by older children. Care was taken to give the children ample food. Nursing infants were carried to their mothers in the fields at regular intervals; or if the distance was not too great, the mother was allowed to visit them several times a day in the nursery.⁷³ Most of the large plantations were provided with hospitals. They consisted usually of a large frame house or a cabin provided with rude beds or pallets. Here sick slaves were gathered under the care of a head nurse assisted by older children.⁷⁴ The systematic management of the nursery and hospital on a large plantation in the fourth decade is illustrated by the following account of the practice on Hopeton, the Couper plantation, in Georgia:⁷⁵

"The unrated hands are the superannuated and children. The latter constitute the nursery gang. These are placed under the charge of a careful old woman as nurse, and have a half-hand to cook for them. Every morning about sun-rise the children of the different settlements are brought by their mothers and nurses to the nursery, and are delivered into the care of the old nurse, who sees them washed and combed: at 8 o'clock, a breakfast consisting of hominy and molasses is issued to them; and at 2 o'clock, a dinner of soup made of salt pork, and either Irish potatoes, okra, peas or turnips, together with corn dumplings or sweet potatoes. About sunset the children are taken home. During Sundays they remain at home. Suckling women are employed near the settlement, and come to the nursery to suckle their infants, who are never allowed to be carried into the fields. To enable them to do so, one-quarter work is deducted from their tasks. Each child receives from one to two quarts of corn per week for suppers and Sundays. The nursery room is heated by steam and is well ventilated. Attached to it, is a spacious piazza, and a yard coated with grass and shaded by trees.

"*The sick* present themselves every morning at the hospital, when they are examined and prescribed for. The hospital is an airy, and warm building 80 feet by 24, with four wards, an entry which answers as an examining room, a medicine closet, a kitchen, and a bathing room. One ward is for lying-in women, another for women, and two others for men. The whole is heated with steam, supplied by two small copper boilers, and this mode has been in use for 14 years. The accommodations for the sick are a cot for each person, with a straw mattress and pillar, a pillar case, 2 blankets and a coverlid, with benches. The beds are refilled with clean straw once a month, and the cases and blankets at the same time washed. The wards are swept every day and washed out once a week: and the whole building white washed twice a year. The sick are allowed okra, coffee, molasses and gruel, and other nourishment when required. A daily account is kept of the names of the sick, their diseases and the remedies applied. A nurse and two small girls attend to this department."

Most overseers were expected to have a practical knowledge of common remedies and methods of dealing with ordinary cases of illness. Doctors were

⁷² *De Bow's Review*, X, 623; XIV, 177; XVIII, 340; XXII, 376; XXVI, 579; *Southern Agriculturist*, IX, 229; *Farmer and Planter*, VIII, 27.

⁷³ *De Bow's Review*, VII, 380; X, 624; XVIII, 340; XXVI, 579; Olmsted, F. L., *Journey in the Back Country*, 47; Russell, W. H., *My Diary North and South*, I, 380, 396-398; *Southern Agriculturist*, I, 526.

⁷⁴ Cf. "Slavery on Louisiana Sugar Plantations," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, VII, 271-275.

⁷⁵ *Southern Agriculturist*, VI, 573.

sent for in serious cases. Humanity, as well as profit, often actuated the planter, as shown by the fact that large fees were at times paid for operations on superannuated slaves who were of little service.⁷⁶

On every plantation numerous cases of shamming sickness were constantly arising. Negroes found the good fare and comparative idleness of the hospital very pleasant. Convalescents prolonged their period of recovery as much as possible. The discrimination of the cases of real illness from those of pseudo illness was a task difficult in the extreme for one of limited medical knowledge. It was often necessary to assume that a slave was able to work, until convincing proof to the contrary was available. Women well advanced in pregnancy were relieved in part from field tasks, and for two to four weeks after confinement were allowed to remain at the hospital and to perform some of the lighter forms of work.⁷⁷ In spite of these precautions, however, Mrs. Kemble's oversympathetic, but apparently truthful, diary of her observations on a Georgia rice plantation reflects graphically the burdens endured by female laborers. The attempt to combine heavy field labor and childbearing in such a manner as to produce maximum profits resulted in an abnormal number of miscarriages, heavy infant mortality, and female diseases which added greatly to the burdens of performing the heavy tasks.⁷⁸

On most plantations slave cabins were situated in quarters, with convenient access to cisterns and wells. On well equipped plantations, where sawmills were available, cabins were built of sawed lumber, and on "show plantations" were neatly whitewashed. Frequently cabins were constructed of logs, with fireplaces of mud and moss and floors either bare or covered with puncheons. The typical cabin was about 16 by 18 feet, with a lean-to. Sometimes they were built double to accommodate two families. In rare instances cabins were plastered and provided with brick fireplaces. Glass windows were very exceptional. Usually there were wooden shutters.⁷⁹ Colonel John Taylor, author of *Arator*, built comfortable brick cabins. On the plantation of J. C. Calhoun, in South Carolina, Negro houses were built of stone.⁸⁰ Such extravagance, however, was uncommon.

The furnishings of the typical Negro cabin of the rice region were described in a somewhat roseate manner by a contemporary writer as follows:⁸¹

"There were a few benches and a rude rocker, all of home manufacture; shelves in the corner, containing neatly scrubbed pails and 'piggins,' made by the plantation coopers of alternate strips of redolent white cypress and fragrant red cedar, bright tins

⁷⁶ *De Bow's Review*, X, 623; XIV, 177; XVII, 426; XXIV, 321-324; Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, I, 123, 166; *Southern Agriculturist*, I, 527; Russell, W.H., *My Diary North and South*, I, 374; cf. Edwards, *British West Indies*, II, 135.

⁷⁷ Russell, W. H., *My Diary North and South*, I, 380, 399; Olmsted, F. L., *Cotton Kingdom*, I, 105; Lewis, *Journal of a West India Proprietor*, 133-136, 203-205; *Southern Agriculturist*, XI, 77.

⁷⁸ *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation*, *passim*.

⁷⁹ *De Bow's Review*, III, 419; IX, 202; X, 328; XXVI, 279; *Cultivator*, new series, III, 31; Olmsted, F. L., *Seaboard Slave States*, II, 49; *idem*, *Journey through Texas*, 66; *idem*, *Cotton Kingdom*, I, 104; *idem*, *Journey in the Back Country*, 140; *Farmer and Planter*, II, 170; VIII, 101; *Southern Planter*, XVI, 121; "Slavery on Louisiana Sugar Plantations," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, VII, 261-263.

⁸⁰ *De Bow's Review*, XXVI, 279; *Southern Cultivator*, III, 98.

⁸¹ Mallard, *Plantation Life before Emancipation*, 30.

and white and colored plates, with the never absent long-necked gourd dipper, and beneath them the ovens, pots and skillets, the simple but most efficient paraphernalia of the mother cook.

"The bedroom had a few boxes, containing the simple finery and Sunday clothes of the family; the week-day garments hung upon a string stretched across the corner; the bedstead consisted of a few boards nailed across a pair of trestles, and covered with the soft black moss so abundantly yielded by the adjacent swamps, and quite a number of good warm blankets, in which the sleepers, oblivious of change of seasons, would wrap themselves up, until not a square inch of sable skin was exposed."

FOOD AND CLOTHING

On large plantations household tasks were frequently specialized, such as washing clothing and preparing firewood for the cabins. On some plantations food was cooked by the plantation cook and served out to the slaves, who ate in common. This was especially likely when there were only a few slaves, and the food might not be greatly different from that enjoyed by the white family. Sometimes a cook was appointed to prepare rations for unmarried adults, while slave families prepared their own meals. The plan of doing the cooking for all in common, practiced on some large plantations, was said to economize provisions and to save the time and strength of the slaves. It made it possible to improve the quality of the food and prevented slaves from unduly economizing in diet in order to trade the surplus for trinkets, whisky, or tobacco. On the other hand, it was less satisfactory from the point of view of the slaves, and the practice was likely to be clumsy and unworkable when the slave force was numerous. On some plantations slaves were required to cook their own breakfasts, but on others breakfast and dinner were prepared by the plantation cook and carried out to the fields.⁸² Even when rations were issued it was sometimes customary to have the cooking done in common by the plantation cook, each Negro marking his meat in such a way that it might be easily distinguished.⁸³

On the majority of plantations, however, rations were distributed and cooked in the cabins. There was considerable uniformity in the rations allowed, especially in the cotton producing regions. The standard ration was 1 or 1½ pecks of meal and 3½ pounds of bacon per week for each adult. About half a ration was allowed for a child. Jefferson, who lived in a wheat region, allowed a peck of flour instead of meal and substituted fish for pork.⁸⁴ In pioneer periods or regions where mills were scarce, slaves were compelled to pound their corn ration into meal or hominy after the regular work of the day, but planters in general recognized the desirability of grinding corn for their slaves. It was believed by some that a peck of meal was too little when not supplemented by vegetables, which were frequently allowed in season from the general plantation

⁸² *Farmers' Register*, V, 336; *Southern Cultivator*, IV, 127; *Southern Agriculturist*, I, 526; IX, 518, 582-584; XI, 247; *American Farmer*, 1 series, X (1828-9), p. 346; *Farmer and Planter*, II, 170; VIII, 101; Burke, E. P., *Reminiscences of Georgia*, 225; *De Bow's Review*, III, 420; X, 325; XIII, 193; XIV, 176-178; XVII, 423; XVIII, 60; XXII, 39; *Cultivator*, III, 31; Russell, W. H., *My Diary North and South*, I, 398; Olmsted, F. L., *Journey in the Back Country*, 74; *idem*, *Cotton Kingdom*, I, 103; Flanders, "Two Plantations and a County of Ante-Bellum Georgia," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XII, 7.

⁸³ Olmsted, F. L., *Cotton Kingdom*, I, 102.

⁸⁴ Jefferson, *Farm Book*, 77 (Photostat copy, Library of Congress).

gardens or obtained from slave gardens. Luxuries, such as molasses, fish, buttermilk, tobacco, rum, and coffee, were occasionally allotted.⁸⁵ In the coastal region of South Carolina and Georgia it was not generally customary to allow meat, for animal husbandry was not prevalent. Sometimes slaves were given salt fish, and planters allowed pork at harvest time; but, for the most part, the diet consisted of sweet potatoes, grits, or hominy, and broken rice.⁸⁶ Sometimes rations were varied in accordance with the season of the year, and the age, occupation, and behavior of the slave, and as a result systems of rationing on large plantations were sometimes extremely complex.⁸⁷

The custom of permitting each slave family to cultivate a piece of ground for its own use was very general, especially in the coastal region of South Carolina and Georgia, where it fitted into the task system. Sometimes as much as two acres was allowed, and the use of plantation plows and teams furnished. In other parts of the country some planters gave a cow to each large family or provided pigs and poultry. On the seacoast large quantities of fish, oysters, and clams were easily obtainable.⁸⁸ Slaves were never expected, however, to provide all of their food from their gardens, as in some of the West India Islands.⁸⁹ Probably the nearest approach to this in the South was in Louisiana, under the French régime, where masters sometimes gave slaves all of Saturday and Sunday to work on slave crops, but suspended their rations on those days.⁹⁰

Many slaves were able to obtain pocket money by selling a portion of their garden products, poultry, and fish, as well as baskets, brooms, boats, and other commodities made at odd times. Sometimes they were allowed to work during holidays for neighboring planters or other employers. Money thus acquired was almost universally respected by planters. To appropriate it would have been to violate the neighborhood sense of propriety. There were instances of

⁸⁵ Berquin-Duvallon, *Travels in Louisiana and the Floridas* (Davis), 86; Fithian, *Journal and Letters*, 68; *Farmers' Register*, III, 208 n.; Schaw, *Journal of a Lady of Quality*, 177; *Southern Cultivator*, IV, 127; VIII, 162; *Farmer and Planter*, II, 170; VIII, 101; Hildreth, *Despotism in America*, 58; United States, Patent Office, *Annual Report*, 1848, p. 500; *De Bow's Review*, VII, 380; X, 325; XII, 292; XVII, 423; Hall, B., *Travels in North America*, III, 224; *Southern Agriculturist*, III, 417; new series, V, 89; Olmsted, F. L., *Journey in the Back Country*, 50, 75; *idem*, *Cotton Kingdom*, I, 98; Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, I, 126; Russell, R., *North America, Its Agriculture and Climate*, 180; "Slavery on Louisiana Sugar Plantations," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, VII, 263-267; Attmore, *Journal of a Tour to North Carolina* (James Sprunt Historical Publications, XVII, No. 2), p. 26.

⁸⁶ Warden, *Account of the United States*, II, 437; *Southern Cultivator*, VIII, 86, 115; Mallard, *Plantation Life before Emancipation*, 31; Michaux, *Travels*, 290; Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, I, 148; *De Bow's Review*, IX, 202; Olmsted, F. L., *Seaboard Slave States*, II, 60.

⁸⁷ For an illustration of the complex system of rationing that prevailed on a certain South Carolina rice estate, see *De Bow's Review*, XXII, 39.

⁸⁸ Berquin-Duvallon, *Travels in Louisiana and the Floridas* (Davis), 88; Schaw, *Journal of a Lady of Quality*, 177; Scotus Americanus, *Informations concerning North Carolina* (North Carolina Historical Review, III), 616; *Southern Cultivator*, III, 148; VIII, 115, 163; *Southern Agriculturist*, IV, 350-353; *De Bow's Review*, VII, 380; IX, 202; X, 623; XII, 292; XIII, 193; XVII, 424; XVIII, 60; Russell, W. H., *My Diary North and South*, I, 196, 396, 399; Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, I, 169; Claiborne, J. F. H., *Mississippi*, 144; Olmsted, F. L., *Cotton Kingdom*, I, 102; *idem*, *Seaboard Slave States*, II, 68; Brown, D., *The Planter: or Thirteen Years in the South*, 68; McDougale, *Slavery in Kentucky*, 73.

⁸⁹ Concerning the various plans in the West Indies, see Edwards, *British West Indies*, II, 131; Venault de Charmilly, *Lettre à M. Bryan Edwards en Réputation de son Ouvrage, etc.*, 40, 46; Stokes, *Constitution of the British Colonies*, 413; Leslie, *New History of Jamaica*, 306; Burke, Edm., *European Settlements in America*, II, 105.

⁹⁰ Dumont, *Mémoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, II, 242; cf. "Slavery on Louisiana Sugar Plantations," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, VII, 253-256.

slaves who acquired considerable wealth, and some even purchased their own freedom. Many little luxuries were added by energetic slaves to the somewhat monotonous diet and meagre conveniences allowed by plantation owners.⁹¹ The practice of permitting slaves to raise products of their own for sale became more and more unpopular among plantation managers. Some slaves impaired their health by excessive work. Others spent the proceeds on liquor. Keeping their own livestock created a temptation to appropriate the master's corn. The policy brought the Negro into contact with a swarm of petty tradesmen,—peddlers, poor whites, and knaves of all descriptions,—who not only cheated the slaves but also encouraged their natural propensity for stealing. The numerous laws passed to suppress such intercourse appeared ineffective. Some planters avoided the difficulty by purchasing the products that slaves had for sale, forbidding them to trade with others. In some cases a plantation store was maintained and slaves encouraged to exchange their products for articles they desired. Other planters abolished slave gardens and furnished a small allowance of spending money.⁹²

In the colonial period travellers in the Carolinas and Georgia sometimes found slaves working in summer with no clothing except a cotton skirt.⁹³ Generally, considerations of decency dictated more adequate equipment, except for small children, who were frequently allowed to run about naked in summer. Men were furnished trousers made of "osnaburgs," and two or three rough gingham shirts for summer wear; in winter, a coat and trousers of mixed wool and cotton. One or two pairs of rough shoes were allowed. Women were clothed in similar materials. Children wore nondescript clothing manufactured from the worn-out garments of their elders.⁹⁴

HIRING OF SLAVES

Slaves were sometimes hired out and employed by others than their owners. Gangs of plantation hands were occasionally hired for plantation labor,⁹⁵ but during the extra demand in time of harvest the majority of planters had no laborers to spare to their neighbors. While it is conceivable that there might

⁹¹ *Southern Cultivator*, VIII, 115; Mallard, *Plantation Life before Emancipation*, 31; Russell, R., *North America, Its Agriculture and Climate*, 151; *De Bow's Review*, VII, 380; X, 457; XII, 292; *Southern Agriculturist*, X, 281; Olmsted, F. L., *Cotton Kingdom*, I, 98, 103; Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, II, 45; "Slavery on Louisiana Sugar Plantations," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, VII, 256-260; McDougale, *Slavery in Kentucky*, 73.

⁹² *Scotus Americanus, Informations concerning North Carolina* (North Carolina Historical Review, III), 616; *State Gazette of North Carolina* (Edenton), July 30, 1789; *South Carolina Gazette and General Advertiser* (Charleston), Mar. 20, 1783; *Maryland Archives* (Assem. Acts), XXXIV, 731; *Royal Gazette* (Charleston), Mar. 7, 1781; *De Bow's Review*, X, 624; XIII, 193; XVII, 424; Buckingham, *Eastern and Western States*, III, 7; *Southern Cultivator*, VIII, 163; *Southern Agriculturist*, V, 182; X, 281; XI, 281; Olmsted, F. L., *Journey in the Back Country*, 75; *idem, Seaboard Slave States*, II, 68-73; Mackay, *Life and Liberty in America*, I, 322.

⁹³ Davis, J., *Travels*, 89; Brickell, *Natural History of North Carolina*, 276.

⁹⁴ *De Bow's Review*, VII, 380; X, 326; XII, 292; XVII, 424; *Southern Cultivator*, VIII, 162; *Farmer and Planter*, II, 170; *Southern Agriculturist*, new series, V, 89; VI, 81-83; Mallard, *Plantation Life before Emancipation*, 32; Olmsted, F. L., *Cotton Kingdom*, I, 105; Hall, B., *Travels in North America*, III, 225; Russell, W. H., *My Diary North and South*, I, 192, 212, 372; Hildreth, *Despotism in America*, 57; "Slavery on a Louisiana Sugar Plantation," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, VII, 268-270.

⁹⁵ *Georgia State Gazette or Independent Register* (Augusta), Dec. 30, 1786; *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), Oct. 14, 1790; *Augusta Chronicle and Gazette of the State* (Georgia), May 9, 1789.

have been one class of slave owners and another class of employers of slaves, no extensive arrangement of this kind developed in Southern agriculture. Planters preferred to employ their own slaves for the same reasons that farmers prefer to use their own horses rather than to hire them to others. Hired slaves were likely to become demoralized or to demoralize the force with which they were employed. The supply of Negroes for hire was mainly confined to those owned either by persons residing in cities or by country owners unable to employ their labor profitably. Occasionally churches or other institutions were endowed with slaves, who were hired out to produce an income. City Negroes were not usually well suited to plantation work, although there was sometimes a demand for their labor in harvest.⁹⁶

In the border States, especially Maryland and northern Virginia, conditions with regard to the supply of Negroes for hire were exceptional. Slave labor in agriculture was at times profitable largely because supplemented by the profits of slave breeding. Owners often found it more profitable to hire their laborers to others than to employ them on farms. In the latter part of the ante bellum period a special demand for hired slave labor developed in these States for railway building, factories, fisheries, and lumbering.⁹⁷ Because of the scarcity of efficient white labor, demand for Negro artisans was usually considerable, and good wages were offered for their services. Unskilled labor was in demand for lumbering, mining, the construction of canals and railways, steamboating, dock labor, and other "public works."⁹⁸

Though wages paid slaves in agriculture were usually less than for other employments, masters preferred to have their slaves work in the country, where they were less likely to become demoralized or to break down their health by working overtime for extra wages. Sometimes masters hiring slaves required a bond or other security for their safe return.⁹⁹

A practice not uncommon in the older slavery regions was to hire the slave his own time. The master fixed the wage that the slave must bring in. All above this amount the slave might keep for himself. Even when the slave did not have such an understanding with his master, employers frequently hired the slave's time from the owner at a certain amount and paid the slave an additional wage contingent on amount of work accomplished. Under such a plan it was even possible to dispense with supervision; for instance, in the shingle industry

⁹⁶ *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, XLI, 760; Olmsted, F. L., *Cotton Kingdom*, I, 154; United States, Patent Office, *Annual Reports*, 1847, p. 391; 1849, *Agriculture*, 162.

⁹⁷ Olmsted, F. L., *Cotton Kingdom*, I, 117; Abdy, *Journal*, II, 176, 251, 349; *De Bow's Review*, XVI, 443; Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, II, 72.

⁹⁸ Extracts from the *Virginia Gazette*, Jan. 17, 1777, Feb. 21, 1751, reprinted in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XI, 95; XII, 77; *Virginia Chronicle and Norfolk and Portsmouth General Advertiser* (Norfolk), Nov. 17, 1792; *South Carolina Gazette and General Advertiser* (Charleston), Apr. 12, 1783; United States, Patent Office, *Annual Reports*, 1847, p. 391; 1849, *Agriculture*, 146, 162; Olmsted, F. L., *Cotton Kingdom*, I, 54, 60, 110; *De Bow's Review*, XXIX, 374; Bassett, *Slavery in the State of North Carolina*, 19; *Southern Planter*, XIII, 23.

⁹⁹ *Kentucky Gazette* (Lexington), Dec. 15, 1787, advertisement; Olmsted, F. L., *Cotton Kingdom*, I, 54, 60; *idem*, *Journey through Texas*, 33; Phillips, U. B., *Plantation and Frontier*, II, 179; *De Bow's Review*, XVII, 77; Holmes, G. K., *Wages of Farm Labor* (U. S., Dept. Agric., Bur. of Statistics, *Bulletin* 99), pp. 14, 18, 20, 22; United States, Patent Office, *Annual Report*, 1849, *Agriculture*, 141; Dunaway, *History of the James River and Kanawha Company*, 31.

carried on in the Great Dismal Swamp. A somewhat similar policy was employed in the Virginia fisheries and in certain factories. Slaves generally preferred to be hired out. They enjoyed a greater amount of freedom. On the steamboats or in the factories they "saw life" and escaped from dull routine. Moreover, there were many opportunities for earning spending money.¹⁰⁰

The practice of hiring slaves was regarded with disfavor by the community at large, and various cities and States grappled with the problem in one way or another. This sentiment was due partly to resentment of white laboring classes to slave competition. Working for hire was believed to exert an evil influence on slave morale and to make them insufferably independent.¹⁰¹ However, the practice was grounded in fundamental economic necessities.

¹⁰⁰ Olmsted, F. L., *Cotton Kingdom*, I, 140, 146-149, 153; *idem*, *Journey through Texas*, 32. For an account of the various abuses growing out of the hiring of slaves, see U. B. Phillips, "The Slave Labor Problem in the Charleston District," in *Political Science Quarterly*, XXII, 419.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 427; *idem*, *Plantation and Frontier*, II, 111-113; Russell, R., *North America, Its Agriculture and Climate*, 151; *Southern Planter*, XII, 376; *De Bow's Review*, XXV, 412; XXVI, 600; XXVII, 102, 120; Olmsted, F. L., *Journey through Texas*, 107.

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